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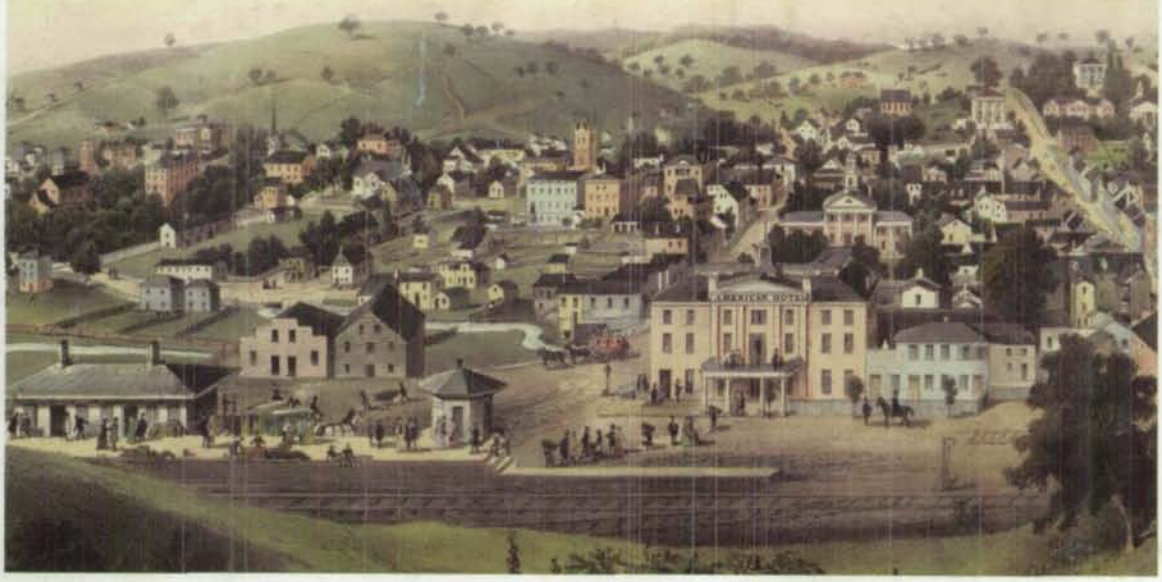

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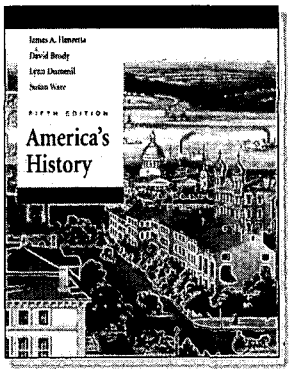

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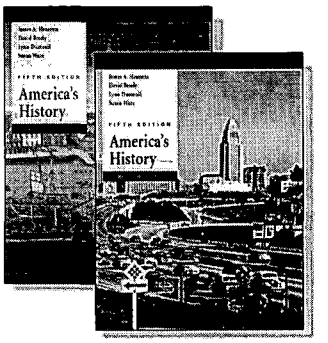

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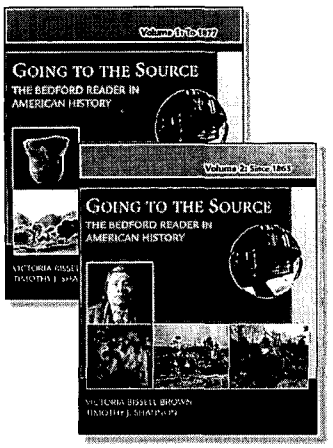

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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles and an *AHR Forum*. The articles examine the origins of the United States Civil War, the intellectual history of the later Middle Ages, and the significance of soldiers' letters in World War I. The *Forum*, which includes a central essay and three comments, tackles the complicated issue of racial and ethnic amalgamation in the history of the United States. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews. The issue, however, is unusual because the lead article, "The Difference Slavery Made: A Close Analysis of Two American Communities," is primarily a work of electronic scholarship. Consequently, the print version of the December *AHR* contains only a brief overview of the article; the full article is in the electronic version of the journal. The article is part of our continuing attempts to produce new forms of historical scholarship. It can be read at: www.historycooperative.org/ahr/. Comments about the article and the larger subject of electronic scholarship can sent to the American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47405 or to our e-mail address: ahr@indiana.edu.

Articles

William G. Thomas III and Edward L. Ayers constructed this electronic article as an experiment in digital history and as a contribution to debates about the origins of the United States Civil War. Their primary intent is to explore the most effective ways to present historical scholarship in the digital medium. Toward that end, they seek to join the article's form with its argument, using the power of linking in hypertext to make connections among evidence, historiography, and argument and to allow readers to explore lines of analysis on their own. They do so by focusing on slavery and its relationship to modernity in two American communities and addressing

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a long debate in the historiography. Generations of historians have debated the differences slavery made, particularly in an Atlantic world in which slavery played such a central role. These differences assumed profound importance in the case of the United States, where the Civil War became the largest war waged over the future of slavery. Thomas and Ayers approach this long-running debate by comparing the specific manifestations of slavery and contract labor in detail and in relationship to one another in a close analysis of two communities—Augusta County, Virginia, and Franklin County, Pennsylvania. They use the capabilities of new information technologies both for analysis and for presentation of the argument. For analysis, the pair turns in particular to Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to understand the way social structures were arranged spatially. For presentation, they rely on Extensible Markup Language (XML) to connect large amounts of evidence with detailed discussions of the historiography on slavery in the United States on the eve of the American Civil War. Through their innovative article, Thomas and Ayers have made a very significant contribution to our understanding of a critical historical event and the methods historians use to produce historical scholarship.

Daniel Hobbins proposes a new way of approaching the intellectual history of the later Middle Ages. He turns the focus from the history of ideas to what he terms the "cultural situation" of the medieval schoolman. Hobbins traces a crucial shift in literary genres to offer clues as to how intellectuals reconceived their public during this period. By the fifteenth century, he argues, the classic school genres such as the commentary had given way to the more flexible and reader-friendly "tract" addressing a specific case. As a way of coming to terms with this shift and thereby rethinking the role of intellectual life in this era, Hobbins proposes the model of "public intellectual," a phrase that he believes captures the new cultural reality of the late medieval schoolman. Hobbins contends that the label applies particularly well to Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, and uses him as a model of the new intellectual actor. Setting Gerson apart, first, was his awareness that earlier schoolmen had thus far ignored lay audiences, or had failed to tailor their delivery so that they could be clearly understood. Second, Gerson attempted to address this oversight through works written in the vernacular and through a clearer, more fluid style—here showing the

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influence of Italian humanists. Third, evidence on multiple levels indicates that Gerson succeeded in reaching a wide public. In this attempt at outreach, Gerson was entering a public arena where he frequently found himself challenged by medical masters and canon lawyers. Rather than dismiss this outreach as "vulgarization," Hobbins argues that historians should recognize the historical shift that occurred. His engaging article thus illustrates how a fresh conceptual approach can transform our understanding of a historically marginalized period.

Martha Hanna argues that letter writing served an important role in World War I France. It allowed soldiers and their immediate families to maintain contact with one another and preserve bonds of intimacy that would otherwise have been eroded by the enforced absences that war made inevitable. Taking issue with scholars who dismiss frontline correspondence as intentionally uninformative, she demonstrates that soldiers described, often at some length and in harrowing detail, the actual nature of combat. They did so, she contends, because they had internalized the lessons of their childhood, which had impressed on young children both the importance of maintaining contact with one's family when compelled to live far from home and the imperative to speak honestly of one's daily life, however unsettling such honest conversations might be. But, Hanna insists, emphasizing only the descriptive or testimonial quality of frontline correspondence overlooks the affective significance of wartime letter writing. Not only did letters allow husbands and wives, sons and parents, fiancés and their betrothed to share with one another the momentous events and the mundane occurrences of everyday life, they also provided soldiers and civilians alike with consolation in the face of adversity and the reassurance of abiding affection. Well schooled in the art of evading the censors, civilian and combatant letter writers developed codes and discursive strategies that allowed them to speak intimately to one another and thus sustain familial affection. Ultimately, however, frontline soldiers, connected by regular and affectionate correspondence to only a few civilians at home, grew increasingly alienated from other civilians to whom they did not write. As a result, letter writing in World War I France reinforced intimacy within the immediate family while it also fostered alienation beyond it. Hanna's article is thus a compelling

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example of the importance of understanding the public implications of private acts.

AHR Forum

David A. Hollinger begins the *Forum* by asking what features the history of the United States displays when we focus our attention on how different "races" and "ethnic groups" have mixed or not mixed. Among these features, he finds, are striking differences between the experiences of the various non-European descent groups. White racism was differently enacted from case to case, yet the anti-discrimination remedies established in the 1960s and 1970s treated the non-European groups alike, ignoring the unique impact on blacks not only of slavery and the Jim Crow system but of miscegenation laws and of the "one-drop rule" that racialized as African American anyone with any discernable sign of African ancestry. Hollinger argues, further, that if we accept as real the black-white mixing that the principle of hypodescent has obscured, and if we simultaneously take into account the mixing in recent decades of immigrant-based populations of ethnically Asian and Latino peoples with Americans of predominantly European ancestry, we confront the fact that "amalgamation" is one of the most prominent themes in the history of the United States when viewed in world-historical perspective. Hollinger also argues that the concept of "amalgamation" frees us from several misleading connotations of "the melting pot."

Three commentators continue the discussion by taking up the critical issues raised by Hollinger.

Thomas E. Skidmore explains that, in the middle of the last century, Brazil and the United States presented sharply contrasting systems of race relations. Brazil, once the largest slave economy in the New World, had abolished slavery through a (largely) orderly legislative process that avoided any civil war. It went on to create an internationally recognized, multi-racially harmonious society. Yet, by century's end, Brazil had discovered racial discrimination and was launching an Affirmative Action program. The United States in 1950 was still a racially segregated society. Since then, it has

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largely been transformed from a biracial (the "one-drop rule") into an emerging multi-racial system in which Affirmative Action, once a prized tool against discrimination, has been greatly undermined by court decisions. Skidmore concludes his comment by asking us to consider how the apparently contrary directions in the development of these two systems can be explained.

Barbara J. Fields continues the discussion by contending that "race," the concept and the word, has served in American history and historical literature as a euphemism (for slavery, disfranchisement, segregation, lynching, pogroms, and related historical atrocities) and as shorthand (meaning persons of African descent and anything pertaining to them). Substituted for "racism," it disguises the real actions that constitute racism as the fictive traits that constitute race. Efforts to make race respectable by generalizing and extending it (through the question-begging formulas "racialization," "identity," and "culture") only underscore the historical particularity of the stigma attached to persons of African descent. She maintains that, by recognizing these truths, Hollinger's rich analysis offers much of value. But Field also insists that the focus on "ethnoracial mixture" implicitly accepts as a given that the historical problem resides in the persons designated as a race, rather than in the racism that has so designated them.

Henry Yu concludes the *Forum* by agreeing that Hollinger's essay quite rightly identifies interracial marriage and sex as an interesting topic for examining United States history. Unfortunately, he contends, Hollinger's argument goes too far in claiming that this history of sexual contact is a sign of hope, both for the United States and for the rest of the world. The intellectual interest in interracial sexuality has a long history in itself, defining certain acts of sexual transgression as signs of progress in race relations while ignoring other acts. Indeed, race-mixing as a concept has contributed to race-making, determining the boundaries of racial categories rather than erasing or lessening the effects of racial borders. Rather than seeing interracial sexuality as an indication of progress, Yu charts regional variations in racialization as a historical process, revealing the very different ways that migration and transnational connections have affected and changed definitions of racial difference in the Pacific and Atlantic regions.

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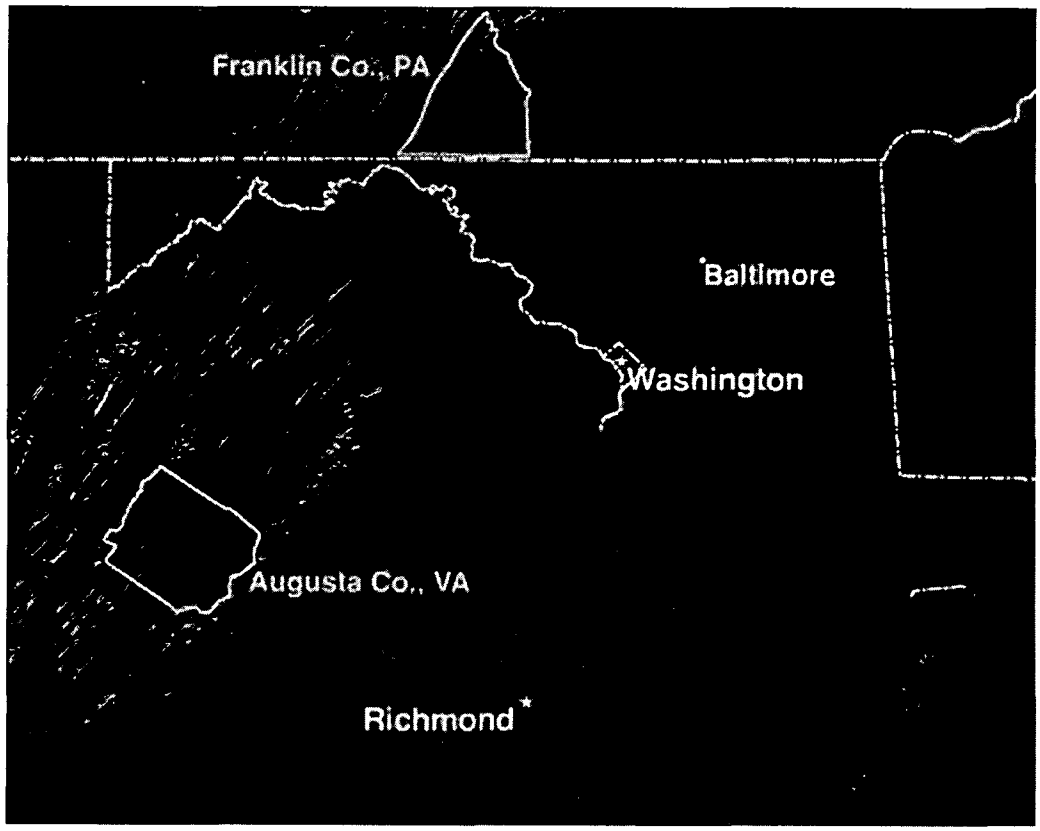

FRONTISPIECE: Two hundred miles and several borders separated Franklin and Augusta, but both were part of the same topographic region, the Great Valley in the border region of the eastern United States. The two counties shared similar soils, climates, ethnic and religious background of their white residents, and access to national and regional markets. Despite such similarities, however, slavery caused these communities to differ in a wide range of ways.

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An Overview: The Differences Slavery Made: A Close Analysis of Two American Communities

WILLIAM G. THOMAS III and EDWARD L. AYERS

THE ORIGINAL IDEA FOR AN ELECTRONIC ARTICLE seemed simple enough. Using digital media, we wanted to give readers full access to a scholarly argument, the historiography about it, and the evidence for it. Our early models of the article contained neat squares and lines and carefully arranged explanations of the links from one part to another. We admired the recently published *New York Review of Books* article by Robert Darnton on the possibilities of digital scholarship, and after years of building the *Valley of the Shadow Project* digital archive, we welcomed the opportunity to offer an interpretive analysis based on its sources. Through two sets of readings by peer reviewers and presentations to a range of audiences, we have revised our presentation and our argument while maintaining the original purpose of the article. This essay introduces the electronic article and explains its development, as well as our intentions for it. The full electronic version of this article can be found at www.historycooperative.org/ahr/.

Our principal goal was to fuse the electronic article's form with its argument, to use the medium as effectively as possible to make the presentation of our work and its navigation express and fulfill our argument. As a result, this piece of electronic scholarship operates on several levels to connect form and analysis. First, it allows one to reconstruct the process by which our argument was developed, to follow the logic of our thinking, in effect to reconstruct the kind of "trails" that Vannevar Bush expected the technology to allow historians when he envisioned the future of

The electronic article has been intensely collaborative from the outset, both between the authors and among professional staff and research assistants at the University of Virginia and the Virginia Center for Digital History. Kimberly A. Tryka, Associate Director of the Center, applied her valuable expertise in XSL style sheets and transformations, creating the innovative Reading Record tool as well as helping develop the fundamental structure of the article. Her work on this article has been instrumental and critical to our effort. Benjamin Knowles of Octagon Multimedia Productions gladly gave us his time and graphic design talent and web expertise, working with us to design the interface for this work. Aaron Sheehan-Dean, now at the University of North Florida, worked on the GIS and SPSS data and offered his considerable expertise in Civil War history. Watson Jennison, now at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, energetically investigated the newspapers and compiled content analysis of them. Steve Thompson, now at the University of Texas at Austin, helped develop the original GIS for Augusta County. We also especially thank our colleagues at the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia for their helpful criticism of both our form and analysis in a draft version of this article at a department workshop. Lloyd Benson, John Unsworth, and Michael Holt carefully read several drafts of this article and offered written comments. We appreciate especially the thoughtful readers of the *AHR* for their wise and judicious reading of this piece in draft form. Finally, we would like to express our gratitude for Michael Grossberg's careful suggestions and patient support of our work and his leadership in bringing it to publication. We thank all these friends and colleagues for their invaluable help.

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computing in his seminal 1945 essay "As We May Think." This electronic scholarship also uses spatial analysis and spatial presentation to locate its subjects and its readers within the context of the historical evidence and interpretation. The methodology of the emerging field of historical GIS (Geographic Information Systems) informed our analysis and led to the creation of a comparative spatial database of our communities. In addition, we sought to express the spatial analysis of the argument in the article's structure. Third, the electronic article presents itself in a form to allow for unforeseen connections with future scholarship. We consider this last goal critically important for scholars working in the digital medium because the rate of technological change will certainly offer new opportunities even as it displaces current practices. Publishers, scholars, technologists, and librarians have hammered out international standards that govern the basic structures and forms of digital work to take advantage of technological development. Our article seeks to work within these standards in expectation of change.[1]

Our analysis focuses on slavery and its relationship to modernity. Historians have long studied—and argued over—slavery's association with New World capitalism. Studies of the transatlantic slave trade, of the relationship between the modern world and slavery, and of the connections between spatial and temporal portrayals of slavery suggest that it might be time to reexamine the connections between slavery and modernity in the United States.[2] In the case of the United States, the political, economic, and ideological issues in the crisis of 1860–1861 turned around issues related to emergent forms of modernity: the integrity of the nation-state, the course of economic development, the meaning of participatory democracy, and the nature of individual autonomy. This conflict over modernity has long received attention from historians. Many influential studies have relied on a vision of divergent societies, a modernizing North and a South resisting modernity. Recent scholarship, however, has indicated that we might need to revisit that equation. The institution of slavery may have struck its own bargain with modernity in the nineteenth-century American South.[3]

The test-bed for our article comes from the *Valley of the Shadow Project*. That digital archive allows readers to examine two communities, one in the North

[1] Vannevar Bush, "As We May Think," *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1945. For the most current and complete analysis of the challenges historians face working in the digital medium, see Roy Rosenzweig, "Scarcity or Abundance? Preserving the Past in a Digital Era," *AHR* 108 (June 2003): 735–62; Roy Rosenzweig and Michael O'Malley, "Brave New World or Blind Alley? American History on the World Wide Web," *Journal of American History* 84, no. 3 (June 1997): 132–55; and Rosenzweig, "The Road to Xanadu: Public and Private Pathways on the History Web," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 2 (September 2001): 548–79.

[2] David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000); Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London, 1997); David Eltis, *et al.*, *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (New York, 1999); Robert W. Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York, 1989); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (New York, 1992).

[3] For the most influential studies that emphasize the divergence of Northern and Southern societies in terms associated with modernity, see Eugene D. Genovese, *The Slaveholders' Dilemma: Freedom and Progress in Southern Conservative Thought, 1820–1860* (Columbia, S.C., 1992); and Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1976); James M. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1982); and McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988); William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, *The Web of Progress: Private Values and Public Styles in Boston and Charleston, 1828–1843* (New York, 1985).

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(Franklin County, Pennsylvania) and one in the South (Augusta County, Virginia), during the coming, fighting, and aftermath of the American Civil War.[4] The two communities were chosen to provide something like a controlled experiment. They shared similar geographic locations, soil, climate, crops, white ethnicity, and religious denominations. Only one major difference separated them: the Virginia community was built around slavery and the Pennsylvania community was not. Yet that one difference extended its defining influence into all the social arrangements of the Southern community, in ways obvious and otherwise, and pulled its white people into the Confederacy and a war that destroyed what they fought to protect.

By choosing communities close to the Mason-Dixon Line, we offer a rigorous test for slavery's influence: if slavery pulled everything into its orbit only two hundred miles from freedom, we could assume that its force was even greater farther south. If the community without slavery found its institutions and social life undiluted despite living on the border with bondage, we could assume that the patterns would be even stronger farther north.

We investigate the problem of modernity and its relationship to slavery in these communities by joining the tools of geography and cartography to those of social-science history. We created a detailed GIS to compare these places and their social, economic, and political structures. Our goal is to reconstruct the social, economic, and political geography of slave and free communities, to compare them, and to analyze the spatial relationships embedded within them.[5]

Our argument is that slavery was more central to the Civil War than we have thought because it exerted a determining influence even where slavery did not take the form of cotton plantations and African-American majorities. Slavery adopted the forms of modern life available in the mid-nineteenth-century United States—capitalist forms of investment and economic motivation, advanced transportation and communication, politics of broad participation by white men, and general white prosperity. The differences slavery made for white people were pervasive and structural but not intrinsically opposed to modernity.

We do not find a different white culture in the South than in the North, a culture built around resistance to or even skepticism of modern life. Instead, we find a politics built around the protection of slavery through whatever means necessary. Many white men preferred to protect slavery with Unionism, recognizing that the

[4] The URL is http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu. The *Valley Project* includes thousands of letters, tens of thousands of census entries, soldiers' service records, and newspaper articles. One of the purposes of the archive is to encourage students and other non-historians to write history for themselves with a capacious archive that permits people to make their own connections, to follow their own insights. But another is to permit professional historians to ask questions of greater specificity and precision than would be possible without having historical materials available in electronic form. That is what we attempt in our digital article. On the project, see William G. Thomas III, "In the Valley of the Shadow: Communities and History in the American Civil War," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (September 1998), http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vcdh/thomas.vmhb.html. For reviews and other analysis of the *Valley Project*, see Andrew McMichael, "The Historian, The Internet, and the Web: A Reassessment," *AHA Perspectives* (February 1998): 29–32; O'Malley and Rosenzweig, "Brave New World or Blind Alley?" 132–55; Rosenzweig, "Road to Xanadu," 78 pars., http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/88.2/rosenzweig.html; Gary J. Kornblith, "Venturing into the Civil War, Virtually: A Review," *Journal of American History* 88 (June 2001): 145–51.

[5] For recent interpretations using GIS, see Anne Kelly Knowles, ed., *Past Time, Past Place: GIS for History* (Redlands, Calif., 2002); and Knowles, ed., the special issue of *Social Science History* 24, no. 3 (Fall 2000), http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/social_science_history/toc/ssh24.3.html.

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United States provided a safe haven for the institution where it existed, including Virginia. But, as the events of 1860 and 1861 unfolded, those white men came to believe that only secession could protect slavery. These men did not act as they did because they fostered a different political culture from the North, notions of race profoundly unlike those of most whites elsewhere, divergent forms of Christianity, or any other characteristic that set them against modernity. Instead, they sought to control the future of the United States by preserving a place for slavery as Americans spread their dominion. White Southerners projected the spread of modern slavery into part of an American empire. When that failed, they sought to create an empire of their own.

The digital article makes this argument in a way that takes advantage of the medium's possibilities for precision and interrelation. In the digital article, we have sought to separate various strands of historical argument and evidence so that we can better understand their relationship to one another. Thus we examine agriculture, demography, transportation, class relations, churches, and so on in individual nodes of analysis, comparing the Northern and Southern counties and placing them in regional perspective. We do the same for political affiliation and behavior, which we then relate to their material bases. By exploring these facets of social life as rigorously as possible, we hope to refine our questions and thus our answers. We recognize, of course, that two counties cannot stand in for the entire United States, much less as proxies for the problem of modernity and slavery. We also recognize that no two counties are typical of places as vast as the American North and South. But we have chosen these counties to offer a rigorous test for our argument, and it seems to us that they serve that purpose well. The experiences of our two counties show that slavery drove all the conflict that brought on the Civil War but not in a simple way based on modernity, not in the way many imply when they speak of "economics" causing the war or of the "industrial" North against the "agricultural" South.

It is not yet clear how digital technology will affect the practice of history or whether historians will heed, for example, Robert Darnton's call to consider the advantages of electronic publication. In a show of leadership, Darnton offered historians an example of what new electronic scholarship might look like, publishing an electronic essay in the *American Historical Review*. In recent years, several historians have been working toward common ends, experimenting with publication in the digital medium, seeking to join their analysis with the form of its presentation in innovative ways. Philip J. Ethington has written an impressive electronic essay and presentation for the World Wide Web on the urban history of Los Angeles. Ethington "explores the hypothesis that the key concept in the search for historical certainty should be 'mapping' in a literal, not a metaphoric, sense." His work includes a wide range of media and sources to create, or rather recreate, the "panorama" of the city. Ethington suggests that the web site can be read like a newspaper, inviting readers to wander through it, skipping from section to section, and focusing on what strikes their interest. Motivated "simultaneously by two ongoing debates: one among historians about 'objective knowledge,' and another

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among urbanists about the depthless postmodern condition," Ethington's electronic scholarship grasps the "archetype of 'hyperspace'" to address these concerns.[6]

THE GOAL OF OUR ARTICLE is to open the process of scholarly inquiry, to allow readers not only to confront our argument but also to work with its evidence and its constituent parts. The key to the article—indeed, to our decision to embark on a digital article in the first place—is the recent emergence of Extensible Markup Language (XML). XML separates the structure of a text from its presentation, allowing authors to use the structural definitions of the text for searching, linking, and identifying discrete elements, all the while keeping the style and layout of the text's presentation in a separate set of controls (a style sheet called XSL). XML holds out possibilities for scholarship that take us far beyond HTML, the first language of the web, allowing dynamic and multiple linking among diverse sources. The sources we have included in evidence and historiography, for example, operate in a modular fashion; each node of the article's sections contains source information, citation information, linkages, and analysis of its relationship to the whole. The modular structure and the XML behind it make the article flexible yet rigorous, open to alternative presentations yet fixed within an international standard.

The first peer reviewers of the piece questioned whether what we were producing could be called an "article" at all. Some argued that in the article form there is an implied contract with the reader. The reader expects to allocate a set amount of time to read it, to find the argument laid out in a relatively familiar fashion, and to recognize the visual cues of footnotes, headers, captions, and other means of corresponding with the reader. Early drafts of our article did not meet this contract but instead asked the reader to participate more in the process of investigation. The boundaries between authors and readers in hypertext have been a subject of sustained discourse among literary critics, and a few of these studies have moved well beyond the postmodern approaches of the initial wave of hypertext literature. This recent literature emphasizes the complex process of negotiation as readers and authors continually encounter familiar subjects in unfamiliar forms.

The openness that the technology affords and the alternative readings possible within this article raise questions about the role of narrative in electronic scholarship, questions never far from our consideration. Literary critics, such as Espen Aarseth, Janet Murray, Jerome McGann, George Landow, and historians, such as Darnton, Ethington, and Roy Rosenzweig, have speculated on the future of narrative in cyberspace. Yet examples of non-linear narrative or hypertext remain few and far between. Despite all of the new technologies and the excitement of the medium, the web, it turns out, is full of traditional linear narrative in large measure because so much of the material on the web has been migrated from print.[7]

[6] Philip J. Ethington, "Los Angeles and the Problem of Urban Historical Knowledge," *AHR* 105 (December 2000), http://www.usc.edu/dept/LAS/history/historylab/LAPUHK/; Robert Darnton, "The New Age of the Book," *New York Review of Books*, March 18, 1999; Darnton, "An Early Information Society: News and Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris," *AHR* 105 (February 2000), http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/105.1/ah000001.html.

[7] See, for example, Janet Murray, *Hamlet on the Holodeck: The Future of Narrative in Cyberspace* (New York, 1997); Espen Aarseth, *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature* (Baltimore, 1997);

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As this article evolved, two tensions came to the fore, an outgrowth of the possibilities that both the digital medium and the reader would allow. The first was that software and hardware configurations vary widely, so much so that decisions about technologies dramatically restrict audience and performance. Some of the most powerful hypertextual technologies, for example, remain proprietary and, therefore, inaccessible to some web users. The second tension developed around the article's narrative structure and the potential non-linearity of our argument. Readers on the web have grown accustomed to conventions of text placement, symbols for various links, and navigational structures. In the process of the article's development, we presented our work to numerous audiences and saw a spectrum of readers. Readers split over the purpose and character of narrative structure in the digital medium. Some embraced non-linearity as the natural and most effective means of presenting digital scholarship. Others considered an ordered, linear argument essential to historical scholarship of any form. After several drafts, which favored first one then the other approach, we concluded that a balance must be struck. The digital medium offers—in some respects, demands—a form of hyper-linking. It excels in the presentation of linked information and modules of analysis and explanation. The non-linearity that is necessarily a part of digital scholarship cannot serve to obscure its argument, yet the argument in digital scholarship cannot ignore the non-linearity of the medium.

Sustained argument in the digital medium must extend across and among interrelated parts, each piece of which must be understood as possibly the opening page for any given reader. The greatest challenge for the author of digital scholarship is that every page needs to have the codes, symbols, links, and information to allow readers to access the whole argument. Without the conventions already inherent in the book or article form, such as page numbering, chapter organization, and indexing, the digital scholar must develop the argument with the appreciation that the reader might encounter it at several points along its explication. Several problems confront digital scholarship at this stage. First, digital scholarship must consider how to cite "born digital" information, such as an evidence module or a page from an electronic article. Second, it needs to examine how to give readers a sense of the scale of the article and a means by which to track their reading, and presumably its relationship to the overall work. The first problem stems in part from the nature of XML and dynamic database systems where there is no fixed or "hard" URL or web page address for a particular page because each page is dynamically generated. The second is endemic to the medium; it is difficult to tell how "long" or "big" a web site is from the first page or from any page within it. Only exploration and investigation will reveal the scale and scope of a digital work. Our "Reading Record" and "Citation Lookup" tools were designed to address these fundamental issues for digital publications, and they were the result of much experiment and testing. While we consider them useful innovations, we expect that this area of digital work will develop new visualization technologies to make apparent to readers the reach and placement of digital analysis and argument.

Jerome McGann, *Radiant Textuality: Literature after the World Wide Web* (New York, 2001); and also see Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).

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The electronic article's maps and statistical tables derive from a Geographic Information System database in which thousands of households have been identified and linked to agricultural, slaveholding, and population census data. This map, showing the spatial distribution of slaveholders and non-slaveholders in Augusta County, indicates the spread of slavery throughout the county.

As technology matures and readers become further acquainted with digital scholarship, the premium for authors in this medium will be on transparency. Technology, no matter how interesting or innovative, should facilitate an argument and in doing so remain transparent to the reader. The article as it finally appears in electronic form for the *American Historical Review* has, in some respects, been tamed in the peer review process. It follows a more traditional structure than our earlier drafts. It uses commonplace names for its parts. It does not include fancy diagrams for navigational schemes. Instead, the article places the argument in front of the reader immediately and gives the reader a series of choices of ways to test, elaborate, or challenge that argument. As such, it is an extension, an enhancement, of normal scholarly practice in our discipline.

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The process of peer review and revision for this article was unusual because both the argument and the form were under review. As historians design and write pieces in digital format and as their peers consider how to review this electronic scholarship, they will come face-to-face with numerous fundamental questions. First, we need to recognize that these publications are highly collaborative and involve the creative and technical work of other professionals. The scholarship produced in the digital medium will continue to be characterized by intermediation, negotiation, and manipulation by a range of scholars and professionals. Second, digital publications require a host of technical decisions on the part of authors and publishers—software platforms, server requirements, proprietary plug-ins, and, for example, browser specifications. An entire field of computer science, Human and Computing Interface, has developed in the last twenty years, testament to the importance of the selections we make in this new medium.

It seems to us that the range of digital scholarship might be quite broad and that the advantage of the digital medium for publication is the openness it provides to scholarly authors to design and create a presentation uniquely suited to their topic, field, period, or problem. In our case, we hoped to create a flexible framework for digital scholarship for historians. The idea behind our approach was to develop a set of common categories and provide some definition to their relationship. We tried to avoid creating idiosyncratic elements peculiar to our work, and we strove to produce a template other scholars might use for a piece of digital scholarship. The article's form—its modules of refracted analysis, evidence, and historiography—is meant to instruct and carry forward the argument. We propose what we have called a "prismatic" model as an alternative to Robert Darnton's pyramid structure, one that allows readers to explore angles of interpretation on the same evidentiary and historiographical background. The prismatic functionality of the article offers to open the process of historical interpretation to the reader, providing sequential and interrelated nodes of analysis, evidence, and their relationship to previous scholarship.

We plan to make something like this article's technologies broadly available, using its structures for different objectives, historical questions, periods, and concerns. As an extension of our work on this article, we have begun to create an application called CHART, for Comprehensive History Analysis and Research Tool, which could work in a college classroom as well as in a professional journal. CHART permits the use of XML and its advantages without requiring the large scale, daunting complexity, and considerable cost our prototype article has demanded. It seems possible that digital scholarship is particularly well suited for some forms of historical analysis, and we put our attempt forward as an early experiment to see if that might be so.

Our close analysis of two American communities explores the relationship between modernity and slavery. The argument we offer seeks to overturn a longstanding argument about the coming of the American Civil War, one that has taken form in the traditional medium of book and film and dominated our understanding of the character of slavery and freedom in the modern world. Slavery, in our view, must be understood as having no single determinative value, no one experience or effect that can be either pointed to or dismissed; instead, its

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refractive powers touched every aspect of society. Slavery and freedom each developed a spatial character in addition to, indeed in relationship to, a political, social, and economic structure. Both societies had established a particular footprint in the landscape. Our article seeks in its form to capture that spatiality and to represent its complexity and interrelatedness. If we are to show slavery's relationship to modernity and argue that it was pervasive, systemic, and spatially arranged, then the digital medium provides an essential means to make the argument. Digital publication, in our argument, is not merely convenient or innovative but intrinsic.

William G. Thomas III is the director of the Virginia Center for Digital History and an assistant professor of history at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *Lawyering for the Railroad: Business Law and Power in the New South* (1999). Since 1996, he has managed and directed the development of *The Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War* Project. He is also the co-author and assistant producer of *Massive Resistance*, an Emmy Nominee documentary on Virginia's civil rights experience, and he is currently beginning research on an environmental and social history of the Chesapeake Bay region.

Edward L. Ayers is the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and the Hugh P. Kelly Professor of History at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (1993) and *In the Presence of Mine Enemies: War in the Heart of America, 1859–1863* (2003), a narrative history based on the Valley of the Shadow Project.

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The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract

DANIEL HOBBINS

THE LAST THIRTY YEARS HAVE WITNESSED a transformation in late medieval historiography. The old master narrative of the Middle Ages, familiar through long retelling in textbooks, featured a renaissance of the twelfth century, soon extended to the thirteenth, followed by a period of crisis, stagnation, and decay.[1] Etienne Gilson gave the narrative its clearest expression for intellectual history in his *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (1955). Gilson saw the thirteenth century as the "golden age" of medieval thought, climaxing in Thomas Aquinas. The early fifteenth century, by contrast, was the "journey's end" of scholasticism, a period of "doctrinal confusion" whose "saddened and powerless witness" was the prolific chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Gerson (1363–1429).[2]

This model is hardly dead, but it has now been so seriously undermined by scholarship of the last generation that it can no longer be assumed.[3] Heiko Oberman led the assault by turning on its head Johan Huizinga's metaphor of an autumnal "waning," seeing in the late fifteenth-century theologian Gabriel Biel a "harvest" of medieval theology.[4] In numerous books and articles, William Courtenay has redefined the field of late medieval intellectual history. Nearly every older study of the period labored under mistaken notions about nominalism as the poison in the intellectual waters of the later Middle Ages, eroding the foundations of late medieval literature, art, and spirituality. In an article that is still the best starting point for nominalism, Courtenay synthesized current research to discredit this

I wish to thank the many friends and colleagues who read this article and offered valuable suggestions: Lezlie Knox, Deborah McGrady, James Mixson, Maureen Boulton, Thomas Noble, Kent Emery, Jr., James Forse, Gilbert Ouy, and especially David Mengel and Rachel Koopmans. The article also benefited greatly from the comments of the anonymous reviewers and the editorial staff of the *AHR*. The broad conceptual argument owes most to John Van Engen, who read numerous versions, fully engaged the work, and offered crucial guidance and insight from beginning to end.

[1] A good recent overview with criticism of the crisis model is Howard Kaminsky, "From Lateness to Waning to Crisis: The Burden of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Early Modern History* 4 (2000): 85–125.

[2] Etienne Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1955), 528.

[3] In his last word on the subject, Sir Richard Southern saw the later period as literally a "period of disintegration" and a "state of decline" when "the scholastic method of discovering truth by patient analysis and compilation" gave way to "different methods of investigation." Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. 1: *Foundations* (Oxford, 1995), 12–13.

[4] Heiko Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism*, 3d edn. (Durham, N.C., 1983); Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, trans. (Chicago, 1996).

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model and to open the period to fresh approaches.[5] Others, far too many to enumerate here, have recovered the period in other ways.[6] Of these, we may mention the work of Bernard McGinn and now Niklaus Largier, who have seen in the fourteenth century a flowering of mystical theology, reaching full bloom in Meister Eckhart (d. 1328); and Zénon Kaluza and Paul Vignaux, who have offered an alternative to Gilson's dismissal of much late medieval philosophy.[7] Yet the exact position of a schoolman such as Gerson in these studies remains ambiguous. Gerson is widely accepted as the most representative figure of the age, the leading voice at the most important center of theology in Europe, critical for understanding the period;[8] and yet he remains marginalized as a philosophical or theological lightweight, even by some of the scholars I have just mentioned.[9]

There is a trap here if we focus exclusively on the history of ideas, in which Gerson will nearly always appear at best as a popularizer, at worst as a derivative and unoriginal theologian working in the twilight of a better age. I would like to reorient the discussion by turning the focus toward what may be called the "cultural positioning" of the late medieval schoolman, by which I mean his public status, his literary connection to a wider public, and hence his cultural relevance.

To begin, we may recall the place of the university in medieval society. From their earliest history, universities performed what we might call an internal and an external function. On the one hand were the internal school discussions and debates, involving the great efforts to harmonize Aristotle with revealed truth, the organization of legal and theological authorities into systematically arranged collections, and the commentaries on those collections or—in the case of medicine—on the standard collections of Greek medical texts that had reached the Latin West. On the other hand, the university always attracted most of its students because of its external function, supplying talented and literate individuals to society.[10] The fourteenth century witnessed a shift in the balance between these two

[5] William Courtenay, "Nominalism and Late Medieval Religion," in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman, eds. (Leiden, 1974), 26–59; also see his "Late Medieval Nominalism Revisited: 1972–1982," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44 (1983): 159–64. Other important studies include his *Adam Wodeham: An Introduction to His Life and Writings* (Leiden, 1978); and *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J., 1987).

[6] For an overview of recent trends, see Marcia L. Colish, *Remapping Scholasticism* (Toronto, 2000).

[7] Among the many studies of Bernard McGinn, see the latest volume in his ongoing history of Western Christian mysticism, *The Flowering of Mysticism: Men and Women in the New Mysticism—1200–1350* (New York, 1998). Niklaus Largier, *Zeit, Zeitlichkeit, Ewigkeit: Ein Aufriss des Zeitproblems bei Dietrich von Freiberg und Meister Eckhart*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1993); Paul Vignaux, *Philosophie au Moyen Age* (Albeuve, Switzerland, 1987), see 267–76 for a bibliography of Vignaux's scholarship. Zénon Kaluza has produced numerous studies of forgotten individual schoolmen; for a synthesis, see "Bulletin d'histoire des doctrines médiévales: Les XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 79 (1995): 113–59.

[8] Compare the comments of William J. Courtenay, "Spirituality and Late Scholasticism," in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, Jill Raitt, Bernard McGinn, and John Meyendorff, eds. (London, 1987), 117–18. Etienne Delaruelle, E.-R. Labande, and Paul Ourliac treated the fifteenth century as "le siècle de Gerson": *L'Eglise au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire* (Paris, 1962–64), 2: 837–69.

[9] Compare Bernard McGinn, preface to Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson: Early Works* (New York, 1998), xiii; Z. Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris: Nominalistes et réalistes aux confins du XIV^{e} et du XV^{e} siècles* (Bergamo, 1988), 60–61, 124.

[10] Alan B. Cobban, "Reflections on the Role of the Medieval Universities in Contemporary

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functions, reflected in the appearance of a new literary form that is the focus of this article.[11] While learned discussions of course continued, the greater perceived need was now the application of this learning to a larger world. Implied here was a certain assumption, clearly detectable in Gerson, a belief that the major works of thirteenth-century theology had achieved a kind of canonical status; and this assumption invited a turn outward toward application. This is the context for understanding the great explosion of university foundations—at least forty-six by one count—from 1350 to the end of the fifteenth century.[12] Above all else, these new universities met the growing demand of society for trained, literate professionals.

Gerson is crucial here because he illustrates this changing balance between the internal academic needs of the university and its external or "applied" function. His public status took various forms: chancellor, adviser to kings and princes, maker of popes, renowned international preacher, devotional writer, unquestionably the most recognizable intellectual figure of his age. Far from abandoning the "internal" task of writing, he mastered a new genre that facilitated the application of magisterial learning to topical concerns, religious, political, and social. The "tract" evolved out of the earlier school genres, but it did something they could never really do: it permitted an author to treat a current, popular topic in a form that could be easily distributed to a non-academic audience. Looking to his contemporaries, we see he exemplifies a much larger trend. Most schoolmen of this period had an enlarged public role, and the tract served many as the primary written vehicle in which they distributed and promulgated their opinions. The result was a publishing world far removed from the commentaries and classroom debates of the thirteenth century. The schoolman was now more than ever before a public figure.[13]

Hence my model: the fifteenth-century schoolman as "public intellectual."[14] Conceiving medieval university figures as intellectuals is now a time-honored

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Society," in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward, eds. (London, 1992), 227–41; Jacques Verger, "Le rôle des universités françaises du Moyen Age et de l'Ancien Régime: Utilité sociale et formation professionelle," in *Enseignement et recherches en gestion: Evolution et perspectives (Quatrièmes rencontres, 24 et 25 novembre 1995)* (Toulouse, 1996), 47–56.

[11] On the growing claims of universities to intervene in external affairs, see R. N. Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism* (Cambridge, 1979), 13–19.

[12] Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, eds., 3 vols. (Oxford, 1936), 2: v–ix. This does not include the many college foundations at Oxford and Cambridge. See further Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism*, 11–13.

[13] Recent studies touching on the theme of the growing public presence of late medieval schoolmen include Michael H. Shank, *"Unless You Believe, You Shall Not Understand": Logic, University, and Society in Late Medieval Vienna* (Princeton, N.J., 1988); Maarten Hoenen, "Academics and Intellectual Life in the Low Countries: The University Career of Heymeric de Campo (†1460)," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 61 (1994): 173–209; Hoenen, "Denys the Carthusian and Heymeric de Campo on the Pilgrimages of Children to Mont-Saint-Michel (1458)," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 61 (1994): 387–418; and Serge Lusignan, "Intellectuels et vie politique en France à la fin du Moyen Age," in *Les philosophies morales et politiques au Moyen Age (Actes du IX^{e} Congrès international de Philosophie Médiévale: Ottawa, du 17 au 22 août 1992)*, C. Bazán, E. Andújar, and L. G. Sbrocchi, eds. (New York, 1995), 267–81. More generally, see Jacques Verger, "Les professeurs des universités françaises à la fin du Moyen Age," in *Les universités françaises au moyen âge* (Leiden, 1995), 174–98.

[14] For modern context of discussions about the public intellectual, see the introduction by Helen Small in *The Public Intellectual*, Small, ed. (Oxford, 2002), 1–18.

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practice, going back to Jacques Le Goff's 1955 classic study.[15] University-licensed theologians were in fact members of a guild—the original and enduring meaning of *universitas*—who through their training mastered a set of Latin texts comprising the sum of learning in the Christian West at this period. By the thirteenth century, the *studium* had acquired in some models a typological significance as one of the primary orders of society.[16] Fully conscious of their special status, and despite the fact that their occupation was a historical novelty and furthermore was open to grave abuse, they articulated their roles in exalted terms as the arbiters of Christian doctrine and, at Paris, even as preservers of the kingdom.[17]

They were intellectuals, then, but especially after the outbreak of the Great Schism in 1378 their task acquired a new public dimension. This claim requires deft handling. Since Habermas, the term "public" has acquired a more focused usage through its application to the emergence in Europe of a "public sphere."[18] The appearance of a large reading public, crystallizing in the salons, taverns, and coffeehouses of eighteenth-century Europe and capable of forming "public opinion" as a counterbalance to political authority, has no analog in the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, we certainly can speak of a large public for theologians such as Gerson, and of their desire to reach and inform this public.[19] As a point of reference, we might compare what are commonly regarded as the most popular works of the Middle Ages. Dante's *Commedia*, one of the most popular works of the entire Middle Ages, survives in some six hundred to seven hundred manuscripts. Of the medieval works commonly read in undergraduate courses today, it had no rival in circulation. Boccaccio's *Decameron* survives in around a hundred manuscripts, Froissart's *Chronicles* in over a hundred, *Piers Plowman* in fifty-three. We have eighty manuscripts of *The Canterbury Tales*, just sixteen of *Troilus and Criseyde*. Except for the *Commedia*, none of these works reached the circulation of Gerson's most popular works. His tract on nocturnal emissions survives in at least 160 manuscripts, his *Opus tripartitum*—a work of basic Christian instruction—in more than 200 (Latin and French versions) and was printed twenty-three times in five languages before 1500 (compared to four printings for *The Canterbury Tales* and one for *Troilus*). Longer works, too, such as Gerson's *On the Spiritual Life of the*

[15] The most recent edition in English translation is Jacques Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, Teresa Lavender Fagan, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1993). For further orientation, see Rita Copeland, "Pre-Modern Intellectual Biography," in Small, *Public Intellectual*, 40–61.

[16] Herbert Grundmann, "Sacerdotium—Regnum—Studium: Zur Wertung der Wissenschaft im 13. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 34 (1952): 5–21.

[17] Serge Lusignan, *"Vérité garde le Roy": La construction d'une identité universitaire en France (XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)* (Paris, 1999); Ian P. Wei, "The Self-Image of the Masters of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995): 398–431.

[18] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989). James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2001), 3–15, is extremely helpful for orientation.

[19] On the notion of public opinion (*öffentliche Meinung*) with reference to the late medieval councils, see Jürgen Miethke, "Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentliche Meinung," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37 (1981): 736–73. On the idea of a "public" (*Öffentlichkeit*) in the later Middle Ages, with direct reference to Habermas, see J. Helmrath, "Kommunikation auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien," in *Die Bedeutung der Kommunikation für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Hans Pohl, ed. (Stuttgart, 1989), 158–59.

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Soul and the two treatises *On Mystical Theology* survive in close to one hundred manuscripts, ten others in more than fifty, and forty more in at least twenty.[20] Beyond the indisputable fact of Gerson's great popularity, the lesson here is that whenever we find a work circulating in dozens of manuscripts, we must also talk about some kind of a reading public.[21]

My argument concerning the increased public role of the medieval intellectual has two further components with respect to Gerson, to be developed below. First, we can trace in Gerson a shift in *intended* public, from an internal university audience to a much larger external audience. Second, Gerson did in fact have much success in reaching his public. Manuscripts tell only part of the story. Even with increased literacy and book production in the later Middle Ages, aided by the widespread introduction of paper into continental Europe after 1300 (which greatly reduced one important cost of bookmaking), this was still not a society in which most people could afford books.[22] And Gerson knew this. The challenge for the historian is thus to find evidence of those mediating structures and institutions that Gerson employed to reach his audience.

The key to the entire argument rests on a more fundamental historical shift within the university itself. Changes within the school genres between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries had fundamentally altered the nature of scholarly discourse. I must now turn back to account for this shift. How is it that a schoolman such as Gerson could write over five hundred works, entirely ignoring traditional genres? What had become of them?

WHEN WE THINK OF THE WRITINGS OF THE SCHOOLMEN, we often think of the summa, which seems to go to the heart of the medieval intellectual world, above all the love of classification. The summa, though, like the treatise, was typically intended as an introduction for students and in any case was not very common.[23] To understand the literary realities of the thirteenth century, we must look elsewhere. Most thirteenth-century theologians published in very few genres, the most important of which were the quodlibet, the disputed question, and commentaries on the

[20] These manuscript figures include partial copies. Gerson manuscripts include those listed in the modern edition (P. Glorieux, ed., *Oeuvres complètes*, 10 vols. [Paris, 1960–73]), supplemented by many more that I have identified. For the other authors mentioned, see their modern editions. On the early editions, see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Stuttgart and New York, 1968–), 9: 515–26, 6: 437–42.

[21] On judging "success" based on circulation, see Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980), 248–99; Helmrath, "Kommunikation auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien," 160–66.

[22] Paper mills spread from Spain and Italy in the thirteenth century, and were operating in northern France by the mid-fourteenth century. In northern France, paper was four to eight times cheaper than parchment in the fourteenth century, thirteen to twenty-eight times cheaper in the fifteenth century. Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1983), 31–37. On the introduction of paper, see Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, David Gerard, trans. (London, 1976), 17–18, 29–44; R. I. Burns, "Paper Comes to the West, 800–1400," in *Europäische Technik im Mittelalter 800 bis 1200: Tradition und Innovation*, Uta Lindgren, ed. (Berlin, 1996), 413–22; and R. L. Hills, "Early Italian Papermaking, A Crucial Technical Revolution," in *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro, secc. XIII–XVIII* (Florence, 1992), 73–97 (95–96 on the spread of paper mills).

[23] Compare M.-D. Chenu, *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas* (New York, 1964), 298: "The *Disputed Questions* were the book suited to masters, the *Summa* is the book of the pupil."

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Sentences of Peter Lombard (a systematic arrangement and treatment of the "sentences" or opinions of mainly patristic authorities), the Bible, and the works of Aristotle (technically, a product of the arts faculty). To appreciate the structure of these written genres, we must always remember that each arose out of oral classroom experience. The commentary became the classic scholastic genre, but it took form quite literally from teaching a text and then reducing the oral commentary to writing. The quodlibet was public classroom debate at its finest, restricted to the most experienced, an academic free-for-all in which the master displayed his versatility by allowing questions on any topic his audience might choose. And the disputed question allowed the master to treat, in more thematic fashion, a problem that arose in the course of a class lecture on a text.[24]

A strength of these genres was their flexibility. The *Sentences* commentary encouraged a bachelor of theology to survey the entire field while permitting philosophical speculation and even discussions of physical science.[25] Areas of practical life that traditionally had been overlooked or that had never been brought within the orbit of Christian teaching—warfare or economics, for instance—now found their place in scholarly discussions.[26] Perhaps more surprisingly, fourteenth-century Scriptural commentaries permitted theologians to pursue topics with little connection to the Bible passage.[27] The quodlibet, always popular for treating philosophical issues, was exploited to address more practical questions.[28] The

[24] This evolution from the spoken to the written word is best described by Jürgen Miethke, "Die mittelalterlichen Universitäten und das gesprochene Wort," *Historische Zeitschrift* 251 (1990): 1–44 (here, 13–32). General surveys of these forms include Olga Weijers, *Le maniement du savoir: Pratiques intellectuelles à l'époque des premières universités (XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles)* (Turnhout, 1996); William J. Courtenay, "Programs of Study and Genres of Scholastic Theological Production in the Fourteenth Century," in *Manuels, programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les universités médiévales: Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve (9–11 septembre 1993)*, Jacqueline Hamesse, ed. (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1994), 325–50; Monika Asztalos, "The Faculty of Theology," in *A History of the University in Europe*, Vol. 1: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed. (Cambridge, 1992), 409–41; J. I. Catto, "Theology and Theologians 1220–1320," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. 1: *The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford, 1984), 471–517; Anthony Kenny and Jan Pinborg, "Medieval Philosophical Literature," in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, and J. Pinborg, eds. (Cambridge, 1982), 11–34; and P. Glorieux, "L'enseignement au Moyen Age: Techniques et méthodes en usage à la Faculté de théologie de Paris au XIII^{e} siècle," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 35 (1968): 65–186. Also see Rolf Schönberger, *Was ist Scholastik?* (Hildesheim, 1991), 52–102.

[25] John Emery Murdoch, "From Social into Intellectual Factors: An Aspect of the Unitary Character of Late Medieval Learning," in *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning*, Murdoch and Edith Dudley Sylla, eds. (Dordrecht, 1975), 275–78; Bert Hansen, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature* (Toronto, 1985), 109–13; Konstanty Michalski, "Les sources du criticisme et du scepticisme dans la philosophie du XIV^{e} siècle," in *La philosophie au XIV^{e} siècle: Six études* (Frankfurt, 1969), 37. The new starting point for the *Sentences* commentary is G. R. Evans, ed., *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, Vol. 1: *Current Research* (Leiden, 2002).

[26] Southern, *Foundations*, 45–51. Peter Biller has recently treated scholastic teaching on "avoidance of offspring" and abortion: *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought* (New York, 2000), esp. 57–59 and 166–77 on *Sentences* commentaries, where the subject is treated at book 4, distinction 31. In the same vein is Odd Langholm, *Economics in the Medieval Schools* (Leiden, 1992).

[27] W. J. Courtenay, "The Bible in the Fourteenth Century: Some Observations," *Church History* 54 (1985): 181–82, 187.

[28] J. F. Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions, Chiefly in Theology Faculties," in *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, de droit et de médecine* (Turnhout, 1985), 158 and n. 3, also 221–22. On Henry of Ghent's and Godfrey of Fontaines' quodlibets dealing with economic questions, see Joel Kaye, *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge, 1998), 101–15.

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so-called "second quodlibets" (I–VI) of Thomas Aquinas cover such areas as almsgiving, bigamy, crusades and indulgences, hell, and perjury, and were "known and quoted all over Europe from about 1300," finding their way into numerous pastoral manuals.[29]

A bachelor or master of theology living in the year 1300 would have written most of his works in these genres. Then they began to fall out of favor. The Parisian statutes of 1366 and 1385 still made nice distinctions among the various forms of disputation in all the faculties. But by this point, the disputed question had become a teaching tool that held little interest for theologians.[30] The quodlibet fared no better. Important collections after 1320 are extremely rare, and the genre practically disappeared at Paris.[31] A letter of John XXII on May 8, 1317, complains that masters have been squandering time on idle questions and subtleties, and that as a result the regular order of study has broken down. By 1385, the statutes have caught up to reality: anyone wanting to avoid the required quodlibetal dispute can preach a sermon instead.[32]

The exact stages in this shift are difficult to discern, but this much seems clear: at some point, schoolmen began to use the question as a literary technique, unrelated to classroom setting; the resulting literary production looked increasingly like a *tractatus*.[33] Sometimes, these questions are actually designated as such in the manuscripts.[34] Across the fourteenth century, it becomes ever more difficult to say whether or not a classroom disputation lies behind a given text.[35] The *quaestio*, then, had evolved from an oral to a written form and by the fourteenth century began to appear as a learned, literary treatise. This, it seems, was a critical moment: the written form was severed from oral teaching.[36]

Commentaries on Scripture and on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard developed

[29] Leonard E. Boyle, "The Quodlibets of St. Thomas and Pastoral Care," *The Thomist* 38 (1974): 249, 252. On the quodlibet in general, the basic studies are Palémon Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique de 1260 à 1320*, 2 vols. (Le Saulchoir, Kain, Belgium, 1925–35), to be supplemented by Amédée Teetaert, "La littérature quodlibétique," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 14 (1937): 75–105; Wippel, "Quodlibetal Questions," 153–222, with a valuable annotated bibliography (153–56); and J. F. Wippel, "The Quodlibetal Question as a Distinctive Literary Genre," in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), 67–87.

[30] B. C. Bazán, "Les questions disputées," in *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques*, 43, 46–48, 146–47. Compare J. I. Catto, "Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford 1356–1430," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. 2: *Late Medieval Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), 178–80; and William J. Courtenay, "Parisian Theology, 1362–1377," in *Philosophie und Theologie des Ausgehenden Mittelalters: Marsilius von Inghen und das Denken seiner Zeit*, Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen and Paul J. J. M. Bakker, eds. (Leiden, 2000), 5–7.

[31] Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique*, 1: 57; also Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, 251–52.

[32] Bazán, "Les questions disputées," 48 n. 74.

[33] See here Miethke, "Die mittelalterlichen Universitäten und das gesprochene Wort," 1–44, esp. 30–36.

[34] O. Weijers, *La disputatio à la faculté des Arts de Paris (1200–1350 environ): Esquisse d'une typologie* (Turnhout, 1995), 31–32.

[35] For an example of this problem and its significance, see the controversy surrounding the dating of Nicole Oresme's *Quodlibeta*. Hansen, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature*, 7, 35–40, 43–44, and 46–48, esp. 46 and n. 32. The same problem arises in dating certain of Gerson's "question" treatises. Glorieux dated many of these to his university career, presumably because of their "academic character" (Glorieux often failed to justify the dates he assigned), even though Gerson wrote works in the style after he had left the university. Scholastic genres and scholastic style were entirely "portable," or capable of being used outside the university.

[36] Weijers, *Le maniement du savoir*, 66. Compare Courtenay, "Programs of Study," 338.

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along similar lines.[37] While Courtenay has shown that Scriptural commentary survived through long periods of drought into the fifteenth century, as we shall see with *Sentences* commentaries these works were quite unlike the exegetical productions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[38] The trend was now away from exegesis, toward a focusing of the discussion into individual questions that interested the author. Further, the major production of Scriptural commentaries, like that of *Sentences* commentaries, had by the early fifteenth century shifted to the younger Central European universities, Vienna in particular, as well as Prague and Cracow.[39] Gerson wrote no Scriptural commentaries at all.[40] The modern edition of his works includes lectures on the Gospel of Mark. In reality, these are carefully crafted literary productions that deploy the gospel text as a way to address an important topical subject—whether the Carthusians are justified in their refusal to eat meat, for example (citing Mark 1: 6, "[John] ate locusts and wild honey").[41] Taken together, these "biblical lectures" cover barely a few verses from the first three chapters of Mark. The editor's attempt to credit him with a series of lectures covering all of these chapters over fourteen years (1401–1414) was motivated by a desire to fit his works into received categories of publication for theologians rather than by a strict examination of the evidence.[42]

The pattern is much the same with the *Sentences* commentary, which by the late fourteenth century at Paris was greatly changed from the days of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas.[43] Rather than bother to treat every question of the *Sentences*, theologians began to choose favorites, often the same from commentary to commentary, with the result that any notion of the commentary as an overview of

[37] For what follows on Scriptural commentaries, I have relied on Courtenay, "Bible in the Fourteenth Century," 176–87. Courtenay's is the only study on the subject since Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale* (Paris, 1959–64). Beryl Smalley intended to write but never completed a volume on late medieval Scriptural commentaries (Courtenay, 176).

[38] So Pierre d'Ailly produced exercises on the Psalms and the Song of Songs in the 1370s, but Glorieux notes that the *Expositio super Cantica Canticorum* "n'est point un commentaire, mais simplement une présentation, un résumé du texte." P. Glorieux, "L'oeuvre littéraire de Pierre d'Ailly: Remarques et précisions," *Mélanges de science religieuse* 22 (1965): 67–68; Courtenay, "Bible in the Fourteenth Century," 183.

[39] Courtenay, "Bible in the Fourteenth Century," 187; Berndt Hamm, *Frömmigkeitstheologie am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1982), 179; see also 135 n. 21.

[40] Gerson's *Collectorium super Magnificat*, sometimes called a commentary, is instead a collection of twelve lengthy treatises on a mere ten verses of Scripture, written mostly in dialogue, discussing topics with the slightest possible connection to the literal meaning of the passage. Likewise, scholars have sometimes treated his *Monotessaron* as a commentary, when it is instead a harmony of the Gospels, intended as a kind of handbook for theologians. Thomas More could actually write his *Treatise upon the Passion* in the form of a commentary on the *Monotessaron*. Thomas More, *A Treatise upon the Passion*, Garry E. Haupt, ed., in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 15 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1963–), 13: 50. Another commentary on the *Monotessaron* with numerous illuminations exists in two manuscripts. See Albert Derolez, "L'editio Mercatelliana du Monotessaron de Gerson," in *Hommages à André Boutemy*, Guy Cambier, ed. (Brussels, 1976), 42–54.

[41] See the important discussion in C. Burger, *Aedificatio, Fructus, Utilitas: Johannes Gerson als Professor der Theologie und Kanzler der Universität Paris* (Tübingen, 1986), 35–40, here 35.

[42] "Les 'Lectiones duae super Marcum' de Gerson," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 27 (1960): 347. See also P. Glorieux, "L'enseignement universitaire de Gerson," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 23 (1956): 88–113. Compare Burger, *Aedificatio, Fructus, Utilitas*, 36, and 40, also citing Combes.

[43] For what follows, see P. Glorieux, "*Sentences*," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 14 (1941): 1871–77, esp. 1874–76. Also see Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, 252–55, 327–74; "Programs of Study," 332–33, 340–42; John Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150–1350): An Introduction* (London, 1987), 31–33; and Catto, "Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford," 178–80, 255–56.

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theology was lost—a point that Gerson and others lamented.[44] By the second half of the fourteenth century, one question was often the focus of a long essay of ten to twelve folios. The label "*Sentences* commentary" is really no longer appropriate, and might better be replaced with something like "questions on the *Sentences*."[45] These questions could take the form of small treatises on given subjects, meant to stretch over several weeks of a class. Such was the case with Pierre Plaoust, who organized his lectures (1392–1393) under seven headings, with titles such as *On the Enjoyment of God*, *On the Trinity*, and *On Predestination*.[46] The chance survival of a student's notebook shows how a bachelor could lecture on subjects that interested him yet still fulfill the university requirement to treat all four books of the *Sentences*. At the end of each lecture, Plaoust simply took up the book of Lombard that he was supposed to be teaching and summarized its essential points as "conclusions," which thus stood in for the entire distinction.[47] On January 22, the student's alacrity in copying these down provoked the smiles of two masters—an incident I take to mean that they supposed he was being overzealous, since it was just as easy to consult the standard commentaries.[48] The notebook even provides dates that show how Plaoust managed to cover all of Lombard in a single year.[49] This was now what it meant to "read" the *Sentences*: choose interesting themes, never tarry long, and fulfill the obligation to survey all four books through token review sessions.[50] In some cases, theologians did not even go this far but simply cobbled together a commentary from the barely digested quotations of earlier authorities, or even read directly from other commentaries, as if loathe to waste energy on such a worn exercise.[51] Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the late fourteenth century saw a decline in the publishing of *Sentences* commentaries at Paris.[52]

[44] See, for example, in the letter to Pierre d'Ailly, *Dum mentis aciem*, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 27–28.

[45] The suggestion of Katherine Tachau, cited in Courtenay, "Programs of Study," 340–42.

[46] P. Glorieux, "L'année universitaire 1392–1393 à la Sorbonne à travers les notes d'un étudiant," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 19 (1939): 461–62.

[47] Glorieux, "L'année universitaire 1392–1393," 463–64.

[48] Glorieux, "L'année universitaire 1392–1393," 443.

[49] He began book 1 on October 11, book 2 on December 30, book 3 on March 27, and book 4 on May 20 (P. Glorieux, "L'année universitaire 1392–1393," 465–66).

[50] Questions and commentaries appear nearly indistinguishable by 1400, a point made by Catto, "Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford," 178. The same development can be detected in the arts faculty with commentaries on Aristotle, which evolved from comments on the literal text to more amplified *quaestiones* and *conclusiones* to independent treatises (in the faculty of arts at Oxford) that blended natural philosophy, logic, and mathematics. Miethke, "Die mittelalterlichen Universitäten und das gesprochene Wort," 35 and n. 74; Charles H. Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," *Traditio* 23 (1967): 313; and on the Oxford independent treatises, J. M. M. H. Thijssen, "Late-Medieval Natural Philosophy: Some Recent Trends in Scholarship," *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 67 (2000): 175.

[51] A practice termed *lectura secundum alium* ("lecture according to another") by modern scholars. A useful overview incorporating new research is Paul J. J. M. Bakker and Chris Schabel, "*Sentences* Commentaries of the Later Fourteenth Century," in *Mediaeval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, Vol. 1: *Current Research*, 438–61. See further D. Trapp, "Augustinian Theology of the Fourteenth Century," *Augustiniana* 6 (1956): 242–55; Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, 364; "Programs of Study," 347–49; Zénon Kaluza, "Etienne Gaudet devant le problème de la preuve en théologie," in *Preuve et raisons à l'Université de Paris: Logique, ontologie et théologie au XIV^e siècle*, Kaluza and P. Vignaux, eds. (Paris, 1984), 242–43; and Kent Emery, Jr., "The *Sentences* Abbreviation of Wm. de Rothwell O.P. University of Pennsylvania, Lat. MS. 32," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 51 (1984): 69–135.

[52] While the genre survived elsewhere, this does not mean that it was being used for what we would call serious "research." Bakker and Schabel state ("*Sentences* Commentaries of the Later Fourteenth

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There are already signs of a trend toward the commentary as an academic exercise, requiring little of what we might call original research (probably not unlike our modern lectures on "Western civilization"), as early as the 1350s at Paris, when bachelors were permitted to read the *Sentences* during summer vacation.[53] The circulated *Sentences* commentary in England, already out of fashion by the 1350s, virtually disappeared for the rest of the century.[54] The genre lasted longer at Paris, yet there, too, production steadily declined from 1360 to the end of the century, and, as in England, many of these commentaries survive in few manuscripts.[55] Gerson's modern editor credited him with a published *Sentences* commentary, but we have no evidence at all that Gerson ever prepared such a work for publication.[56] After 1400, the *Sentences* commentary seems to have survived only as a formality for most students, who (like Gerson) were merely fulfilling the requirements and did not even pretend to compose a commentary for circulation or to treat all of the *Sentences*.[57] By 1423 at the latest, instead of devoting a year solely to reading the

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Century," 462) that early fifteenth-century *Sentences* commentaries at Vienna are often virtually identical.

[53] H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–97), 3: 14–15 (nos. 1206–08), 17–18 (no. 1212). For earlier practice, see 2: 691–95 (no. 1188), and Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, 49–51; cited by Katherine Tachau, "French Theology in the Mid-Fourteenth Century," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 51 (1984): 56. Compare Glorieux, "*Sentences*," 1876. On bachelor lectures on the Bible during a summer vacation at Oxford, see Courtenay, "Bible in the Fourteenth Century," 181 and n. 15.

[54] On low survival rates for scholastic works written in England, see Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, 360. After 1360, although bachelors still lectured on Lombard's *Sentences*, the commentary as a circulated text virtually disappeared. Catto sees Thomas Claxton's *Sentences* commentary of 1409 as perhaps a conscious attempt at a revival of the form. "Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford," 178–79.

[55] For Paris, Stegmüller's *Repertorium* lists seven different commentaries from the 1360s, four from the 1370s, two from the 1380s, and one from the 1390s. This is probably not just the accident of survival, since we can assume that the survival rate for manuscripts in general increases through the end of the Middle Ages. On England, see Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, 360. At least five Parisian masters wrote *Sentences* commentaries during the period 1350–1380 that are known to have once existed but are now lost. These are Nicole Oresme (except perhaps for one question, before 1356), Guillaume de Salvarvilla (before 1362), Etienne Gaudet (1361–62), Bonsemblans Badoer (1362–63), and Gilles Deschamps (1377–78). On Oresme, see Hansen, *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature*, 109–10; on Guillaume de Salvarvilla, see Zénon Kaluza, "Guillaume de Salvarville," in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age* (Paris, 1994), 645–46; on Etienne Gaudet, see Kaluza, "Etienne Gaudet devant le problème de la preuve en théologie," 231–33. His four *principia* and a part of the prologue to the commentary survive. See also on Gaudet, Nathalie Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre de sa fondation (1305) au début du XV^e siècle (1418): Histoire de l'institution, de sa vie intellectuelle et de son recrutement* (Paris, 1997), 638–39. On Bonsemblans, see Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham*, 143 n. 73; and on Gilles Deschamps (Aegidius de Campis), see Murdoch, "From Social into Intellectual Factors," 279 and 315–16 nn. 27 and 29.

[56] *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: ix. André Combes had earlier argued that Gerson's *Sentences* commentary survived in a Paris manuscript: "Etudes gersoniennes: II; Note sur les 'Sententiae Magistri Joannis Gerson' du manuscrit B.N. lat. 15.156," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 12 (1939): 365–87. Glorieux refuted the claim—the *principia* and commentary probably belong to one Jean Régis, who read in 1369–1370—but accepted Combes's contention that Gerson had produced a formal commentary. P. Glorieux, "Le commentaire sur les Sentences attribué à Jean Gerson," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 18 (1951): 128–39. Compare Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars*, 360 n. 11. From 1422, the first year for which we have lists of sententiary lecturers, the records show that large numbers of bachelors in theology were lecturing on the *Sentences* every year, but almost none of these survive as written commentaries. According to the logic used for Gerson, we should be crediting each of these individuals with a lost *Sentences* commentary. For two examples, see Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4: 419–20, 436 (nos. 2217–18, 2244–45).

[57] The pattern of limited circulation holds for those few that were published. Jacques Legrand's *Sentences* commentary (c. 1401) survives in only one manuscript, Gilles Charlier's in three (one

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Sentences, every bachelor of theology was combining the requirement with the second of the two required biblical lectures, which were themselves originally supposed to take two years (one year each for a book of the Old and New Testaments).[58] One Martin Berech efficiently managed to do all three—two biblical lectures and the *Sentences*—in a single year.[59]

The *Sentences* commentary did remain available as a publishing vehicle.[60] But Pierre Plaoust's lectures, organized around favorite themes and taking the full plan of Lombard's *Sentences* largely for granted, is certainly a much better indication of what most bachelors of theology were doing.

THE SITUATION AS I HAVE OUTLINED IT STANDS THUS: by the late fourteenth century, the earlier genres were often disappearing, or were at least far different from what they had been a century earlier, particularly at the English universities and at Paris. The interests of masters were changing as well. Just as the old days of the piece (*pecia*) system of copying—always concerned primarily with texts connected to classroom teaching—were forgotten after about 1350, so the attractive new topics for publication were not expositions of doctrine or commentaries but issues on the margins of the university's traditional domain.[61]

This is the context that may help us understand the rise of what I have called the tract, as the most important genre to appear in this later period. We may define it as a treatment of a single moral case with some connection to the world outside the

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complete). Thomas Kaeppelli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1970–93), 2: 395–96; E. Beltrán, "Jacques Legrand, O.E.S.A.: Sa vie et son oeuvre," *Augustiniana* 24 (1974): 409–10; P. V. Doucet, "Magister Aegidius Carlerii (†1472) eiusque quaestio de Immaculata Conceptione B. Mariae Virginis," *Antonianum* 5 (1930): 412–13.

[58] Glorieux, "L'enseignement au Moyen Age," 95, 115; Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4: 419–20, 436 (nos. 2217–18, 2244–45). At Paris, each bachelor was required to lecture on two books of the Bible before lecturing on the *Sentences*. These lectures were called the first and second *cursus*. Here, too, the trend was toward easing the restrictions. The statutes of 1387 allowed a bachelor to substitute an ordinary lecture or a disputation at the Sorbonne during the summer (sometimes called a "Sorbonic lecture") for a *cursus* (Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 3: 441–42 [no. 1534]). On the Sorbonic lecture, see Glorieux, "L'enseignement au Moyen Age," 134–36; Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 1: 479–80.

[59] Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, 4: 499 (nos. 2349–50). The low survival rate for scholastic works in the older genres is apparent everywhere in France, a tendency that Courtenay has found in late fourteenth-century England as well, and this at a time when manuscript production in general was increasing dramatically. Courtenay, "Parisian Theology, 1362–1377," 13–14 and nn. 33–35. Gerson's early school exercises were all lost during his lifetime (*Oeuvres complètes*, 1: 29).

[60] Important fifteenth-century *Sentences* commentaries include those of Jean Capreolus, Denys the Carthusian, and Gabriel Bale. See further on the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries H. Elie, "Quelques maîtres de l'Université de Paris vers l'an 1500," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 25–26 (1950–51): 193–243.

[61] The existence of a "*pecia* system" for copying scholastic texts was only discovered in the twentieth century. It involved an official university stationer who corrected copies of scholastic textbooks for rent and further copying. On the *pecia* system's abrupt halt in the middle of the fourteenth century, see Mary A. and Richard H. Rouse, "The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250–ca. 1350," in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1991), 318. Guy Fink-Errera connects the disappearance of the *pecia* system to a shift in teaching methods and the growing abundance of paper: "Une institution du monde médiéval, la *pecia*," *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 60 (1962): 231–32. See also J. N. Hillgarth, *Who Read Thomas Aquinas?* (Toronto, 1992), 6.

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university in a form brief enough to be easily distributed.[62] Though never explicitly recognized as such, this genre was in fact an important component in the production of almost every major fifteenth-century theologian. Just as the commentary served the needs of an earlier generation, so the tract became the way to respond to new cases that arose across a wide spectrum of issues. The Table offers a sampling of common topics, clearly identifiable by title, addressed by theologians and by canon lawyers in tracts or treatises between roughly 1350 and 1475.[63] I have included canon lawyers to show that these discussions went beyond a single faculty. Whatever the degree or faculty status of these authors, they addressed these common problems from their roles as teacher, adviser, or lawyer. Like the change in genre, this, too, was a marked change from the thirteenth century. The emergence of this broader public space was fundamental in defining the late medieval intellectual world.

All the explosive issues of the day—the Hussite and Wycliffite heresies, contract law and usury, simony, superstition and magic—these and many others were now being treated primarily in tracts. The tract possessed clear advantages. Earlier genres, especially commentaries, tended to imprison the topic of discussion within a predetermined structure and had thus always been severely limited in their ability to reach non-university audiences.[64] Thirteenth-century scholastic works were indeed never translated into French in the Middle Ages; surely, their authors never supposed that they would be.[65] The tract was closer to the disputed question but was even more accessible and likely to be read outside the schools. One key reason for this, it seems, and one of its greatest advantages over earlier genres, was that the tract advertised its topic in the title. Here was a reader-friendly genre defined *by its subject matter*. Finally, the fact that the genre had no necessary connection to teaching meant that schoolmen could use the tract as a kind of "rapid-response" opinion piece, not unlike our editorial. It could be produced "on the fly" (*in transcursu*), then quickly copied and circulated.[66] A startling example is Gerson's tract on Joan of Arc, written on May 14, 1429, just six days after her great victory at Orléans, barely enough time for the news to reach him at Lyons. Long desiring the recovery of France, no doubt Gerson had considered Joan's claim for some time, and her astonishing victory provided him with an opportunity to distribute his opinion.[67]

[62] My definition recalls the tract as understood in early modern English usage: "a short pamphlet on some religious, political, or other topic, suitable for distribution or for purposes of propaganda" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d edn., s.v. "tract," I.3.a). Compare the discussion of "Schreitschriftenliteratur" during the Schism in Miethke, "Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentliche Meinung," 741–42.

[63] See the Appendix for this table and a discussion of its sources.

[64] On the readership of one very important scholastic author, see Hillgarth, *Who Read Thomas Aquinas?* It is true that, in their traditional role as preachers, university masters could address some of these same topics in sermons. But this genre was of course open to many. The tract on the other hand became the primary form used by university masters to address these topics.

[65] François Berier, "La traduction en français," in *La littérature française aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles* (Heidelberg, 1988), 225; Hillgarth, *Who Read Thomas Aquinas?* 30–31.

[66] For uses of the phrase *in transcursu*, see *Oeuvres complètes*, 6: 105, 165; 9: 471; 10: 51. Compare *haec sub brevitate* (10: 43), *cursim* (9: 473), and (on reading) *in transitu raptim* (2: 33). Note also the acknowledged shift in function of such works, written "more to investigate than to determine" (5: 384, 6: 250), and "more to remind than to teach" (10: 51).

[67] On Gerson and French recovery, see for instance his letter written around 1424 to the tutor and physician of Charles VII; *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 250. The future Charles VII granted Gerson 200 pounds

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Besides the wide range of issues covered in tracts, the Table illustrates Gerson's complete adoption of the form. More than anyone else, Gerson established this genre as the basic publishing vehicle for theologians. Of course, he did not invent the form. Rather, he took a preexisting genre, streamlined it, and published in it so often and so successfully (judging by manuscript distribution) that it soon became a kind of default genre for many theologians, some clearly by direct imitation. It is no exaggeration to say that Gerson put his stamp of ownership on it in a way that has never been fully appreciated. In fact, the Table cannot do justice to how completely he appropriated the form. Training of children, scribal work, the *Roman de la Rose*, assassination—he addressed these and numerous other subjects in tracts, all-told producing a mountain of literature that still has not been completely sorted out and analyzed. It is the principal reason why historians have been unable to reckon fully with him, this endless stream of tracts on disconnected topics. He used the form to pronounce on all the important issues of the day and to link his name inseparably to the great controversies of the age. If any previous university theologian had such wide interests, none had tried so consciously to reach an extra-university audience, none had employed the tract, sometimes in the vernacular, to address these issues, and none had been so successful.

Historically, then, the tract effectively symbolizes the nature of theology in this age, the evolution away from system-building at a time when scholarly reputations were no longer founded on large commentaries. It simply served the needs of late medieval theologians better than the commentary. The historical implications go further. At some level, this shift away from earlier forms also implied changing attitudes toward the past. Some, like Gerson, seem to have sensed that the production of large commentaries and summas was no longer necessary. Gerson, when he was not citing his own works, recommended a fairly consistent canon of thirteenth-century texts and authors, figured as "the great luminaries of the world."[68] The appearance of the tract thus coincided with a reorientation toward the past whereby the thirteenth century first rose to prominence as the great age of classification.[69] Gerson himself sensed that he was living at some distance in time

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in 1419 for "great services longtime made" and to compensate him for losses suffered (*Oeuvres complètes*, 10: 553). The date of the work has sometimes been contested but is in fact completely reliable. My study and new edition of the tract discusses this issue further: "Determining Authenticity in Late-Medieval Treatises: Two Treatises on Joan of Arc Attributed to Jean Gerson" (in preparation).

[68] These include the *Sentences* commentaries of Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and Durandus of Saint-Pourçain; the quodlibets of Henry of Ghent; the summas of Alexander of Hales (attributed), Thomas Aquinas, and William of Auxerre; various treatises of William of Auvergne; and Nicholas of Lyra's postil on Scripture. Among other passages, see *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 33–34, 277–80; 9: 246–47; 10: 256. On Gerson's possible role in the popularity of the *Secunda secundae* for the fifteenth century, see Hillgarth, *Who Read Thomas Aquinas?* 5.

[69] Key passages in Gerson here include *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 33–34, 98. See also the prologue to the *Monotessaron*, probably written by Jean the Celestine; *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 246. For Gerson, this view of the thirteenth century took shape as part of his reaction against the perceived abuses of more recent authors. Besides the passages above, see *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 277, 8: 364, 9: 465; and Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*, 44–45, 72 n. 34, 124. Jean de Maisonneuve and Denys the Carthusian adopted a similar dismissive attitude toward the fourteenth century as a kind of unfortunate intermediate period, quite possibly through Gerson's influence. On Maisonneuve, see Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris*, 92–106, 124; and on Denys, Kent Emery, Jr., "Denys the Carthusian and the Doxography of Scholastic Theology," in *Ad litteram: Authoritative Texts and Their Medieval Readers*, Mark Jordan and Kent Emery, Jr., eds. (Notre Dame, Ind., 1992), 334.

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from the thirteenth-century masters, who—he expressly states—wrote differently, proceeding by questions and arguments, producing works remarkable for their organization. In practice, the earlier *Sentences* commentaries and summas were now being assumed, some few of them serving as "classics." The task at hand was to apply magisterial learning to the real world, sometimes to completely new occasions; to meet "new diseases" with "new cures," as Gerson's brother Jean the Celestine put it in a forceful defense of Gerson's "new writings."[70]

THUS FAR, I HAVE ARGUED THAT THE TRACT was the central and even the defining genre in the works of fifteenth-century schoolmen, and that this was a fundamental change from the earlier period. Foundational genres such as the commentary and the disputed question, while still present, were now largely serving different purposes. I must now meet with a possible objection: that what I have called the "tract" was no different from earlier school treatises. In fact, earlier university masters did occasionally write systematic expositions of doctrine focused on a single subject, often labeled *tractatus* as well. For convenience's sake, I will call these "systematic treatises." The systematic treatise was an overview of a single subject, like a summa in that it was designed for beginners as an introduction to a discipline—a kind of expository manual such as Thomas Aquinas's *On Being and Essence*, probably the first work that Aquinas wrote.[71] Such a work was nearly incomprehensible outside a university. By contrast, the tract was a further step in the development of the independent question (the question format is often retained), now at last free from its immediate classroom origins and functioning as an independent form. The key distinction here is that the tract addressed or at least drew from a *specific case*, while the systematic treatise provided an impersonal overview of a subject. In theory, we can imagine these categories in direct opposition. In practice, the tract often took on features of the systematic treatise. Gerson wrote his tract on contracts in response to a case submitted to him by the prior and abbey of the Carthusian mother house. In the first section, he listed twenty general "considerations"; in the second, he dealt with the case.[72] So, too, in an effort to produce a systematic treatise, an author might take a specific case and strip it as best he could of details.[73]

We could wish that schoolmen and scribes would have found another term for my genre of "tract." Many did just that without reaching a consensus. By far the most common designation is *tractatus*, often *tractatulus*, emphasizing brevity, but there were a host of others.[74] Often, the same text receives different designations

[70] *Oeuvres complètes*, 10: 558. Compare *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 425.

[71] Kenny and Pinborg, "Medieval Philosophical Literature," 33; M. de Wulf, *Scholasticism Old and New*, P. Coffey, trans. (London, 1910), 25. For Aquinas's *De ente et essentia*, see *Opera Omnia* (Rome, 1976), 43: 370–81; Chenu, *Toward Understanding Saint Thomas*, 330–32.

[72] *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 385–421.

[73] Compare D. P. Lockwood, *Ugo Benzi: Medieval Philosopher and Physician, 1376–1439* (Chicago, 1951), 79: "The consilium . . . becomes an embryonic treatise when the individual patient is eliminated . . . By expansion, this may then become a monograph on a disease, treating its causes, nature, symptoms, and therapy."

[74] Such as: *avisamentum*, *defensio*, *determinatio*, *disputatio*, *exhortatio*, *invectiva*, *opusculum*, *propositio*, *quaestio*, *regulae*, *responsio*, and *scriptum*.

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in different manuscripts. Sometimes, these works have no technical designation at all, as in works "On Simony" (*De simonia*), "Against the Jews" (*Contra Judaeos*), "In Support of Clerical Celibacy" (*Pro coelibatu ecclesiasticorum*), and "On the Mission of the Maiden" (that is, Joan of Arc, *Super facto puellae*). The great variety of terminology suggests an implicit awareness that there was no recognized formal category for these works.

To illustrate the structure of a tract, we turn back again to Gerson's treatment of Joan of Arc, *On the Mission of the Maiden and the Trust That Should Be Placed in Her*.[75] Structurally, it bears signs of hasty composition.[76] While its organization sometimes echoes formal school models, Gerson clearly does not feel hemmed in. He begins with three assumptions, adds three further "conditions," then relaxes into a much more discursive style before presenting his conclusion, that it is legitimate to support the maiden, whom Gerson never mentions by name. He then elaborates further in support of his conclusion, attacking those who speak slightingly of Joan, and adducing further circumstances and biblical examples in her favor. The tract continues in this fashion over four edited pages. Never once does Gerson resort to that hallmark of the scholastic method, the presentation of arguments for and against (*pro et contra*). Manuscripts of the work show that he did here what he did elsewhere. He completed the tract and then, intent on molding public opinion, added a short section in defense of Joan's male clothing. It is the first defense of Joan on this issue.[77]

Stepping back to take a broader view, we can see a parallel development in the faculties of law and medicine, where the period after 1350 witnessed the spectacular growth of perhaps the most characteristic genre of the age: the *consilium*, essentially a lawyer's advisory brief on a specific case, or a physician's report that prescribed treatment "for an individual patient on a specific occasion."[78] In all instances, the *consilium* addressed a specific case rather than providing a systematic discussion of an abstract or theoretical topic.[79] Nearly every major late medieval jurist and medical master published in this form.[80] To reach a larger audience, lawyers and medical masters could turn to the tract or treatise. Specific events sometimes encouraged this development. Just as the beginning of the Great Schism in 1378 accelerated the trend toward shorter, self-contained treatments among theologians, so the Black Death in the second half of the fourteenth century led to

[75] *Super facto puellae et credulitate sibi praestanda*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 661–65. This work has usually been referred to as *De mirabili victoria*, but the manuscripts show that this rubric is a later addition.

[76] So when discussing the circumstances of Joan's life as evidence for her authenticity, Gerson passes them by with the remark that "nothing is included about them here" ["De quibus hic nil inseritur"] (*Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 664). Also *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 665: "de quibus non est hic dicendum per singula."

[77] See further below, n. 116.

[78] For the law faculties, see Philippe Godding, *La jurisprudence* (Turnhout, 1973), 28; G. Fransen, "Les questions disputées dans les facultés de droit," in *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques*, 239–40; Paul Ourliac and Henri Gilles, *La période post-classique (1378–1500)* (Paris, 1971), 147–49. A recent collection of essays is Ingrid Baumgärtner, ed., *Consilia im späten Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1995). For the medical faculty, see Lockwood, *Ugo Benzi*, 47; Jole Agrimi and Chiara Crisciani, *Les Consilia médicaux* (Turnhout, 1994), 18 (39–61 on the trend toward the *consilia*).

[79] Agrimi and Crisciani, *Les Consilia médicaux*, 19–21; Lockwood, *Ugo Benzi*, 79–80; and Ourliac and Gilles, *La période post-classique*, 111–14.

[80] Compare Ourliac and Gilles, *La période post-classique*, 132.

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the publication of numerous plague tracts that often ignored the classic authorities and "launched straight into practical advice and procedures."[81] Samuel Cohn has estimated that as many as one thousand of these tracts circulated in Europe between 1348 and 1500.[82] The trend in theology thus appears as part of a general move across the disciplines toward shorter genres that applied the learning of the schools to specific circumstances. The picture we should imagine of the late medieval university is of a dynamic institution whose faculties were increasingly addressing real-world cases, legal, medical, and moral.

A final caution here. Of course, I am not implying that earlier schoolmen never applied theology to the outside world. Not just thirteenth-century schoolmen but twelfth-century masters such as Peter the Chanter and his circle did so. John Baldwin has shown that, unlike their predecessors, the members of this scholarly community showed "intense interest in practical questions," and "not only formulated ethical theorems but attempted to apply them to the infinite variety of human behavior."[83] But the question for us is audience, and the genres that Peter employed—Scriptural commentaries, summas, and a long book on ethics—indicate once again the kind of public he was addressing.[84] Studies such as those of Jürgen Miethke have shown that thirteenth and early fourteenth-century schoolmen were involved in debates on papal power.[85] Here, though, we are still in the ecclesiastical world, involved in an internal conversation between churchmen and theologians. However broad the scope of twelfth and thirteenth-century learned writings, the fact remains that these were written for a scholarly audience and could only reach non-university audiences through intermediaries. Even when Peter Olivi (d. 1298) wrote Latin treatises intended for communities of Beguines, he apparently expected others to translate them into the vernacular—and they did.[86] The quodlibet is rightly celebrated for its ability to treat practical topics, but it could never reach a non-university audience as directly as the tract could. Beyond the university, this and the other school genres were only accessible through intermediaries.

WE CAN NOW RETURN TO THE PROBLEM WE BEGAN WITH: Gerson is everywhere recognized as important. Why? In an age when the commentary seemed downright

[81] Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism*; Serge Lusignan and Gilbert Ouy, "Le bilinguisme latin-français à la fin du Moyen Age," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis (Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies)*, A. Dalzell, C. Fantazzi, and R. J. Schoeck, eds. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991), 157 n. 6; Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* (London and New York, 2002), 67–68.

[82] Cohn, *Black Death Transformed*, 66. Pages 274–79 list the many plague tracts published by Karl Sudhoff from 1910 to 1925 in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*.

[83] John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1970), 1: xi.

[84] See further Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 1: 58. Such works could still circulate widely. Peter seems to have attempted to reach a wider public with his ethical manual, the *Verbum abbreviatum*, which survives in various versions in eighty-five manuscripts. Baldwin, 1: 15–16, 2: 246–65.

[85] Jürgen Miethke, *De potestate papae: Die päpstliche Amtskompetenz im Widerstreit der politischen Theorie von Thomas von Aquin bis Wilhelm von Ockham* (Tübingen, 2000); and Miethke, "Practical Intentions of Scholasticism: The Example of Political Theory," in *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society*, William J. Courtenay and Miethke, eds. (Leiden, 2000), 211–28, esp. 213–14.

[86] Robert Lerner, "Writing and Resistance among Beguins of Languedoc and Catalonia," in *Heresy and Literacy 1000–1530*, Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds. (Cambridge, 1994), 189–90.

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backward-looking, he represents the coming of a new type, made possible by the shift to the tract: the theologian as controversialist, concerned with issues of public morality, always ready to give his opinion on current popular topics, and eager to reach a large audience. Named university chancellor in 1395, he was the public face of the University of Paris. But he was more. Comparing him to our contemporary public experts, we may think of him as a medieval public intellectual, the licensed expert in moral theology—a field that covered a range of human activity many times broader than the expertise of any modern authority. As chancellor, he held the office necessary to command a large audience, a kind of "bully pulpit" giving him permanent visibility. It gave him the vision to step outside his own faculty and to see developments in others.[87] Court preacher by twenty-five, friend of the nobility, probably the single most important churchman at the Council of Constance, politically identifiable as a Valois supporter against the Anglo-Burgundians and hence in exile from Burgundian-controlled Paris for the last fifteen years of his life, forever moving in exalted circles—Gerson was all this, while still close to "the people," criticizing the political leadership for oppressing them through heavy taxation, ever conscious of the honest poverty from which his parents had raised him up.[88] He was also fortunate in having personal secretaries as well as an admiring younger brother, Jean the Celestine, who became the key figure after Gerson himself in establishing and promoting his reputation and in ensuring the widespread circulation of his works.[89]

I have called Gerson a medieval "public intellectual." Who, then, was his public? Whereas today's public intellectual can address a literate public directly through a variety of media, to reach his audience Gerson preached and wrote in Latin and in French. He addressed his works to parish priests, monks and nuns, hermits and popular preachers, and the increasingly literate laity; and to the powerful, to bishops, popes, nobles, and the royal family.[90] What further sets him apart from his predecessors, he appealed to these audiences not through intermediaries but quite directly. To reach the nonliterate, he preached in parish churches and attempted to shape their world through their social and spiritual advisers and superiors.[91] Just as

[87] This is especially clear from his surviving addresses to the faculties of arts (5: 339–44), canon law (5: 168–79, 218–29, 435–47), and medicine (5: 144–51). His treatise *De erroribus circa artem magicam* (*Oeuvres complètes*, 10: 77–90) is a revision of an address to the medical faculty.

[88] On Gerson preaching, see *Oeuvres complètes*, 1: 108; on the French sermons, see Louis Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français* (Bruges, 1952). On Gerson's connections to nobility, see for example his letter to the duke of Berry (*Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 155–57), and his poem to Albert V, Archduke of Austria (*Oeuvres complètes*, 4: 169–70). On Gerson's relations with the duke of Burgundy, see E. Vansteenberghe, "Gerson à Bruges," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 31 (1935): 5–52. On taxation, *Oeuvres complètes*, 7*: 650, 1158; 10: 360. On Gerson's personal background, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 3, and see further Gilbert Ouy, *Gerson bilingue: Les deux rédactions, latine et française, de quelques oeuvres du chancelier parisien* (Paris, 1998), xi–xiv, with further references.

[89] The best access to this issue is Gilbert Ouy, "Le Célestin Jean Gerson: Copiste et éditeur de son frère," in *La collaboration dans la production de l'écrit médiéval (Actes du XIII^e Colloque international de Paléographie latine, Weingarten, 22–25 septembre 2000)*, forthcoming. My thanks to Gilbert Ouy for letting me read his article prior to publication.

[90] On the increase of basic literacy in the fifteenth century, see A. Derville, "L'alphabétisation du peuple à la fin du Moyen Age," *Revue du Nord* 66 (1984): 761–72, with other studies cited in Geneviève Hasenohr, "Religious Reading amongst the Laity in France in the Fifteenth Century," in Biller and Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy*, 206 n. 3.

[91] On Gerson's positive attitudes toward the "simple people," specifically their aptitude for mystical theology, see Klaus Schreiner, "Laienfrömmigkeit—Frömmigkeit von Eliten oder Fröm-

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striking is Gerson's self-consciousness of something new happening here, his belief that theologians and other church leaders had thus far either ignored the "simple people" or addressed them "badly" (*male*), without taking care that the message be properly understood. Here as so often, his model was the faculty of medicine. So he tells Pierre d'Ailly in 1400 that, just as the faculty of medicine circulated a tract (*tractatulus*) during the plague, so the faculty of theology should now publish "some tract [*tractatulus*] on the principal points of our religion."[92] His most spectacular success in this regard, judging by distribution (200 manuscripts, as we saw), was his *Opus tripartitum*, a work that Gerson wrote separately both in French and in Latin and that he hoped would ensure universal literacy in the basics of the Christian faith.[93] In a dedicatory letter addressed to "Christendom," Gerson urges that the work be posted in "common places," churches, schools, hospitals, and "places of religion."[94] As elsewhere, Gerson was desperately attempting to reach his audience, in this case an audience the schoolmen had thus far almost entirely ignored.[95]

Gerson was hardly the first to produce tracts of this kind. John Wyclif (d. 1384) in particular initiated something of a pamphlet war toward the end of his career, and soon after 1378 numerous writers wrote about the Schism in short tracts, poems, and longer treatises.[96] But Gerson's proximate models were more likely two Parisian theologians, Henry of Langenstein and Pierre d'Ailly. Gerson knew the writings of both well, particularly those of his "distinguished teacher," Pierre d'Ailly (the phrase is Gerson's, used repeatedly). His references to their works suggest that he imagined them all participating in a similar project with respect to the

migkeit des Volkes?" in *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter*, Klaus Schreiner, ed. (Munich, 1992), 50–51. For another view, see Dyan Elliott, "Seeing Double: John Gerson, the Discernment of Spirits, and Joan of Arc," *AHR* 107 (February 2002): 35. On the churches where Gerson preached, see Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, 62 (the royal church of Saint-Paul), 103 (Saint-Antoine des Champs), 121 (Saint-Jean-en-Grève), 123 (Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois), 148 (Saint-Antoine), and 163 (Saint-Severin).

[92] *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 28; see also 5: 132. It is not clear what specific tract Gerson had in mind, or which outbreak of plague, but probably not the initial outbreak of 1348–1350.

[93] See here Ouy, *Gerson bilingue*, xv–li. Ouy has newly edited both the Latin and the French versions of the work (pp. 2–93). For further manuscripts, see G. A. Brunelli, "Le traité *La science de bien mourir ou médecine de l'âme* de Jean Gerson," *Le moyen âge* 70 (1964): 265–84; and Geneviève Hasenohr, "Aperçu sur la diffusion et la réception, de la littérature de spiritualité en langue française au dernier siècle du Moyen Age," in *Wissensorganisierende und wissensvermittelnde Literatur im Mittelalter*, N. R. Wolf, ed. (Wiesbaden, 1987), 72–73 nn. 58–60. Hasenohr counts forty-two MSS of the *Médecine de l'âme* or *Science de bien mourir*, around thirty of the other two parts.

[94] *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 75.

[95] For precedents, compare Ouy, *Gerson bilingue*, xv; and André Vauchez, "Un réformateur religieux dans la France de Charles VI: Jean de Varennes," in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1998 novembre-decembre)* (Paris, 1998), 1112 n. 6. Nicholas of Cusa seems to have been imitating Gerson when he commissioned a large oaken board containing the Our Father, the Ave, the Apostle's Creed, and the Ten Commandments in Low German. Donald Sullivan, "Cusanus and Pastoral Renewal: The Reform of Popular Religion in the Germanies," in *Nicolas of Cusa on Christ and the Church*, Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki, eds. (Leiden, 1996), 171–72. Gabriel Biel also translated Gerson's *Opus tripartitum* into German. Herbert Kraume, *Die Gerson-Übersetzungen Geilers von Kaysersberg: Studien zur deutschsprachigen Gerson-Rezeption* (Munich, 1980), 49–55.

[96] Catto, "Wyclif and Wycliffism at Oxford," 210; Zénon Kaluza, "Note sur Guillaume de Salvarvilla, auteur de deux poèmes sur le Grande Schisme," *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 19 (1974): 168–71; Swanson, *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism*, 22–44.

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publication of these shorter works.[97] Yet differences remain. Langenstein still seems to be writing within a university context. Subdivided into parts and chapters, his treatises are evidently intended as systematic guides. His popular treatise on contracts was so large (two sections of fifty and thirty-eight chapters) that pieces of it circulated as separate works.[98] On the other hand, Langenstein, too, was sometimes trying to reach non-academic audiences: his treatise on the discretion of spirits seems to have been addressed to monks.[99]

With D'Ailly, we find more similarity to Gerson. Like Langenstein, his works on a single subject tend to be longer and more subdivided than the great majority of Gerson's tracts. Yet the number of topics common to both is telling: sometimes they are treating the very same case. In fact, the exact relationship has yet to be completely worked out, but recent studies suggest that it would be a mistake to assume that Gerson simply imitated his master in the production of these shorter works. D'Ailly was only thirteen years older than Gerson, and the influence worked in both directions, perhaps even more from Gerson to D'Ailly.[100] Even toward the end of his life, D'Ailly copied large portions of two Gerson works for his own *On Ecclesiastical Power* (a borrowing that has been completely overlooked),[101] and he always remained far behind Gerson—though eager to catch up—in his mastery of certain elements identified with humanism, including his Latin style and knowledge of the classics.[102]

Langenstein, D'Ailly, and others such as Wyclif used the tract, but Gerson made it his primary method of publication, mastering its potential for wide circulation and breathing into it his own distinctive style, above all shortening it and eliminating its bulkiness. As few others, he recognized the great advantage for the reading public of a short work defined by its subject matter in the very title, organized under a few convenient points. "I am passing by the proofs," he says in the tract against the Hussites, a perfect motto for his approach.[103] Organizationally, he abandoned the standard rubrics, articles and chapter and book divisions, preferring "considerations," which he saw as ideal organizational devices, easily

[97] See for D'Ailly, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 44, 63–64, 127, 315, 316; 5: 474; and for Langenstein, 6: 114, 124; 9: 181.

[98] Justin Lang, *Die Christologie bei Heinrich von Langenstein* (Freiburg, 1966), 44–45. For a summary of arguments, see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York, 1934–60), 3: 492–502. For access to the works of Langenstein, see Thomas Hohmann, "Initienregister der Werke Heinrichs von Langenstein," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 399–426.

[99] Compare Thomas Hohmann, *Heinrichs von Langenstein "Unterscheidung der Geister": Lateinisch und Deutsch* (Munich, 1977), 39.

[100] Compare Francis Oakley, "Gerson and d'Ailly: An Admonition," *Speculum* 40 (1965): 74–83; Daniel Hobbins, "Beyond the Schools: New Writings and the Social Imagination of Jean Gerson" (PhD dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2002), 265–66. See also Gerson's letter to D'Ailly in 1411 where Gerson gives him spiritual advice, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 105–07. Jean-Patrice Boudet has shown that D'Ailly was born in 1350, not 1351 as generally thought: Boudet, "Un prélat et son équipe de travail à la fin du Moyen Age: Remarques sur l'oeuvre scientifique de Pierre d'Ailly," in *Humanisme et culture géographique à l'époque du Concile de Constance autour de Guillaume Fillastre (Actes du Colloque de l'Université de Reims, 18–19 novembre 1999)*, Didier Marcotte, ed. (Turnhout, 2002), 128–29.

[101] Hobbins, "Beyond the Schools," 365–67.

[102] Bernard Guenée, *Between Church and State: The Lives of Four French Prelates in the Late Middle Ages*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (French edn., 1987; Chicago, 1991), 137–38 with references to the fundamental work of Gilbert Ouy.

[103] *Oeuvres complètes*, 10: 58.

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remembered and clear in meaning.[104] Gerson used the term *consideratio* much as we use it. "Considerations" were simply ideas that occurred to him on a subject. They appear constantly, in tracts, sermons, and letters. In Gerson's mind, the device freed him from the duress of dialectical reasoning and allowed him to write in a more leisured and meditative fashion. Rhetorically, it permitted a more fluid text. Abandoning chapters and articles, he retained some basic textual organization—enough that Erasmus (who otherwise approved of Gerson, alone among schoolmen) criticized him for excessive subdivision.[105]

It all depends on the point of reference. In his own day, Gerson was a pioneer in his departure from scholastic style. The question of Gerson's "humanism" is relevant here because there is very suggestive evidence that Gerson shared with contemporary humanists a common stylistic ideal: clarity (*claritas*), in opposition to "obscurity."[106] He remarks in *Against the Curiosity of Students* (1402), addressing students:

> To despise clear and solid doctrines because they seem insignificant, and to explore those that are more esoteric [*obscuriores*], is a sign of curiosity and original sin, and contrary to penitence and simple belief. In all doctrine, there is no greater virtue than clarity, nor is there any clearer proof of a superior and brilliant mind than clarity of words and writings . . . For every use of language is lovelier and worthier of praise even as it is clearer—unless by chance all taste and correctness have been cast aside, and then it is despised, it lacks energy, and is forgotten.[107]

The opposition between "clear" and "obscure," which might at first seem vague or traditional, is instead a striking restatement of the language of contemporary debates over style. Petrarch himself, whom Gerson had read and imitated in several works, favored obscurity at one point, particularly in allegory, but moved toward clarity over the course of his life.[108] At Avignon, contemporary French humanists debated the relative merits of an "obscure" and of a "clear" style, sometimes in language remarkably similar to Gerson's in this passage.[109] The opposition between the *stilus rhetoricus* and the *stilus obscurus* in Italian letter writing is older still,

[104] On Gerson's use of *considerationes*, see especially *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 332, and 3: 251. Occasionally, he also used "distinctions" and "annotations." On *distinctiones*, which "greatly illumine the understanding and, with no heavy exertion, allure the affections," see *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 276, and the poem *Josephina*, 4: 31–100; on *annotationes*, *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 251.

[105] István Pieter Bejczy, "Erasme explore le moyen âge: Sa lecture de Bernard de Clairvaux et de Jean Gerson," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 93 (1998): 474 n. 72 (see n. 71 for further references).

[106] The question of the origins of early French humanism and of its connection to Italian humanism, Petrarch in particular, is a vast topic with endless bibliography. The best access is now Patrick Gilli, "L'humanisme français au temps du Concile de Constance," in *Humanisme et culture géographique à l'époque du Concile de Constance*, 41–62.

[107] *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 247.

[108] Morris Bishop, *Petrarch and His World* (Bloomington, Ind., 1963), 243. On Gerson's imitation of Petrarch in the "Pastorium carmen" and in several of his dialogues, see Gilbert Ouy, "Gerson, émule de Pétrarque: Le 'Pastorium Carmen,' poème de jeunesse de Gerson, et la renaissance de l'églogue en France à la fin du XIV^{e} siècle," *Romania* 88 (1967): 175–231. Gerson may also have been imitating Petrarch's *Africa* in his epic poem on Saint Joseph, the *Josephina*. See G. M. Roccati, ed., *Josephina*, CD-ROM edition (Paris, 2001), 12–13.

[109] So Gerson: "For every use of language [*oratio*] is more lovely and worthy of praise even as it is clearer." And Giovanni Moccia (b. 1345) in a letter to Laurent de Premierfait: "Every use of language [*oratio*] is typically more beautiful even as it is clearer." Ezio Ornato, "L'umanista Jean Muret ed il suo dialogo 'De contemptu mortis,'" in *Miscellanea di Studi e Ricerche sul Quattrocento francese*, Franco Simone, ed. (Turin, 1967), 286–87 and n. 133. On humanism at Avignon, see Ornato, *Jean Muret et ses*

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stretching back to at least the thirteenth century.[110] By no means empty verbiage, these terms were fundamental to how writers defined themselves in this culture. Gerson took these terms and applied them in new ways, to the writing style of contemporary theologians as he saw it, as well as to their approach to theology.

Whatever this move beyond the schools involved for others, for Gerson it meant rethinking the role of theologians outside the classroom, consciously modifying his approach for nonspecialists. There are few more revealing passages in all of Gerson than toward the close of *On the Two Kinds of Logic*, where he warns that the tendency of modern theologians to ignore differences in audience, and to indulge in logical, metaphysical, and even mathematical terminology in the presence of others such as the law faculties, has given them a reputation as "sophists," "windbags" (*verbosi*), and even *phantastici*, or "imaginative fools."[111] This was what had to be avoided at all costs. We can even sense here a concern over public image and the fear of mockery, the reputation of the theologian outside his own faculty. Not the least of Gerson's fears was that, emerging from the schools, theologians would begin speaking and no one would understand them.

FROM GERSON'S INTENDED PUBLIC and the literary devices used to reach them, let us now return to the question of Gerson's actual audience. This is an enormous topic that can only be sketched in broadest outline here, but it is worth attempting both because of its historical importance and because Gerson scholars have so far almost completely avoided the issue. We know more about Gerson's French-reading audience than about his Latin-reading public. Geneviève Hasenohr has used contemporary references to manuscript owners in wills and lists, as well as indications of ownership in the manuscripts themselves, to draw a picture of the French-reading public of Gerson's day.[112] What we can safely say is that already, by the end of his life, certain of Gerson's French works were achieving the status of devotional classics, joining a very select and much older group of texts. Copies of his works, bound sometimes in expensive illuminated manuscripts, sometimes in much humbler paper manuscripts, found their way into ducal and other lay libraries. We know, for instance, that six copies of Gerson's famous Passion sermon

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amis Nicolas Clamanges et Jean de Montreuil (Geneva, 1969), 256, references s.v. "Humanisme. *Avignonnais*."

[110] Ronald G. Witt, "Medieval Italian Culture and the Origins of Humanism as a Stylistic Ideal," in *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, A. Rabil, Jr., ed., 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1988), 1: 47–48, 67–68 n. 89; and Witt, "Medieval *Ars Dictaminis* and the Beginning of Humanism: A New Construction of the Problem," *Renaissance Quarterly* 35 (1982): 15 n. 34, 16, 16 n. 36.

[111] *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 249. Compare Kaluza, *Les querelles doctrinales*, 39, where Kaluza argues that *phantasticus* for Gerson is loosely equivalent to "Scotist." This link to English logic is certainly in the background of this passage, but Gerson's usage suggests that the term is being applied broadly (unfortunately in his view) to all theologians *by the members of other faculties*, and as a near synonym of the words *sophistae* and *verbosi*. Compare in the *Contra curiositatem studentium*, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 249: "For this reason we theologians are known as *phantastici* [Ob hanc quippe rationem notamur nos theologici esse phantastici]." Gerson expresses the same fear in his letter to Pierre d'Ailly on the reform of teaching; *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 27. And compare usages of *phantasticus* in other contexts: *Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 56, 76, 271, 284; 5: 575; 8: 83, 636; 9: 635.

[112] Hasenohr, "Aperçu sur la diffusion et la réception," 57–90; Hasenohr, "Religious Reading amongst the Laity," 205–21.

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of 1403 (*Ad Deum vadit*) belonged to ecclesiastical owners, while eleven belonged to lay owners. These lay owners spanned a wide social range: the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon and the queen of France, lower-ranking nobles and courtiers, a medical master, and two widows, including Jeanne de Velle, a middle-class widow from Tournai who died in 1434.[113] This general pattern of distribution also holds for Gerson's other popular French works.[114]

We saw earlier that Gerson's Latin works enjoyed wide circulation. But who read them? One can speak in general terms of his audience here as "clerks," allowing the English word to perform a double task. They were clerics (*clerici*) in a strict legal sense, receiving the tonsure and the protection of the church, but they were just as much learned clerks or "bookmen," individuals with some book learning who performed a wide variety of tasks as advisers, lawyers, teachers, chaplains, tutors, and so on.[115] Absent general studies, we will look at the early reception of one work as a suggestive example. For this, we return to Gerson's tract on Joan of Arc.[116] Completed at Lyons on May 14, 1429, within mere weeks the tract had reached Rome, where the Dominican Jean Dupuy copied the work into his continuation of a universal history. The speed with which it circulated is important evidence; Gerson consciously distributed the work immediately upon its completion. Here as elsewhere, it is entirely appropriate to speak of Gerson as "publishing" his works.[117] As early as the fall of that year, the work appears again in pro-English territory at Paris, where it came to the attention of a canon lawyer who attacked it. The work appears yet a third time this same year among supporters of Joan at Bruges. On November 20, the Venetian merchant Pancrazio Giustiniani sent the work from Bruges to his father in Venice, encouraging him to show it to the doge and others who might like to see it. Besides an illustration of how quickly and widely tracts could sometimes circulate, there is a larger lesson here about how readers responded to texts in different ways. Jean Dupuy found the text useful to buttress his claim that Joan of Arc was divinely inspired. The anonymous lawyer

[113] The *Ad Deum vadit* is in *Oeuvres complètes*, 7*: 449–519. The total number of manuscripts here comes from Hasenohr, "Aperçu sur la diffusion et la réception," 90. The owners come from the manuscript catalogues. My thanks to Maureen Boulton for her help with these manuscripts. These figures do not include many manuscripts of the work whose provenance is unknown. For Jeanne de Velle, see Geneviève Hasenohr, "L'essor des bibliothèques privées aux XIV^{e} et XV^{e} siècles," in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, André Vernet, ed. (Paris, 1989), 242.

[114] This includes the *Montaigne de contemplation*, the *A.B.C. des simples gens*, the three works constituting the French *Opus tripartitum*, and the *Mendicité spirituelle*. Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, 7: 16–55, 154–57, 193–206, 393–400, 404–07, 220–80.

[115] A clear discussion of this distinction is Cornelius O'Boyle, *The Art of Medicine: Medical Teaching at the University of Paris, 1250–1400* (Leiden, 1998), 45–46. An excellent illustration of this kind of clerical audience appears at the Council of Constance. See Miethke, "Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentliche Meinung," 746–48.

[116] For sources and further details on what follows, see my article in preparation, "Determining Authenticity in Late-Medieval Treatises: Two Treatises on Joan of Arc Attributed to Jean Gerson."

[117] A work could be written but not circulated, as Gerson states in a letter concerning his *De sacramento altaris* (*Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 291). The most common expression that Gerson used to indicate publication is *editus est* (also the substantive *editio*). Others include *publicatio* (2: 74, 333; 5: 132) and *prodire in publicum* (5: 384; 10: 77). On this issue, see the important study of Pascale Bourgain, "L'édition des manuscrits," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, Vol. 1: *Le livre conquérant: Du Moyen Age au milieu du XVII^{e} siècle*, Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, eds. (Paris, 1982), 49–75, esp. 51 and references in nn. 14 and 23. Also relevant is A. I. Doyle, "Publication by Members of the Religious Orders," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*, Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall, eds. (Cambridge, 1989), 109–23.

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may well have thought that Joan was deluded, but this was hardly an academic dispute; he also sensed the political stakes and saw the need to challenge Gerson's opinion publicly. Pancrazio Giustiniani used the work to inform his father and political authorities in Venice not about Joan—the tract almost certainly would have told them little they did not already know—but about "learned public opinion" concerning Joan, her support by Europe's most important intellectual.

Gerson's own writings provide further clues as to how he circulated his works through intermediaries. On several occasions, he sent letters to Charles "the dauphin" recommending lists of reading and a general plan of instruction.[118] In 1424, he sent various French works to Charles VII through his physician and tutor, Jean Cadart. Well aware of the unlikelihood of the king at twenty-one actually reading the works, he suggested to Cadart that either he or the king's confessor might explain the works aloud to the king.[119] We considered earlier Gerson's seemingly desperate attempt to reach a lay audience with his *Opus tripartitum*, by suggesting that the work be posted in public. Through a surprising reference in a rare incunabulum published at Bruges, we know that the bishop of Thérouanne did in fact post the work "in two large tables" in the choir of his cathedral sometime before his death in 1414, that the tables were still there when the volume was printed at Bruges between 1470 and 1480, and that therefore the public attending the cathedral found themselves confronted by the work for at least half a century.[120]

In his efforts to propagate his works, Gerson of course benefited from his privileged status as chancellor and from personal secretaries who effectively edited his works and ensured their spread, but he also did everything he could to ensure that his works would endure and remain accessible.[121] This task involved sending his works to correspondents who asked for them or directing them to places where they could be found,[122] drawing up lists of his works and constantly referring to them in the course of his writings,[123] publishing individual works in collections,[124] and, less than a year before his death, depositing his complete works with the Celestines of Avignon with instructions that they be kept locked in a specially designated cabinet, yet be available for copying.[125] Gerson relied heavily on the Carthusians and the

[118] J. Verger, "*Ad prefulgidum sapiencie culmen prolem regis inclitam provehere*: L'initiation des dauphins de France à la sagesse politique selon Jean Gerson," in *Penser le pouvoir au Moyen Age (VIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle): Etudes d'histoire et de littérature offertes à Françoise Autrand* (Paris, 2000), 427–40.

[119] *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 250.

[120] See here E. Vansteenberghe, "Le Doctrinal de Gerson à la cathédrale de Thérouanne," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie* 15 (1924): 467–74; and Ouy, *Gerson bilingue*, xvii–xviii.

[121] On the secretaries, see Ouy, "Le Célestin Jean Gerson"; and Danièle Calvot and Gilbert Ouy, *L'oeuvre de Gerson à Saint-Victor de Paris* (Paris, 1990), 25–28.

[122] Gerson referred Jean Bassand, the provincial of the Celestines, to Orléans or Ambert for copies of *De passionibus animae* and *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis* (*Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 333). Gerson knew that a copy of one of his letters to the dauphin's tutor (*Claro eruditori*) was held by the Celestines of Vitry-le-François (*Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 336). Gerson said that he shared his *Dialogus de perfectione cordis* with the Celestines, presumably the house at Lyons (*Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 295).

[123] A table of these cross-references, though far from complete, is in *Oeuvres complètes*, 1: 34–38.

[124] The *Collectorium super Magnificat* and the so-called *Collectorium septem sportarum*. On the latter, see *Oeuvres complètes*, 1: 27; 2: 314; 8: 163, 579. Compare 8: vii–viii.

[125] It has long been known that Gerson intended to deposit his works with the Celestines of Avignon (*Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 334). An overlooked reference proves that Gerson did leave at least some of his works with them. This is in the list of Jacques de Cerisy, addressed to Oswald of La Grande Chartreuse, where in April 1429 Jacques directs the Celestines of Avignon to lend their copies of Gerson's works to the Carthusians. *Oeuvres complètes*, 1: 28.

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Celestines, not just to preserve his works but to make them available for others; he also counted on those to whom he sent works to distribute them. Like many others, he seized upon the great gathering of intellectuals from all over Europe at the Council of Constance to correct earlier works for distribution and to publish many new ones, some of which he publicly pronounced to give them wider circulation.[126] The Councils of Constance and Basel became clearinghouses for texts of all kinds, old and new, and Gerson benefited as much as anyone. The full story of Gerson's success as a publicist has yet to be told, and we must be careful not to overstate what was possible in the fifteenth century. The greatest gains in literacy were still to come. Printing made possible the multiplication of works beyond anything scribal culture could muster. But the problem thus far has been that this success has been ignored rather than overstated. The public for intellectuals was growing; it was a public that in turn advised, preached, wrote, and informed the rest of society. And, more effectively than any previous schoolman, Gerson reached this public.

BESIDES THE WIDE CIRCULATION of Gerson's writings, a constant backdrop to this study has been their vast scope and variety. The challenge now is to give some sense of the logic behind the literary corpus of Gerson. How did theologians imagine their task in this new, "post-commentary" world? Stated in the broadest terms, the issue here is the problem of literary creativity in a culture that prized not originality but adherence to accepted authorities and timeless wisdom. It was a commonplace of learned discussions that "everything necessary has already been written." Yet even while repeating this wisdom almost as a reflex, Gerson carefully carved out space for new writings. He is witness to a tension between the desire to be seen as repeating old authors while at the same time producing something new. If it is true that "cultural belatedness is never acceptable to a major writer," then a clearer case of what has been called the "anxiety of influence" would be hard to imagine.[127] Here as elsewhere, Gerson positioned himself in opposition to canon lawyers. The basic vice of those debating in the public forum, he writes in his tract against the Hussites, is the stale repetition of old authors, a procedure he associated especially with the canonists and their tyrannical citations. Heedless of living authorities, they exalt dead commentators to the skies:

> And so those who consider matters with care marvel exceedingly when they see that the minute some doctor has produced a single lecture, composition, or gloss upon the *Decretals* or the *Decretum*,[128] and has put it in writing, the gloss or lecture is so revered that it is cited in due form in the schools and in the courts. And if that doctor were living, he would not

[126] Originally, Gerson probably wished to circulate his epic poem, the *Josephina*, at the council, but apparently he failed to do so. Roccati, *Josephina*, 20. Works corrected at Constance include *De visitatione praelatorum et de cura curatorum* (1408) in 1415 (Cologne, Hist. Archiv, Hs. GB fo 94 [fol. 74v]; and Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. M II 99 [unfoliated]), and probably *De auferibilitate sponsi ab Ecclesia* (1409). On the *pronuntiatio*, see Miethke, "Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentliche Meinung," 753–55; and G. Fink-Errera, "Une institution du monde médiéval, la *pecia*," *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 60 (1962): 232–35. More generally on the Councils of Constance and Basel as "book markets," see Miethke, "Die Konzilien als Forum der öffentliche Meinung," 736–73; and Helmrath, "Kommunikation auf den spätmittelalterlichen Konzilien," 116–72.

[127] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, 2d edn. (New York, 1997), xxv.

[128] The *Decretum* was the standard university textbook on canon law, compiled by Gratian in the

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compare to many thousands now alive. And even if an entire university, for example, which has doctors of the highest skill in every faculty, were to pronounce or make a determination upon one exposition of a single passage of Holy Scripture, the *Decretum*, or the *Decretals*, a proof of this kind would scarcely be credited or received—as if a dead writing has more authority than living words. And if anyone objects that the judgment of the living is compromised because of the corruption of the will, then why can't we likewise assume that the dead were subject to passions that clouded their judgment when they were alive?[129]

Gerson used similar language in his tract *On Contracts*, a topic that, like simony, brought theologians and canon lawyers into direct conflict. The living, licensed theologian, he says there, has even more right to be heard in the public forum than the dead because he can attend to the circumstances of each case.[130] Historically, these passages communicate well his frustration: whenever he confronted a jurist, he found himself under assault with citations to the commentaries on canon law.

On issue after issue, Gerson found himself challenged by canon lawyers.[131] As we saw with his tract on Joan of Arc, over half the surviving manuscripts add the rebuttal of the anonymous canon lawyer.[132] *On Contracts* bears even more traces of confrontation. After composing the work, Gerson discovered a diatribe against usurers written by a canonist in Catalonia (whose identity remains uncertain). So he added a section attacking this work. In 1429, this exchange came to the attention of the well-known canonist Johannes of Imola at the University of Bologna. After examining the matter *pro et contra*, he agreed with the Catalonian master, while acknowledging the justice of Gerson's position: these contracts were illicit but not usurious.[133] Such debates illustrate the world theologians were entering. They were

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1140s. The *Decretals* were the papal decisions added to canon law and published under Gregory IX in 1234.

[129] *Oeuvres complètes*, 10: 58–59. See further, 10: 67; also 5: 430–31.

[130] *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 420.

[131] Besides the following examples, Gerson debated with canon lawyers about excommunication and clerical celibacy. He frequently cites excessive excommunication as an abuse of positive law. See among numerous references his address in 1408 to the licentiates in canon law; *Oeuvres complètes*, 5: 439. On the exchange between Gerson and the canon lawyer Guillaume Saignet on clerical celibacy, see Nicole Grévy-Pons, *Célibat et nature, une controverse médiévale: A propos d'un traité de début de XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1975). On usury, see further below.

[132] The anonymous canon lawyer was almost certainly reading a copy of Gerson's treatise that lacked the final section, the defense of Joan's male clothing. This is evident from the fact that every manuscript of the reply treatise (ten in total) omits this final section, and from the fact that the anonymous lawyer's brief discussion of Joan's male clothing entirely ignores every point made in the final section. On the reply of the "anonymous Parisian," see Elliott, "Seeing Double," 26–54; Noël Valois, "Un nouveau témoignage sur Jeanne d'Arc: Réponse d'un clerc parisien à l'apologie de la Pucelle par Gerson," in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 1906* (Paris, 1907), 161–79 (164 on identity of author).

[133] Gerson's attack on the canon lawyer appears in *De contractibus*, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 409–21. The author is identified as Catalonian in certain manuscripts of the work but not in the edition. The treatise (which Gerson identifies with the incipit "Contractus quidam") has not been identified, but Gerson's summary of the work suggests it was written by a canon lawyer. Compare P. Glorieux, "Gerson et les Chartreux," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 28 (1961): 133–34 and n. 51. Various manuscripts add the *consilium* of Johannes of Imola after the close of Gerson's *De contractibus*, prefacing it with the following (Seitenstetten, Austria, Stiftsbibliothek, Hs. 49 [fol. 135v]): "After the above there was also a conference at the studium of Bologna for the purpose of quieting consciences. There, a very distinguished and famous doctor of both laws took up the preceding matter, and he—that is the reverend H. Imola—likewise examined the Chancellor's treatise. At length, agreeing with the said Catalonian, he concluded that the aforesaid contracts were illicit, although not usurious." ("Post predictam etiam habitum est consilium de studio Bononiensis propter securiorem conscientiarum

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now competing with canon lawyers on common ground, writing works on exactly the same topics, and struggling to control the terms of debate.[134]

In Gerson's view, the canonists were taking principles from legal commentaries and elevating them to general rules. To his thinking, this procedure was doomed because circumstances change over time. Reality cannot be subdivided as though it is a summa, nor rationalized into legal codes. This thinking in terms of circumstances and specific cases had its roots in the older literature for confessors, but Gerson applied the idea in a new way to the task of the professional theologian.[135] On issue after issue—confession, revelations, simony, and many others—Gerson rejected the possibility of laying down general rules and insisted on the licensed theologian evaluating each new case based on his own experience.[136] In his crucial work on intention, *On Guiding the Heart* (1417), he explains that neither the Fathers nor the "more recent" schoolmen handed down a solution to moral or intellectual issues. While the latter have made progress on certain intellectual problems, they have failed to move people in the affections. Many theologians these days, he continues, consider moral or practical theology as beneath their dignity, "yet no branch of knowledge is more difficult because of the infinite variety of circumstances."[137] The theologian must accommodate inevitable changes in spiritual appetites, revolutions of tastes, personal differences, and shifting circumstances.[138] As we have different faces, so we have different souls. What makes some sick makes others healthy.[139] In short, the moral theologian will never run out of material. New cases arise each day that old authors never imagined, and these must be evaluated "as the wise man will judge." Here, Gerson took over a metaphor traditionally applied to confessors—the physician—and applied it to university theologians. The theologian's model should be the medical master, who at some point must set aside

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tranquilitatem, ubi precipue egregius utriusque juris et famosus doctor materiam precedentem discutiendam suscipiens, et ipse tractatum Cancellarii similiter perspiciens, videlicet dominus H. Ymola, pro et contra, ut moris est, arguit; et tandem cum predicto Cathalano idem sentiens, predictos contractus concludit illicitos etsi non usurarios.") The date 1429 appears at the end of the *consilium*. "H. Imola" is almost certainly a mistake for "J. Imola." In 1429, Johannes of Imola is known to have been at the University of Bologna. See D. Staffa, "De Iohannis ab Imola vita et operibus," *Apollinaris* 10 (1937): 90. Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. Barth. 141, fol. 283v, has "Jo. de ymo. bononie." Gerhardt Powitz and Herbert Buck, *Die Handschriften des Bartholomaeusstifts und des Karmeliterklosters in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt, 1974), 327. Glorieux, "Gerson et les Chartreux," 134 n. 51, has "Henri d'Imola," but there is no known canonist of this name.

[134] Gerson saw this as a transgression of proper boundaries on the part of the canonists, but as John Van Engen remarks: "Canonists in their maturity understood themselves as lawyers pursuing supernatural ends." For further orientation on this debate between canonists and theologians, see Van Engen, "From Practical Theology to Divine Law," 873–96 (quotation at 895). Also see Takashi Shogimen, "The Relationship between Theology and Canon Law: Another Context of Political Thought in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60 (1999): 417–32.

[135] On the older tradition, see Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 1: 53–57.

[136] Speaking of when confessions should be repeated, in the sermon *Si non lavero te* (*Oeuvres complètes*, 5: 509): "But it is too difficult and would require too much space to give a general rule, when yes and when no." See also *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 72, 126. Speaking of revelations in the *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis* (*Oeuvres complètes*, 3: 37): "We may add that, in human affairs, there is no general rule or admissible science [*ars*] for discerning always and infallibly which revelations are true and which are false or illusory." For many other examples, see Hobbins, "Beyond the Schools," 163–64 n. 71.

[137] *Oeuvres complètes*, 8: 107.

[138] *De contractibus*, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 425.

[139] *Bene actum esset*, *Oeuvres complètes*, 2: 43.

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his books and trust his own judgment.[140] This, the central platform of his case for new writings, does much to explain the bewildering variety and complexity of his literary production, *and* his opposition to the canonists. In this sense, one might think of him in opposition to Thomas Aquinas, the great organizer. Gerson looked out at the world and saw himself surrounded by irreducible complexity and variety. The circle of human action as he imagined it was composed of an infinite number of individual cases, each *sui generis*. The canonists, he believed, too often attempted to force this complexity beneath rubrics of laws and decrees, the authors of which could not have imagined the present world. They, not the theologians (he might have said), were enslaved to their system, refusing to account for change.

AN ASPIRING THEOLOGIAN AT PARIS around the year 1250 would have known that, to make a name for himself, he would need to publish commentaries or perhaps quodlibets. By 1400, the published quodlibet had vanished with little trace, and becoming famous by writing commentaries would have been as easy as achieving fame today by publishing poetry: not impossible, but highly unlikely. The oral exposition of basic texts continued, but on a fairly low level; it could no longer make a scholar's reputation, nor could it be used to reach a larger public. It bears repeating that Gerson did not publish a single commentary—by any meaningful definition of that term—and yet made a name as the greatest schoolman of his age. He did so by entering the public arena as no university master before him, and attempting to control the terms of debate. I have not said that he was always successful in his interventions, or that he was always liked or listened to. He was often resented. But this is the whole point: unlike Thomas Aquinas, he had a public presence outside the university to be resented, and rather than lament the "vulgarization" of scholastic theology, we should recognize the historical shift that was occurring here.

The idea of a public intellectual embraces the new cultural reality of the late medieval schoolman, particularly as applied to Gerson: his mastery of a set of important texts, his stature in the world beyond the university, his wide and varying interests, his many strategies for reaching a wide public and his apparent success in doing so, and his strong political identification with France. Gerson is not alone in these wider interests, but more than others he capitalized on preexisting conditions and set the pattern for others to follow.

The public intellectual participated in debates outside his discipline. This notion of a common public arena, it seems to me, provides a key for understanding the broad trends of the late medieval university, especially the participation of various faculties in a common debate and the increasing application of magisterial learning to real-world cases. As important as the distinction between nominalism and realism is for the history of ideas, or the "pre-history" of the doctrine of justification for Reformation scholars, what concerned a much greater number of schoolmen, theologians and lawyers alike, were topics with broader and more practical

[140] *Tractatus de laude scriptorum*, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 425. On the traditional metaphor, see Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 1: 53; 2: 41–42.

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application. For a deeper understanding of the cultural positioning of the schoolman, historians must reckon with this public arena. I have focused primarily on Gerson's debates with canon lawyers. He also sparred with medical masters, particularly over astrology.[141] We have also seen that he borrowed techniques from the faculty of medicine. His favorite metaphor for theologians is the physician, who heals the endlessly varying diseases of the body as the theologian heals those of the limitless soul. Public intellectuals such as Gerson debated in public, but they also saw and learned, and modified their approach accordingly.

[141] For an overview of the works and their context, see *Oeuvres complètes*, 10: 73–75.

Daniel Hobbins completed his PhD (2002) at the Medieval Institute of the University of Notre Dame, where he currently holds a postdoctoral fellowship. His research interests focus on the cultural role of universities, schoolmen, and humanists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hobbins's current projects include a book on Gerson that explores changing notions of authorship and strategies of publicity before printing, a new edition of Gerson's tract on Joan of Arc, and a new translation of the trial of Joan of Arc.

See **Appendix** on Next Two Pages.

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Appendix: Common Topics in Late Medieval Tracts and Treatises by Theologians and Canon Lawyers

	rents/usury	superstition/magic	Hussites	simony	Immaculate Conception	indulgences	propertied monks	Eucharist	clerical celibacy	excommunication	abstention from meat	mortal & venial sins	cult of saints/relics	tithes	astrology	discretion of spirits	Wyclif (pro/contra)	nobility	war/just war	Joan of Arc	ecclesiastical dominion	women's dress	marriage
Johannes Calderinus (d. 1365)[GQL]									●	●													
John of Dambach (1372)[VL]				●	●	●																	
Nicole Oresme (1382)[DLF]															●								
John of Lignano (1383)	●													●									
John Wyclif (1384)[HLW]				●				●				●									●		
Henry of Langenstein (1397)[VL]	●	●			●		●					●			●	●							
Henry Totting of Oyta (1397)	●			●												●							
Nicolaus Eymerici (1399)[SOP]		●			●										●								
William Woodford (c. 1400)[HLW]																	●				●		
Nicholas Radcliffe (by 1401)[HLW]								●					●				●				●		
Johann Reutter (fl. 1404)[GQL]	●																						
Matthew of Cracow (1410)[DS]	●			●				●				●											
Jan Hus (1415)[DS]				●		●											●						
Pierre d'Ailly (1420)	●	●		●	●				●		●		●		●								
Dietrich Kerkering (1422)[VL]	●	●				●	●																
Peter of Pulka (1425)[VL]			●										●										
Francis of Retz (1427)[SOP]			●		●																		
Andreas of Broda (1427)[CALMA]			●					●															
Henry of Hesse (1427)[DS]	●				●							●											
JEAN GERSON (1429)	●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●	●		●			
Henry of Gorkum (1431)		●	●	●				●						●					●	●			
Kaspar of Maiselstein (1432)[VL]							●				●			●									
Nikolaus of Dinkelsbühl (1433)[VL]	●	●	●				●				●												
Nikolaus Jauer (1435)[VL]	●	●	●																				
Nicolas de Clamanges (1437)[DS]				●																			
Johannes Nider (1438)[VL]	●		●				●				●							●	●				

NOTE: plain text = theologian, *italics* = canon lawyer

SOURCES FOR TABLE: Abbreviations next to the date of death refer to the sources used in each case: *Compendium auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi* (CALMA) (Bottai, 2000–); *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (VL) (Berlin, 1977–); *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Moyen Age* (DLF) (Paris, 1994); *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* (DS) (Paris, 1932–95); *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* (DDC) (Paris, 1935–65); Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (HLW) (Turnhout, 2001); Thomas Kaeppeli, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi* (SOP) (Rome, 1970–93); and Johann Friedrich Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart* (GQL) (Stuttgart, 1875–80), vol. 2. In many cases, it was necessary to consult other sources cited in the reference works, and I have not listed these here. Sources for other writers are as follows: for John of Lignano, E. Giannazza and G. D'Ilario, *Vita opere di Giovanni da Legnano* (Legnano, 1983); for Henry Totting of Oyta, Albert Lang, *Heinrich Totting von Oyta* (Münster, 1937), 99–113; for Pierre d'Ailly, L. Salembier, *Petrus de Alliaco* (Lille, 1886), xiii–xix (supplemented by Aldo Pasquero, "L'Inedito 'Tractatus supra Boetium' di Pierre d'Ailly: Edizione critica"

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	rents/usury	superstition/magic	Hussites	simony	Immaculate Conception	indulgences	propertied monks	Eucharist	clerical celibacy	excommunication	abstention from meat	mortal & venial sins	cult of saints/relics	tithes	astrology	discretion of spirits	Wyclif (pro/contra)	nobility	war/just war	Joan of Arc	ecclesiastical dominion	women's dress	marriage
James of Soest (1438/1440)[SOP]			●		●				●														
John of Frankfurt (1440)[VL]	●	●	●										●										
Narcissus Herz (1442)	●																						
Arnoldus Geilhovenus (1442)[CALMA]	●					●																	
Bernardino of Siena (1444)	●				●																		
Guillaume Saignet (1444)									●									●					
Job Vener (1447)[VL]	●		●	●			●																
Andreas of Escobar (1448)[CALMA]														●									
Laurentius Ridolphis (c. 1450)[GQL]	●																						
Martinus Laudensis (1453)[GQL]																			●				
Guillaume Bont (1454)[GQL]	●																						
Alphonso of Madrigal (1455)[CALMA]						●			●														
John of Capistrano (1456)[DS]	●	●	●		●					●												●	●
Juan of Segovia (1458)	●		●	●	●																		
Robert Ciboule (1458)												●								●			
Anton. of Florence (1459)[CALMA]	●			●		●				●				●								●	●
Heymeric of Campo (1460)[VL]			●																				
Francis of Platea (1460)[GQL]	●									●													●
Ambrose of Vignate (1460?)[GQL]	●																						
Jacobus de Paradiso (1465)[VL]	●	●				●				●	●												
Antonio Roselli (1466)[CALMA]	●					●													●			●	
Marianus Socinus (1467)[DDC]		●																					
Johannes Tinctoris (1469)[DLF]		●																					
Denys the Carthusian (1471)		●		●			●	●					●			●		●					
Gilles Charlier (1472)	●	●	●			●			●					●									
Thomas Basin (1490)[DLF]																				●			

[dissertation, Universita di Torino, 1982], 1–132); for Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, P. Glorieux, ed., vols. 2–10; for Henry of Gorkum, A. G. Weiler, *Heinrich von Gorkum* (Einsiedeln, 1962), 93–101; for Narcissus Herz, manuscripts of his treatise on contracts include Vienna, Schottenkloster, Hs. 290 (286), fols. 37r–40r (where it appears as a response to Gerson's treatise on contracts); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. 4576, fols. 132v–134v; and (with a different incipit: the only complete copy?) Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Hs. 10 B 1, fols. 28r–44v; for Bernardino of Siena, Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci . . .* (Sala Bolognese, 1978); for Guillaume Saignet, Nicole Grévy-Pons, *Célibat et nature, une controverse médiévale* (Paris, 1975), 84, and Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes*, 9: 476; for Juan of Segovia, *Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España*, vol. 6 (Salamanca, 1977), 271–347; for Robert Ciboule, André Combes, "Un témoin du socratisme chrétien au XV^{e} siècle: Robert Ciboule (1403–1458)," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 8 (1933): 107–22; for Denys the Carthusian, Kent Emery, Jr., *Dionysii Cartusiensis Opera selecta* (Turnhout, 1991), 1: 218–57; and for Gilles Charlier, P. V. Doucet, "Magister Aegidius Carlerii . . . ," *Antonianum* 5 (1930): 412–22.

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A Republic of Letters: The Epistolary Tradition in France during World War I

MARTHA HANNA

By the end of December 1917, Paul Pireaud, a private in the French army, was thoroughly fed up. Disgusted by the Russian withdrawal from the war and discouraged by the Italian defeat at Caporetto, he wondered how France was ever to secure the victory that would allow him to return home to his farm, his wife, and his infant son. In this despondent frame of mind, he sent his wife, Marie, a very unconventional but characteristically honest letter for the New Year. Abandoning the traditional platitudes that characterized such ritual letters, he confessed instead: "On the dawn of the new year I am not going to wish you a good year first because I find this stupid and second because I know that this is not going to be a good year that you will spend far from the one who loves you good friends will be those who will accelerate the end of the war and I do not see that happening this year."[1] With its simple unpunctuated prose, this letter (one of at least a thousand that Pireaud sent home between 1914 and 1919) captured the intimate, honest, and confessional tone that defined family correspondence in early twentieth-century France. Although the letter contains no graphic descriptions of combat and divulges no military secrets, it remains noteworthy for what it suggests about the importance of letter writing in the ranks of the French army during World War I, for what it shows about the ability of even the most modestly educated citizens to appropriate the cultural practice of letter writing, and for how ordinary men and women took the lessons of their childhood—in which the centrality of letter writing to the French national identity was an oft-repeated refrain—and adapted them to their own ends.

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[1] Section Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes (hereafter, SHAT), 1Kt Γ458, "Correspondance entre le soldat Paul Pireaud et son épouse 10 jan. 1910–1927," Paul Pireaud to Marie Pireaud, January 1, 1918. See also Jean Nicot, *Les poilus ont la parole: Dans les tranchées, lettres du front 1917–1918*, prefaces by Général André Bach and Guy Pédroncini (Paris, 1998), 72–78, for evidence that anger occasioned by the Russian withdrawal from the war and the Italian defeat at Caporetto was widespread within the French army in late 1917.

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During World War I, France became a nation of letter writers. When nearly all young men and women were literate, letter writing was a possibility for almost everyone; with 8 million men conscripted (almost half of whom were married), it became the fundamental means for expressing familial affection. Four million letters made their way from or to the front every day, more than 10 billion in total.[2] In the army, where censorship was erratic prior to 1916 and difficult to enforce thereafter, troops ignored the rules the censors sought to impose, gambled that their letters would not be intercepted, and established codes and subterfuges to thwart the censors and nullify censorship's numbing effect. Because letter writing was the means by which soldiers maintained their civilian identity in the midst of war, and because it was their lifeline to the reassuring familiarity of home, they used it eagerly and often. But letter writing was by no means a one-way street. As Jules Romains observed, this was a war "where most of the men exist on letters and parcels from home."[3] Wives, sisters, and parents devoted themselves to the task of regular correspondence. The true significance of letter writing in wartime France becomes apparent only through an analysis of both sides of the epistolary exchange.

Three questions inform this essay. What explains the French practice of intensive letter writing, and the character of the letters written, during the war years? What did soldiers and civilians say in their letters: Were they willing to divulge their most intimate fears and describe their most terrifying experiences, or were letters—as some scholars have maintained—anodyne evasions that reinforced the distance that separated the home front from the battle front? And how does the available evidence prompt a reconsideration of civilian-combatant relations during World War I? The evidence suggests very strongly that French soldiers of all social ranks and levels of education wrote letters because they had been exposed to and had internalized an elementary school curriculum that emphasized the importance and affective power of regular, honest correspondence: during extended absences, families could sustain preexisting bonds of affection by engaging in "conversation from afar." Letters provided reassurance to soldiers and civilians alike that those they cherished remained faithful in affection and constant in consolation, and letter writing gave all correspondents the opportunity to bear witness to their lived experience of the war. Correspondence, whether generated in the trenches or in the farms, villages, and towns of noncombatant France, became the means by which French families remained connected and intimacy—though sometimes strained by absence and anxiety—remained alive.

To understand the nature and genesis of letter writing in World War I France, I will examine first the place given to letter writing in the elementary school curriculum of the early Third Republic by analyzing the two most widely distributed pedagogy journals of the era.[4] A systematic review of the *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* and the *Revue de l'enseignement primaire et primaire supérieur* for the period 1880–1900 reveals the importance assigned to letter writing in the elementary school curriculum. But insofar as the manuals only provided normative

[2] Gérard Bacconnier, André Minet, and Louis Soler, "Quarante millions de témoins," in *Mémoire de la Grande Guerre: Témoins et témoignages*, Gérard Canini, ed. (Nancy, 1989), 141.

[3] Jules Romains, *Verdun*, Gerard Hopkins, trans. (1938; rpt. edn., London, 2000), 74.

[4] Jacques Ozouf and Mona Ozouf (with Véronique Aubert and Claire Steindecker), *La République des instituteurs* (Paris, 1992), 267.

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descriptions of the skills children were expected to acquire, they alone cannot tell us how well young French men and women learned the lessons of their childhood and mastered the art of letter writing. The letters of wartime France can do this. Most of the published collections of letters that appeared in the last years of the war and during the interwar era brought into the public domain the inspiring, admirably literate wartime correspondence of the nation's social and cultural elite.[5] The letters of the semi-educated or socially obscure remained unknown and uncelebrated. In recent years, however, the publication of wartime correspondence has thrived in France, allowing for a more comprehensive analysis of letter writing as a cultural enterprise.[6] Recently published collections suggest that neither minimal schooling nor the minefields of French grammar prevented civilian and combatant France from writing letters that were noteworthy for their honesty, their frequency, and—in many cases—their passion. Unlike any other written record, family correspondence reveals how civilians and combatants, often categorized in our collective imagination as inhabitants of distinct, non-intersecting communities isolated by mutual indifference, remained connected during the war.

SCHOLARS HAVE LONG DISAGREED over the value of letters as a source for understanding World War I. Many have argued that censorship, either imposed by the state or exercised by the soldiers themselves, prompted frontline soldiers to reveal little in their letters home of what the war was really like. This was certainly Jean Norton Cru's belief. In 1929, when he published what soon became the seminal study of French testimonial writing about the war, he included in his survey of more than 300 published works only twenty-eight collections of war letters. Of all the categories he reviewed, letters seemed, in his judgment, the most problematic. Convinced that his own reluctance to write openly about the war in his letters home was more the norm than the exception, Cru believed that only the atypical correspondent had both the literary skill and the moral conviction to convey in his letters home the reality of frontline combat.[7] This skeptical attitude toward family correspondence remains evident in the work of Frédéric Rousseau, who contends that in most cases correspondents at home and at the front "lied to one another."

[5] Pierre Maurice Masson, *Lettres de guerre, août 1914–avril 1916*, preface by Victor Giraud (Paris, 1917); Marcel Etévé, *Lettres d'un combattant (août 1914–juillet 1916)*, preface by Paul Dupuy (Paris, 1917); Augustin Cochin, *Le Capitaine Augustin Cochin: Quelques lettres de guerre*, preface by Paul Bourget (Paris, 1917); Charles and Etienne de Fontenay, *Lettres du Front, 1914–1916*, preface by M. Paul Deschanel (Paris, 1920); Pierre Dominique Dupouey, *Lettres du Lieutenant de vaisseau Dupouey*, preface by André Gide (Paris, 1922); Henri Barbusse, *Lettres de Henri Barbusse à sa femme, 1914–1917* (Paris, 1937).

[6] Recently published collections of wartime correspondence include André Kahn, *Journal de guerre d'un juif patriote, 1914–1918*, preface by Jean-François Kahn (Paris, 1978); Benjamin Simonet, *Franchise militaire: De la Bataille des frontières aux combats de Champagne, 1914–1915* (Paris, 1986); Henri Fauconnier, *Lettres à Madeleine, 1914–1919* (Paris, 1998); Germain Cuzacq, *Le soldat de Lagruelet: Lettres de Germain Cuzacq écrites du front entre août 1914 et septembre 1916*, Pierre and Germaine Leshauris, eds. (Toulouse, 1984); Solange Paccot and Bernard Paccot, *Donche Larpin: Chronique d'une famille de Saint André de Boëge pendant la grande guerre* (Ballaison, 1992); Marie-Louise Donche and Jean-Marie Paccot, *Saint-André de Boëge 1909–1919*, Bernard Paccot, ed. (Ballaison, 1994); Fernand Maret, *Lettres de guerre 14–18* (Nantes, 2001). See also Gérard Bacconnier, André Minet, and Louis Soler, *La plume au fusil* (Toulouse, 1985).

[7] Jean Norton Cru, *Témoins* (1929; rpt. edn., Nancy, 1993), 513.

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Anxious to offer reassurance that all was well, unwilling to describe the horrors of war or the hardships of life at home, they wrote often but essentially dishonestly.[8]

Scholars who have grounded their analyses in the records of the French postal control administration have shown, however, that even the common man used his daily correspondence to convey something of the reality of war to the home front. Prompted by J.-N. Jeanneney's groundbreaking article on the postal control service (which, starting in late 1916, systematically reviewed a random sample of all letters originating from or destined to the front lines), recent scholarship has examined what these archival records have to say about the letter-writing practices of ordinary citizens in wartime France.[9] John Horne, for one, has argued that the correspondence of ordinary soldiers constituted "a private information network conveying news of the essential reality of the warfare of attrition to family and friends."[10] Neither censorship nor concern for the delicate sensibilities of women at home prevented frontline correspondents from describing their experiences and denouncing the brutality of the war of attrition. As Jean Nicot's extensive analysis of the postal control records makes clear, these sources are valuable precisely because they show that correspondents *did* divulge their thoughts on the military situation as they experienced it.[11]

The postal control records tell us little, however, about the essentially private content and affective power of family correspondence: what the letters said about love and longing, jealousy and fear, anxiety and grief. To a large extent, this is because the censors paid scant attention to matters the army deemed irrelevant to the successful prosecution of the war. Vilified as voyeurs who violated the privacy of respectable, law-abiding citizens, they turned an indifferent eye to almost all discussions of intimate life. One censor wrote dismissively: "The majority of letters deals only with personal subjects, and opinions that are of interest [to us] are relatively rare."[12] Thus the postal control records reveal little about wartime correspondence as an exercise in familial affection. That French men and women used daily correspondence as an instrument of emotional union and mutual commiseration is suggested, however, in the illustrated postcards that circulated in wartime France, as Marie-Monique Huss's study demonstrates. The affective power of letter writing is even more apparent, as Gérard Bacconnier, André Minet, and Louis Soler have observed, in the unexpurgated correspondence of individual

[8] Frédéric Rousseau, *La guerre censurée: Une histoire des combattants européens de 14–18* (Paris, 1999), 42–44. See also Evelyne Desbois, "L'observation au pied de la lettre: Carnets et lettres, des matériaux pour l'enquête rétrospective sur le terrain," *Social Science Information* 27 (1988): 461–80; and Philippe Dautrey, "Ecrire sa guerre: Analyse d'un carnet de guerre," *Histoire et mesure* 7 (1992): 249–80.

[9] J.-N. Jeanneney, "Les archives des commissions de contrôle postal aux armées (1916–1918): Une source précieuse pour l'histoire contemporaine de l'opinion et des mentalités," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* (January–March 1968): 209–33.

[10] John Horne, "Soldiers, Civilians and the Warfare of Attrition: Representations of Combat in France, 1914–1918," *Authority, Identity and the Social History of the Great War*, Frans Coetzee and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, eds. (Providence, R.I., 1995), 241.

[11] Nicot, *Les poilus ont la parole*.

[12] SHAT, 16 N 1448, GQG, 2ème Bureau, Contrôle Postal Créé de Abbeville, Amiens, 1916–1918, April 12, 1917.

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soldiers.[13] Idiosyncratic and particular as such sources are, they are valuable complements to the records of the postal control office. An analysis of the correspondence of individual soldiers and their civilian correspondents reveals not only how the front conveyed information about the nature of war but also how a dialectic developed between combatant and civilian France that kept both sides more fully informed and more emotionally connected than historians have heretofore appreciated.

An analysis of family correspondence in wartime France also engages a second, much less developed historiographical tradition: the history of affect and emotion as fundamental components of war. Cultural historians of the Great War have stressed the pervasive presence and sometimes paralytic power of grief in postwar Europe: the deaths of millions brought bereavement to every town, every social community, and, in France at least, almost every family.[14] This suggests that the survivors who mourned had forged enduring bonds of affection with those who had died. There would have been no grief without antecedent love. Yet historians of bereavement have not asked how the bonds of affection that made loss so painful were sustained prior to death in the face of extended absence. It is here that an analysis of letter writing offers fundamental insights. Unlike war diaries, trench journals, and memoirs, letters are neither exclusively masculine nor wholly introspective. Simultaneously dialogical and intimate, they alone show how men and women shared their experiences of war, drew emotional sustenance from one another, and in the process transcended the gender divide imposed by war. To understand why frontline soldiers cherished letters from wives and parents as sacred objects, and why civilians preserved letters from the front with equal reverence, one must look beyond the testimonial content of wartime letters and analyze their affective and emotional functions and implications.

In an analysis of the protocols that governed the composition of nineteenth-century love letters, Martyn Lyons stresses that the form of the letter itself can be as important as the content: intimacy is cultivated by the materiality of the letters, by the codes embedded within them, and by their adherence to (or rejection of) implicit rules of production.[15] Thus even a letter that conveys little that a historian might consider new or important can, when analyzed as a material artifact and read as part of an ongoing epistolary exchange, offer invaluable insights into the ways in which familial relationships were preserved, threatened, or strengthened in the face of long-term absence. In this regard, complete collections of letters—especially unedited manuscript collections like the Pireaud correspondence—offer the historian a vantage point not available from the records of the postal control office. Such collections make evident the nature of the epistolary contract that bound letter writers together, bear witness to how letters functioned as instruments of the heart,

[13] Marie-Monique Huss, *Histoires de famille: Cartes postales et culture de guerre* (Paris, 2000); Bacconnier, Minet, and Soler, "Quarante millions de témoins," 148.

[14] Jay M. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1995); Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker, *14–18, Retrouver la guerre* (Paris, 2000); and Audoin-Rouzeau, *Cinq deuils de guerre 1914–1918* (Paris, 2001).

[15] Martyn Lyons, "Love Letters and Writing Practices: On *Ecritures intimes* in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Family History* 24 (April 1999): 232–39.

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and reveal the conversational, confessional, and occasionally correctional character of familial correspondence.

UNTIL THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, letter writing as an intimate enterprise was a cultural exercise exclusively of the literary elite. Less educated men and women conceived of letter writing—and letter reading—as essentially public acts. Because popular tradition taught that letters were to be read and reread for the edification and enjoyment of many, emotional reserve ultimately carried the day. As Roger Chartier has noted, "family letters . . . were not the place for intimate outpourings. They demanded restraint and a strict self-censorship that could only be lifted when the person writing could count on the discretion of his or her addressee." When circumstances required that peasants or workers had to write a letter—be it a business inquiry, a letter of condolence, or even a love letter—they would often turn for guidance to the letter-writing manuals that could be purchased from itinerant peddlers. These *secrétaires* offered model letters that could be copied, with appropriate adjustments, according to one's needs.[16] *Secrétaires*, however, also gave access to a more refined world in which letters conveyed one's most secret thoughts. To write a letter was, to borrow the most common image of these manuals, to engage one's correspondent in conversation from afar, and the same ease and intimacy evident in oral conversation were to characterize a letter. Indeed, a letter was thought to resemble prayer "in its effort to transcend absence."[17]

Two different models of family correspondence thus confronted one another by the middle of the nineteenth century: one emphasized the oral and the public, the other the written and the private. As the nation at large became more comfortable with written expression, the elite model of private correspondence with its emphasis on intimacy and honesty became more common. Martyn Lyons has observed that letter writing made significant inroads into working-class and peasant society only in the late nineteenth century. The advent of compulsory schooling in the 1880s was not, in his judgment, solely responsible for this cultural revolution: peasants had been exposed to print culture in many ways prior to the implementation of Jules Ferry's educational reform laws, and many peasant men (but fewer peasant women) had mastered the rudiments of reading (if not of writing) by the 1860s.[18] Compulsory schooling did make a difference, however, for it brought about significant advances in female literacy and it impressed on all schoolchildren the importance of letter writing as a social activity that would keep the extended family intact.

The elementary school curriculum of the early Third Republic gave considerable

[16] Roger Chartier, "Introduction: An Ordinary Kind of Writing: Model Letters and Letter-Writing in Ancien Régime France," in Chartier, Alain Boureau, and Cécile Dauphin, *Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, Christopher Woodall, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 19–20, 3.

[17] Cécile Dauphin, "Letter-Writing Manuals in the Nineteenth Century," in *Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing*, 132.

[18] Martyn Lyons, *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France: Workers, Women, Peasants* (New York, 2001), chap. 6: "Reading Peasants: The Pragmatic Uses of the Written Word."

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time to learning the rules, protocols, and cultural significance of family correspondence. It defined the precise format of letters written to parents, siblings, or friends, and emphasized that those who mastered the art of letter writing became, in the process, full-fledged members of the cultural community that was France. This lesson in cultural initiation was taught in several ways. The letters of distinguished writers were used both to test children's command of spelling, punctuation, and grammar and to serve as models to be emulated. Children of the middle grades, for example, were expected first to master the spelling, syntax, and vocabulary of a letter Mme. de Sevigné sent to her daughter and then to apply these lessons to their own efforts at family correspondence.[19] This juxtaposition of the famous and the unknown letter writers suggests that ink-smudged schoolchildren were expected to think of themselves, barely literate though they were, as participants within a literary culture that extended back to the classical age of letter writing in France. The implicit assumption that children were fledgling members of the nation's literary pantheon produced, in effect, a democratization of epistolary culture and a foundation for the vast expansion of letter writing evident in World War I.

Before the children of France could enter this pantheon, however, they had to learn how, under what circumstances, and to whom they were expected to write letters. It became the responsibility of elementary school teachers to convey from the earliest grades the compositional skills and moral sensibility children would need to become proficient letter writers. Embracing the message of the *secrétaires*, the curriculum stressed that a letter was a substitute for face-to-face conversation, and children should think of it as "a written conversation" (*une conversation par écrit*).[20] From this premise, the principal qualities of a letter followed logically. To make oneself understood, one had to develop a style that was clear, simple, and natural. Thus a little boy reminded his father that his teachers "recommend simplicity of style, naturalness and ease in these 'conversations from afar.'"[21] One teacher wrote of the pleasure she derived from reading her students' letters precisely because, with their "naïve confessions," they offered her a window into "their minds, feelings, and characters."[22] By the time students had finished their compulsory schooling, they were expected to be, at the very least, letter writers who could convey their true emotions in clear, unaffected prose.

Children developed their letter-writing skills first by writing New Year's letters to their parents and, in subsequent grades, to uncles, aunts, and cousins. By the middle years, they were expected to extend their circle of New Year's correspondents to those members of the community—schoolteachers, benefactors, employers—who looked out for their well-being.[23] At this age, too, they learned that letter writing was not an exercise to be practiced only once a year. If a family member died or was temporarily far from home, letters of condolence or of familial affection were in order. One model letter, the structure of which would be replicated

[19] "Dictée: Madame de Sevigné à sa fille," "Composition française: Lettre d'un jeune garçon à sa mère à l'occasion de sa fête," *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (August 12, 1882): 282.

[20] "Directions générales sur la composition d'une lettre," *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (December 9, 1882): 496–97.

[21] *Revue de l'enseignement primaire et primaire supérieur* (1897–98): 237–38.

[22] *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (February 2, 1889): 54.

[23] *Revue de l'enseignement primaire et primaire supérieur* (December 24, 1893): 201–02, 204.

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thousands of times during the war years, had a grieving child convey condolences to his aunt, upon the death of her husband: "I still cannot believe . . . how such a healthy man, so good and so well-loved by all who knew him, could be so brutally taken from us, in just a few hours and forever!" Nonetheless, the sage schoolboy counseled stoic resignation—"life holds in store for us terrible ordeals . . . to which we are obliged to submit"—and offered his aunt the prospect of companionship in her grief: if she were to stay with his family for a while, they could "share our sorrows and our regrets and talk together of the one we have lost."[24] A death in the family made correspondence compulsory, but so, too, did any extended absence. Adolescents away from home, either in pursuit of an advanced diploma or in search of employment, were expected to write their parents on a regular basis. Thus one model letter had an earnest young student write to congratulate his father on his birthday. Admitting that his "greatest sadness is to live away from . . . those whom I love the most in the world," he promised that he would show his parents his gratitude and affection by "earn[ing] the praise of my professors by offering them my exemplary conduct, sustained hard work, and constant progress."[25]

In a nation where only a small elite attended secondary school, few young boys went away to school; almost all, however, had to leave home to fulfill their military service. The epistolary curriculum placed great emphasis on this obligation, which became law in 1889, and impressed on young boys both the moral significance of military service and the social importance of maintaining contact with one's family when far from home. That young men were expected to sacrifice their comfort and perhaps their lives in defense of French honor and their families' security was a common theme in the letter-writing curriculum. In one model letter, a young man wrote his former teacher to describe the misery of life in the barracks. Commanding officers were lazy, vain, and self-important; indifferent to the welfare of their men, they relied on fear to command their men's obedience. Convinced that France would be better served by a professional army, the disaffected conscript appealed to his teacher's sense of moral outrage: Was it not inhumane to teach young men to kill others and bring about the grief and bereavement of mothers and orphaned children? The teacher was unpersuaded: duty and fortitude, he replied, were more important than personal comfort. Given that France had to remain vigilant in its own defense, the inconveniences of military service and the annoying ways of commanding officers amounted to very little. The loyal republican schoolmaster insisted that "you sacrifice your self-love not to them but to your homeland and to the 38 million compatriots who together guarantee one's comfort in life."[26] Nor were schoolteachers the only ones encouraged to preach such lessons. In another model letter, a young boy wrote his older brother to convey his affection and to offer a few words of moral instruction. Eerily anticipating the life that many of these young boys would lead between 1914 and 1918, the youthful moralist reminded his disaffected brother that "the State takes you away from your family and keeps you in its barracks for three years . . . to make a soldier of you, which is to say a man who

[24] *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (January 30, 1886): 58.

[25] "Composition française: Lettre de fête," *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (November 11, 1882): 431.

[26] *Revue de l'enseignement primaire et primaire supérieur* (October 20, 1895): 52.

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can march day and night, in all kinds of weather, carrying heavy packs; a man who can sleep on the bare ground, go into battle on an empty stomach, and have himself killed without complaint, all for the defense of the homeland and the honor of the flag."[27] The letter-writing curriculum thus impressed on young boys their obligation to defend the nation, even though military service would take them far from home and bring with it material discomfort, sorrow, and bereavement.

Whether writing an older brother in uniform, a parent back at home, or a sibling seeking work in a distant town, all family correspondence was to aspire to an easy, conversational tone. The model letters make it clear, however, that children were expected to speak in different voices when addressing their parents, on the one hand, and their peers, on the other. Letters to parents were often, but not exclusively, "confessional." Children learned from the earliest grades to write letters in which they owned up to some moral lapse and asked the forgiveness of their parents (or, on some occasions, teachers). Sins of omission—failing to study hard enough, failing to respect one's teachers—were bad enough, but sins of commission were even more regrettable, and even more subject to confession. One example had a little boy confessing that he had defied his mother's strict instructions and had dipped his fingers into the jam jar.[28] More grievous offenses required more elaborate confession. In "Lettre d'un fils à sa mère," a young boy confessed that having stolen five francs he had then tried to shift the blame to his young friend. "Not daring to speak about the offense," he chose instead to write a letter in which he explained what he had done and why he now regretted having acted in such a shameful way. The letter ended with an avowal of genuine repentance and a plea for his mother's forgiveness: "I ask your forgiveness on bended knees, assuring you that this will be both the first and the last time that I will ever commit such a contemptible and despicable act." Inviting his mother to punish him in whatever way she deemed appropriate—but not to withhold her love—he closed by asking that she tell Joseph's mother of the "innocence of her son and the cowardice of his friend."[29]

When corresponding with siblings and friends, children were expected to assume a more intimate but equally honest tone. Whether writing letters of affection and endearment, of consolation and compassion, or amusement and entertainment, they were to write one another "with the same freedom that you would if he were in the same room, chatting together." Hence the letter written to one's peers could include anything that came to mind. A composition exercise for the elementary grades had a little boy write his sister in order to describe his visit to their grandmother: he told of an outing to a neighbor who made him eat some cookies, of how he broke the leg of his wooden horse, got in a fight with a friend, and was punished for smudging his collar with ink; in other words, the minutiae of everyday life.[30] Many model letters, however, were of a much more serious nature, for the most diligently practiced exercise was the composition of what might best be called

[27] *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (March 26, 1890): 201.

[28] "Cours élémentaire: Composition française—Lettre à une mère," *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (December 9, 1882): 484.

[29] "Lettre d'un fils à sa mère," *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (February 11, 1882): 50–51.

[30] "Directions générales sur la composition d'une lettre," *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (December 9, 1882): 497; *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (March 1, 1890): 100.

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"letters of moral correction," where children wrote their siblings and closest friends upbraiding them for some regrettable moral lapse. Even the most forgivable offense could not be forgotten: hence a young child was to write his older brother, cousin, or friend for failing to write frequently enough. This the ten-year-old did with an ill-concealed glee: "my dear brother," he wrote, "I am not at all happy. You send me news only once in a while: this is too infrequent. And what is more, your last letter was badly written: I could hardly read it and I couldn't make out the last three words." Nonetheless, the young correspondent closed with an affirmation of affection: "your little brother who loves you with all his heart, in spite of his anger, and who sends you a big hug."[31]

Laziness was regrettable; dishonesty was despicable. Children composed letters in which they took friends to task for doing another's homework, criticized acquaintances who engaged in malicious gossip, and lamented their friends' dishonest impulses.[32] Dishonesty was so abhorrent that children were expected to protest any form of dishonest behavior, even if it meant criticizing their elders. Thus one model letter had a correspondent chastise a friend for the failings of his father: What self-respecting citizen of the Republic would allow friends to congregate outside his house and complain about paying taxes? Even the suggestion of tax evasion was offensive to this young citizen, and although he was certain that his friend's father did not share his companions' opinions, the very fact that such a conversation could have occurred on the friend's front doorstep deserved a written reprimand.[33]

Correspondence between friends should emphasize not only the moral lapses one should abhor but also the qualities one should admire. Thrift, diligence, and punctuality were, like paying one's taxes with good grace, habits to be cultivated. But three moral habits were identified as preeminent: compassion for the needy, stoicism in the face of adversity, and honesty in all one's undertakings. Consistent with the solidarist ethos of the early Third Republic, according to which the welfare of the least fortunate was the responsibility of all, the curriculum emphasized the importance of compassion: children were expected to seek the financial assistance of local notables for the needy, to organize clothing drives for orphans, and to be mindful of the needs of their poorer neighbors.[34] Good citizenship also required, as we have seen, that young boys confront the challenges of life and the obligations of citizenship with stoic resolve. Honesty, however, was the most highly regarded virtue. Without doubt, it meant that one should never take or keep anything that was not one's own. It also meant speaking one's mind. At the same time that children of the Republic were to identify every failing, criticize every moral lapse, they had to avow that they acted not out of malice but out of true friendship. For example, a young girl whose friend mistreated a family servant felt compelled, out of "the sincere affection" that one friend owed another, to express her disapproval

[31] "Cours élémentaire: Composition française, Lettres de reproches," *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (November 11, 1882): 425.

[32] *Revue de l'enseignement primaire et primaire supérieur* (March 17, 1895): 379; (May 20, 1894): 538; (December 31, 1893): 219.

[33] *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (October 16, 1886): 472.

[34] *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* (April 6, 1889): 161; *Revue de l'enseignement primaire et primaire supérieur* (February 17, 1895): 314.

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of such callous behavior.[35] So, too, with siblings who criticized one another's moral failings. Thus when a sister chastised her older brother for his poor grades, she did so, she avowed, in the name of the friendship that binds brother and sister.[36] However unpleasant such social practices might seem to us (and probably seemed to most children of the Third Republic), embedded in these exercises was a lesson that would have important implications for the way in which adults would subsequently write letters. Because one was a friend, one had to tell the truth, however unpleasant it might be. Friendship compelled frankness.

THE LETTER-WRITING PRACTICES of French soldiers and their families during World War I suggest that many of these childhood lessons were well learned. Men and women alike recognized the importance of writing letters that were honest, open, and affectionate when maintaining contact with family members far from home. At the same time, they adapted the lesson that it was imperative to speak the unvarnished truth and applied it to the circumstances of life at war. This was true of highly educated, philosophically reflective men such as Maurice Masson and Marcel Etévé; and of other bourgeois correspondents, such as André Kahn, a young lawyer estranged from his parents because of his affair with a divorced, older woman; Benjamin Simonet, a career officer with a wife and four young children; and Henri Fauconnier, who returned from his rubber plantation in Malaysia to fulfill his military obligations. But it was also true of peasants whose correspondence from the front lines, filled with composition flaws, spelling errors, and syntactical mistakes, was nonetheless surprisingly candid, open, and expressive. We see this, for example, in the letters of Paul and Marie Pireaud; of Germain Cuzacq, a tenant farmer whose semi-literate wife and infant daughter lived in the uplands of southwest France; and of Fernand Maret, who wrote conscientiously to his parents in the Mayenne. The wartime correspondence of these French peasants, whose only knowledge of the rules, protocols, and cultural traditions of letter writing would have come during the five or six years of their elementary schooling, reveals that they, too, thought of letter writing as an opportunity to engage in daily albeit distant conversation. Confessional on occasion, correctional only rarely, their letters aspired first and foremost to transcend the enforced absence of wartime service by developing an intimate, conversational tone.

Letter writers knew in ways that historians have forgotten that the letter itself was a physical artifact that could cultivate intimacy by making the absent correspondent seem almost palpably present. Even the simplest letter bore witness to the physical existence of the writer. Early in the war, Kahn confessed that "to read the words that your hand has written gives me the courage to support this separation and these privations"; Simonet was similarly moved by the sight of his children's handwriting.[37] In letters written by less educated correspondents, not only did handwriting provide a visual reminder of the distant correspondent, but idiosyncratic punctuation rendered him (or her) almost audible. Barbusse's casual

[35] *Revue de l'enseignement primaire et primaire supérieur* (December 10, 1893): 171.
[36] *Revue de l'enseignement primaire et primaire supérieur* (October 7, 1894): 11; (July 28, 1895): 683.
[37] Kahn, *Journal de guerre d'un juif patriote*, 32; Simonet, *Franchise militaire*, 115.

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observation that one of the men in his unit read his wife's letters aloud in a low voice prompts us to consider how many semi-schooled soldiers would have done the same.[38] In fact, the letters they received might have been easier to understand when read aloud. The letters of Marie Pireaud, for example, are almost entirely unpunctuated. To understand them, one must attempt to replicate the pauses and cadences of everyday speech. This does not necessarily require, but it would certainly be made easier by, knowledge of the speech patterns of the writer: Where would she stop to take a breath? How would she modulate a phrase? How, in fact, would she sound? If to understand the letter was to speak it and thereby conjure the voice of the writer, Paul, who would have known intimately the details of Marie's spoken idiom, might well have "heard" her speaking while reading her letters. This suggests that semi-literate letters might have carried with them an element of intimacy not present in more grammatically precise prose.

Letters brought the home and military front together in other tangible ways, too. The exchange of flowers was a widespread practice, alluded to in almost all the available sources. In October 1914, Marie Pireaud pressed a flower into the top corner of her daily letter, and inscribed a circle around it, in which she wrote: "Your little wife who loves you. While waiting to see you again and give you little kisses receive this flower as a pledge of love."[39] In the spring of 1915, Barbusse's wife sent him flowers to remind him of their country garden, and he assured her that he carried her rose petals as a memento in his uniform pocket.[40] When Pireaud managed in the mire of Verdun to find a flower to press into his letter home, Marie reciprocated immediately, enclosing a sprig of flowers from the Dordogne countryside in her next letter.[41] Like the homemade sausage, local brandy, and other delicacies that soldiers savored in their care packages from home, these flowers were physical reminders of and links to home. So, too, were the letters young children sent to their fathers. Simonet took great pleasure when his three school-age children wrote to him of their daily routine, their homework, and their affection. Mothers of even younger children kept fathers in touch with them in other ways. Kahn received word of the birth of his son in a letter received on May 6, 1916. Overwhelmed by emotion, he confessed that it was the lock of downy, blond hair enclosed in the letter that made him weep with joy.[42] When Serge Pireaud celebrated his first birthday in July 1917, he "wrote" his father a postcard; this gesture, Paul realized, revealed as much about the love of his wife as the intellectual precocity of his son. On other, less scripted occasions, Serge would grab his mother's pen and add his own scribbling to the daily letter. In these many ways, the exchange of letters became an affective gesture in itself, independent of the letter's particular content.

Such simple tokens of remembrance coexisted, however, with letters that wrote of the horrors of war and the hardships of life on the home front. Like the little boy who described the details of his day with Grandma, frontline soldiers spoke of the

[38] Barbusse, *Lettres de Henri Barbusse à sa femme*, 163.
[39] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Marie Pireaud to Paul Pireaud, October 23, 1914.
[40] Barbusse, *Lettres de Henri Barbusse à sa femme*, 100, 108–09, 136.
[41] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Marie Pireaud to Paul Pireaud, May 22, 1916; Paul Pireaud to Marie Pireaud, May 27, 1916.
[42] Kahn, *Journal de guerre d'un juif patriote*, 238.

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tedium of life at the front, where the food was bad and the weather worse, where trenches were filled with mud and poisoned by the stench of rotting corpses. But even more harrowing experiences also found their way into letters home. Simonet confessed to his wife that his company, having endured the persistent assault of German artillery at Ypres, was temporarily unfit for combat.[43] Barbusse provided his wife with a lengthy description of battle that replicated in close detail the notes he had confined to his diary (*carnet*).[44] Fauconnier kept precise notes of life under fire, which he sent his family, judging that they were by the spring of 1915 sufficiently accustomed to the war to be able to read them without undue trauma.[45] Etévé, who hoped at first to shelter his mother from the worst of the war, decided in the fall of 1915 to share with her what he knew of combat: "to hide these things from you" would, he confessed, have been "unworthy of us and of the confidence that we owe to one another."[46] Masson, too, was compelled to honesty because his wife urged him to "share his life [with her] in its entire truth." Thus in early 1916, he described how his sector of the line was so churned up by shells and bombs, saturated with blood, and strafed by relentless artillery fire that it was almost impossible to venture beyond one's dugout. He closed: "You must see that I tell you everything very exactly; and I wonder if out of a desire to be accurate, I do not give you a false impression of the whole; if, not wanting to hide from you the danger, I do not in fact insist upon it more than in truth is appropriate."[47]

Interspersed with the tedious but often appalling routine of life at the front was the occasional, horrific experience that etched itself indelibly on the soldier's psyche. Assigned to a regiment of heavy artillery, Pireaud spent two months at Verdun in 1916. More protected than Masson, whose infantry division was exposed to continuous German bombardment, Pireaud nonetheless experienced firsthand the horror of this fearsome battle, and on several occasions he described as best he could what it was like to stare into the abyss. On May 27, 1916, he wrote of the mayhem of relentless bombardment, the horror of watching innocent animals destroyed by artillery fire, and the embarrassment of having to relieve himself in a shell hole while completely surrounded by exploding shells and then concluded: "Tell me if you receive this letter. I will tell you everything you want to know about our position show it to your parents if you like and to my father, but not to my mother."[48]

Honesty, urged on the soldiers by their families, prompted them not only to describe the most traumatic moments of their life at the front but also to confess their moral weaknesses. They did not speak of every moral lapse—significantly, there are no confessions of sexual infidelity in the extant family correspondence, although correspondents did discuss their neighbors' and comrades' failings in this regard—but they did confess to those failings that seemed to make them less than valiant citizens of *la patrie*. No frontline soldier considered himself immune to "the blues" (*cafard*). Following the battle of Hébuterne in the spring of 1915, Faucon-

[43] Simonet, *Franchise militaire*, 186–87, 188.
[44] Barbusse, *Lettres de Henri Barbusse à sa femme*, vi–xii, 44–49.
[45] Fauconnier, *Lettres à Madeleine*, 46, 68, 85.
[46] Etévé, *Lettres d'un combattant*, 108.
[47] Masson, *Lettres de guerre*, 182–85.
[48] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Paul Pireaud to Marie Pireaud, May 27, 1916.

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nier wrote to his fiancée of his suicidal despondency: "I see here so many terrible things and so much suffering that I am obliged to fight the desire to die too. If I must want to continue to live, I must know that I am loved . . . Help me, because I am in the midst of agonizing days."[49] Maret, writing to his parents in the spring of 1916, sounded a similarly despairing note. Having railed against the butchery of war, he apologized for the glum letters he had sent home recently, but asked for their understanding: "there are times, especially on days when we are attacking like the ones we have just had, when one sees death close up and so many dead everywhere around you, that one despairs of ever getting out of this filthy war."[50] Unlike Maret, whose letters were filled with such disconsolate confessions, Cuzacq was, in the main, a model of stoic resignation. Even he, however, acknowledged the occasional bout of *cafard*. Grieving the death of his brother-in-law in June 1916, he could no longer maintain his equanimity. He admitted to his wife that, more than once, his best efforts notwithstanding, he found himself in tears.[51] Whatever their rank, whatever their patriotic resolve, these were not the "heroic," always happy troops portrayed in the daily press but ordinary men who, when pushed to the extremity of endurance, fell victim to depression.

Although circumstances at home were, everyone recognized, by no means comparable to those at the front, psychological distress and physical exhaustion plagued the home front, too. Loneliness, overladen with persistent anxiety, was commonplace, and sometimes gave rise to real depression. In the spring of 1915, Marie Pireaud, knowing that Paul was safely behind the lines, still found the separation oppressive: "how I wish that you would come back to me, how I wish to see you again because without you everything is very sad here for me." A year later, with her husband headed to Verdun, her melancholy deepened appreciably. Not having heard from him for several days, she worried for his well-being: "it's been a long time and with these severe battles at Verdun these days I'm always frightened. Aren't they pigs in any case to kill these poor innocents without trying to stop it. What a sad life it is for those who live today."[52] Marie-Louise Donche, with two brothers and a fiancé in uniform, seems to have experienced many of the classic signs of clinical depression in late 1915: in letters to her fiancé, she confessed that she wept copiously, harbored thoughts of death, and found it almost impossible to get out of bed.[53] Barbusse's wife also seemed to suffer from depression in the spring of 1916, for her letters were punctuated with talk of sadness, abandonment, material suffering, and anticipations of grief.[54] When grief was real, as it was for Madeleine Meslier (the fiancée of Henri Fauconnier) following the death of her younger brother, depression manifested itself in physical illness, lethargy, and utter despondency.[55]

For peasant women, who comprised more than 40 percent of the female population, the anguish of separation (which was experienced by women of all

[49] Fauconnier, *Lettres à Madeleine*, 88.
[50] Maret, *Lettres de guerre 14–18*, 81.
[51] Cuzacq, *Le soldat de Lagraulet*, 123.
[52] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Marie Pireaud to Paul Pireaud, February 4, 1915, April 14, 1916.
[53] Donche and Paccot, *Saint André de Boëge*, 261, 265.
[54] Barbusse, *Lettres à sa femme*, 191, 198–99.
[55] Fauconnier, *Lettres à Madeleine*, 92.

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classes and social occupations) was compounded by the burdens of maintaining the family farm, a task that became ever more difficult as the war dragged on. Although young women and aging parents had valiantly brought in the 1914 harvest, their ability to cultivate the land left in their stewardship declined thereafter. In the summer of 1915, Marie Pireaud confided that the harvest was substantially below that of the previous year, in spite of the backbreaking labor that she, her parents, and her in-laws had given to the task. "I am happy that it is finished because pretty soon I would not be able to walk any more."[56] So, too, in the Donche household, high in the uplands of the Savoie, where the need to secure fuel for the winter, plant crops in the spring, and harvest them in the early autumn made life an endless series of chores that stretched the physical capacity of young women and older men to their limits. In June 1915, Marie-Louise Donche described a day of planting potatoes, weeding fields, clearing rocks, and caring for cattle that forced her to rise at four in the morning and kept her at work until ten in the evening.[57] On farms managed by the parents of mobilized men, the elderly were equally challenged. Pireaud reported, with obvious anxiety, that his father seemed by August 1916 a changed man: "Is it fatigue that caused it or was he just very busy he forgot half his words they must be very annoyed with all this work and all alone [to do it] and to say that there are so many men here who are doing nothing and would be happy to help out their poor parents."[58]

By 1917, when harvest yields for most grain crops were half what they had been in 1914, urban commentators took the women of rural France to task for failing to replicate the miraculous harvest of 1914, criticizing them as selfish, lazy, and insufficiently patriotic.[59] Men at the front were, however, much more tolerant of their wives' and parents' shortcomings, and much more concerned for the health and welfare of their laboring families. Far from urging them to take on tasks that were beyond their physical capabilities, they cautioned their wives and parents not to kill themselves to get the crops in the ground. Pireaud, fearing that Marie would miscarry if she continued to work in the fields through the summer of 1916, forbade her to do anything that would jeopardize her health. The censorship records give voice to an anonymous peasant soldier who, in a letter to his former schoolteacher, lamented that his family was at the limits of their endurance: "it will be, in effect, impossible to get the harvest in if I don't go home . . . As for obliging my wife and my young son to work even harder I don't want it. They have already worked to the limit and beyond. We will leave all of our land fallow."[60] Maret was of the same opinion, urging his father to do only that which was physically possible: Why exhaust himself to plant a crop or bring in a harvest that would only provide food for shirkers and, in the final analysis, extend the war?[61]

When soldiers and their wives or girlfriends wrote of their own *cafard*, when

[56] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Marie Pireaud to Paul Pireaud, July 30, 1915.
[57] Donche and Paccot, *Saint André de Boëge*, 232.
[58] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Paul Pireaud to Marie Pireaud, August 4, 1916.
[59] Michel Augé-Laribé, *Agriculture pendant la guerre* (Paris, 1925), 56, 62; Margaret H. Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (Oxford, 2000), 180–81.
[60] SHAT, 16 N 1448, GQG, 2ème Bureau, Contrôle Postal Créé de Abbeville, Amiens, 1916–1918, August 16, 1917.
[61] Maret, *Lettres de guerre 14–18*, 76, 101, 106–07.

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peasant wives and parents acknowledged that they could not do the physically impossible, their epistolary confessions resembled the ritual of confession that most of them had learned as young children. To make an act of confession is to admit openly to one's inability to live up to an established code of honorable conduct. Having been taught that the true patriot should accept a miserable plight with stoic resignation, the poilus who wrote of doubt and depression were in effect admitting that they fell far short of the ideal soldier described in their schoolbooks and celebrated in the daily press. And when women admitted to crying jags and disabling depression, bemoaned the hardships of backbreaking labor, and described farms that were no longer producing to their utmost capacity, they, too, were confessing to failures to live up to the model of selfless sacrifice that armchair patriots expected of them. Journalists insisted that the ever valiant poilu was always in the best of spirits and that women who failed to produce the nation's food supply were self-absorbed and unpatriotic. Soldiers and their female correspondents wrote one another to tell a different set of stories entirely.

Fearful for the survival of their husbands and sons, anxious not to overburden their wives and parents with unrealistic expectations, wartime correspondents were more inclined to confess their own failings than to emphasize the inadequacies of their loved ones. Confessional letters were much more common than letters of moral correction. Nonetheless, the moralistic impulse did not disappear entirely. The very pious Virginie Donche urged her brother to attend Mass, to be devout in his prayers and conscientious in his observance of Easter duties. Like the students portrayed in the pedagogy manuals, she did, however, temper her sisterly urge to nag with reassurances that he remained always in her thoughts and prayers.[62] Most families, even the very devout, forgave lapses in religious observance. They were much less tolerant of lapses in daily correspondence. Even children felt justified in their complaints if a beloved brother or uncle became lax in his correspondence. Thus Fauconnier's young niece criticized her uncle, in classic schoolgirl style, for not writing often enough. In his response, he teasingly chided her for believing that "I went to war only so I could write you letters and collect fragments of shells to send to you."[63]

Much more serious were lapses in the established exchange of letters between husbands and wives, fiancés and their betrothed, sons and parents. As Martyn Lyons has observed, any rupture in the epistolary contract that governed the exchange of intimate correspondence could threaten the compact that correspondents had created. That writers established epistolary contracts is evident in several sources. Marie Pireaud begged Paul, "Continue to write to me every day I will do the same that way we will find that the days are not as long."[64] Maret promised that he would write his parents every day when in the front lines (to reassure them that he was still alive) and every second day when at rest (to reassure them that he was temporarily out of danger). Any deviation from the agreed protocol was cause for alarm and, sometimes, angry reproach. Thus Marie Pireaud took great exception to Paul's habit in the fall of 1916 of sending her only postcards, not the long letters that she

[62] Paccot and Paccot, *Donche Larpin*, 36, 47.
[63] Fauconnier, *Lettres à Madeleine*, 69.
[64] Lyons, "Love Letters"; SHAT, 1Kt T458, Marie Pireaud to Paul Pireaud, February 7, 1916.

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could linger over and commit to memory. While she was diligent in her daily correspondence, conscientiously filling both sides of a page with fond thoughts and local gossip, Paul seemed cruelly remiss in sending her nothing but postcards in return. She feared that this was a sign that he no longer loved her.[65] Kahn's fiancée seems to have harbored similar fears when she criticized him in April 1917 for writing only short notes; absorbed by the massive preparations that preceded the Nivelle Offensive, he responded that "the preoccupations of this offensive" had taken all his time.[66]

Short letters were often cause for anger; no letters at all were cause for alarm. For this reason, correspondents kept a careful account of which letters they had received, calculated how many days it took for a letter to make its way to (or from) the front, noted gaps and inconsistencies in delivery service, railed against the postal system when it suspended or systematically delayed delivery (an established procedure in advance of but not during every major battle), and did what they could in the most adverse circumstances to maintain the established routine of regular correspondence. Even at Verdun, frontline troops remained conscientious correspondents: in April 1916, Kahn sent his fiancée letters almost daily; in late May and early June, Paul Pireaud wrote Marie sixteen letters in twenty days. On May 24, he gave her notice that he had just moved into position at the artillery battery and she would have to say "farewell to long letters . . . I have to work from 5 a.m. to 10 p.m. and must go to sleep without any light so I am obliged to write to you between firing the cannon I can do it a bit but often the Boches force me to lay flat on my stomach."[67] That being said, he wrote ten letters in the next two weeks. To the extent that the sources allow one to judge, it seems that women were equally vigilant in their correspondence. Whatever the hardships of farm life, Marie Pireaud and Marie-Louise Donche tried to send either a letter or a postcard almost daily. Regretting that she could not send her fiancé a letter equal in length to the one she had just received in December 1914, Donche made do with a brief note and an apology: "I cannot respond [to your letter] today I have too much work, but I didn't want to let my day go by without chatting with you for a moment. How I wish that you could be with us to make the sorrow disappear a little."[68]

For men and women who had established a regular routine of exchange, the absence of letters suggested either the death or the indifference of the other correspondent. Thus any unanticipated silence was cause for intense anxiety, on the one hand, and fears of abandonment, on the other. When Marie-Louise Donche went for almost a week in February 1916 without word from her fiancé, she was beside herself with worry. She could not console herself that the army was delaying postal service, for the family had received word from her brother that very morning. What, then, explained Jean-Marie's lengthy silence?[69] Longer lulls were even more alarming. In the spring of 1915, Fauconnier, having heard nothing from his fiancée for weeks, feared that she had broken their engagement. In fact, she was suffering

[65] Maret, *Lettres de guerre 14–18*, 222; SHAT, 1Kt T458, Marie Pireaud to Paul Pireaud, October 2, 1916.

[66] Kahn, *Journal de guerre d'un juif patriote*, 270.

[67] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Paul Pireaud to Marie Pireaud, May 24, 1916.

[68] Donche and Paccot, *Saint André de Boëge*, 193.

[69] Donche and Paccot, *Saint André de Boëge*, 284.

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from the depressive effects of grief and could not bring herself to write. By early July, Fauconnier, uncertain how to interpret her silence, chastised her:

> I have something to say to you that is a little unpleasant. You have left me without news and you tell me nothing about what is happening with you . . . ; in fact, you are behaving very badly and now you don't find me very friendly. And during all this time, here I am wondering whether I should write you or whether it would be better to just leave you alone. Well, there you have it. We have both been idiots. But I have reason to believe that you have been ill.[70]

Knowing that she was unwell rather than indifferent (a knowledge he acquired from letters from his sisters), Fauconnier revived his correspondence with his fiancée and reestablished the implicit contract that bound them in epistolary embrace.

To maintain the intimacy that wartime correspondents worked so assiduously to cultivate, it became increasingly necessary to thwart or circumvent the censors. Frontline troops had practiced this art since the earliest months of the war. Determined to describe where they were on the front, they often ignored the oft-repeated rule that letters were to convey no information about the soldier's position at the front or about troop movements. Some soldiers scrupulously honored these regulations, but most did not. It was not unusual, for example, for soldiers to use codes to identify their positions at the front. Kahn situated himself in northern France with a reference to the fourth act of Edmond Rostand's *Cyrano*; Fauconnier spoke of his position near a village where his mother had spent her childhood.[71] Soldiers for whom esoteric literary allusions would have been meaningless used simpler ploys: often, they underlined letters in successive words, to spell out their position on the line; sometimes they mailed home postcards of local villages. Cuzacq sent home hand-drawn maps of Verdun and its environs.[72] Pireaud, when preparing to go into action north of Arras in early 1916, tried to send Marie a postcard indicating his company's position.[73] The censors would have none of it, and the postcard never arrived. Undeterred, he used another—and quite popular—strategy: reckoning that the censors (who reviewed only a small fraction of all letters sent from or destined to the front) could not intercept every letter he wrote, he included the same critical information in several consecutive letters.[74] Playing the odds, he and many other correspondents stood a good chance of winning.

Soldiers and their families were, therefore, well apprenticed in the art of undermining the much maligned "Anastasie," the scissor-wielding symbol of wartime censorship, long before the systematic censorship of the postal control office went into effect in December 1916. With the advent of the new system, many correspondents feared that the intimacy that they had enjoyed in the first years of the war would inevitably be compromised. One soldier, writing to his wife, complained: "Truly I do not understand the reason for this control, which seems to me to abuse my correspondence which is being violated all the time . . . Poor

[70] Fauconnier, *Lettres à Madeleine*, 92.

[71] Kahn, *Journal de guerre d'un juif patriote*, 142; Fauconnier, *Lettres à Madeleine*, 85.

[72] Cuzacq, *Le soldat de Lagraulet*, 110.

[73] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Paul Pireaud to Marie Pireaud, February 21, 1916.

[74] Cuzacq also calculated that the censors could not read all the letters sent from the front: "If they want to keep track of everything that soldiers put [in their letters], they will have a lot of work to do; I think that they open only a few every day, and at random." Cuzacq, *Le soldat de Lagraulet*, 75.

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France, it would be laughable if the times were not so serious, to violate private correspondence, that is the work of these gentlemen!!"[75] Although the intrusive presence of a third reader did prompt some letter writers to censor themselves—postal control records from the spring of 1917 suggest that letter writers were somewhat reluctant to speak their mind, "anticipating that their letters would be censored"[76]—it did not silence everyone. One woman, resentful that her letters were being opened, decided to thumb her nose at the censors in any event: "I will continue in any case to give you news of your little family and your home."[77]

Accustomed as they were to subverting the censors, many correspondents refused to allow the new system to thwart their desire to speak honestly about the war and affectionately about one another. Soldiers circumvented the military censors by depositing letters in civilian mailboxes. Perhaps this is how Maret sent word to his parents of the disastrous failure of the Nivelle Offensive. In the spring of 1917, his letters were filled with bleak reflections on the massive casualties and minimal gains produced in his sector. Bemoaning the inequality of suffering and the bleak prospects for an early peace, he begged his parents' forgiveness for speaking so bluntly: "I tell you what I think; I'm fed up with it all, fed up with this filthy butchery." His mood remained somber through the end of the month, and on May 29, with his company temporarily at rest, he confessed: "I can't take any more of it, it would be better to die than to see such things . . . I fear only one thing, and that is that we will be forced to go back up to the front after our rest."[78] Jean Nicot's analysis of the censorship records reveals that Maret's letters were by no means unique: the pervasive war weariness, despair, and disgust with visions of unparalleled human suffering that characterized the French front in the spring of 1917 made itself manifest in countless letters sent home to wives and parents.[79]

The censors knew that soldiers often used the civilian mail, in violation of military regulations, during the 1917 mutinies, when military correspondence was most rigorously scrutinized. In the aftermath of the mutinies, when a more regular leave policy went into effect, many frontline troops gave friends going home on leave letters to be hand delivered. And if neither subterfuge was available, they could write a letter or postcard so densely filled with handwriting as to be almost indecipherable to the overtaxed censors. Assigned to the Italian front, Pireaud witnessed the unsuccessful but intense Austrian offensive of June 1918. In a series of postcards, he described the battle of Piave—which in his judgment was "worse than Verdun"—by filling both sides of a blank card with tiny script, and then rotated the card and continued to write at ninety degrees to the original lines. The densely packed grid, reminiscent of practices employed in Victorian letter writing to save paper, made the postcard almost impossible to read.[80]

If censorship did not silence discussions of military morale, neither did it stifle

[75] SHAT, 16 N 1448, GQG, 2ème Bureau, Contrôle Postal Créé de Abbeville, Amiens, 1916–1918, July 19, 1917.

[76] SHAT, 16 N 1448, GQG, 2ème Bureau, Contrôle Postal Créé de Abbeville, Amiens, 1916–1918, May 24, 1917.

[77] SHAT, 16 N 1449, Commission de Contrôle Postal de Bar le Duc, April 26–May 2, 1917.

[78] Maret, *Lettres de guerre 14–18*, 197–98, 204.

[79] Nicot, *Les poilus ont la parole*, 120–22.

[80] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Paul Pireaud to Marie Pireaud, June 16, June 21, 1918.

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more intimate conversations. The censors noted in August 1917 that correspondents, apprehensive that their letters would be read by outsiders, restrained themselves in their discussions of family life,[81] but other sources suggest that, these reservations notwithstanding, wartime correspondents wrote of emotional passion, sexual anguish, and frustrated desire for physical intimacy. Kahn, doubtful of his mistress's affection in the early years of the war, was gratified that by 1917 she could write unabashedly of her love for him.[82] This willingness to write without restraint and in spite of the censors was also evident in the Pireaud correspondence. In the summer of 1917, Marie wrote of how she would make Paul "the happiest of men" when he was home on leave. Even though many of her letters from the last months of 1917 have not survived, Paul's replies reveal that she was becoming with each passing day "more loving and caressing." In December, he wrote appreciatively of her letters "where you have given such a complete expression of your love and your suffering there I can catch a glimpse of you just as I have always desired. I would give a fortune to be able to come home on leave right away and see you transform your words into deeds." And in case she had any thoughts of reneging on her promises, he teasingly suggested that he was keeping all of her letters, and "if you don't follow through on your promises I will show them to you and will remind you that you have promised to make this guy happy Oh how happy I would be how I love you both you are my hope my faith my support in these painful hours."[83] Fauconnier, married to Madeleine in March 1917, learned in February 1918 of the birth of their daughter. Random thoughts on breast-feeding commingled with memories of their wedding night to give rise to erotic musings: "I'm afraid that you will wear yourself out wanting to nurse her. You must give it up entirely if the doctor advises you to do so, or give [her] your precious milk only as dessert, like a candy. (I would very much like to taste it myself.)"[84] These letters of frustrated sexual desire give eloquent testimony to the persistence of affection and the preservation of intimacy in wartime France.

Conjugal love, sustained by frequent, regular, and uninhibited correspondence, did not wither under the intrusive gaze of censorship. But the correspondence of soldiers who survived the early years of the war suggests that extended absence did weaken less intimate bonds. While the soldier's immediate family became ever more important to him, his extended family became ever more irrelevant. In the spring of 1916, with Pireaud's regiment recently transferred to Verdun, Marie asked him to correspond more frequently with her cousin, whose husband was also at the front. To this, Paul responded: "I haven't much time to myself not even time to write to my parents and if this continues I believe that I will have to abandon all correspondence (except to you, of course)."[85] Maret also narrowed his circle of correspondence as the war dragged on and combat became ever more demoralizing. By February 1916, even his younger brother, also in uniform, had to learn

[81] SHAT, 16 N 1448, GQG, 2ème Bureau, Contrôle Postal Créé de Abbeville, Amiens, 1916–1918, August 23, 1917.

[82] Kahn, *Journal de guerre d'un juif patriote*, 284.

[83] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Paul Pireaud to Marie Pireaud, December 22, 1917, January 9, 1918.

[84] Fauconnier, *Lettres à Madeleine*, 278, 281.

[85] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Paul Pireaud to Marie Pireaud, February 6, 1916, February 23, 1916, April 3, 1916.

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secondhand of Fernand's life at the front, for Maret found time to write only his parents. Cuzacq, whose wife taught herself to read and write so that she could, by the spring of 1916, write her husband directly, delighted in their newfound privacy. In April 1916, while under fire at Verdun, he admitted: "for the last few days I have written only to you; the rest of the family must be astonished by my lengthy silence but give them my news."[86] The plausible excuse that soldiers offered for not maintaining their extended circle of correspondence was that they had no time to write, but they found the time to write almost daily and often at considerable length to those who meant the most to them.

As frontline troops concentrated their letter writing on their immediate families alone, many became increasingly alienated from all other civilians. And this in spite of the fact that aunts, cousins, and other acquaintances sent letters, New Year's greetings, and food packages to men at the front. The people to whom one did not correspond on a regular basis and to whom one did not confide one's innermost thoughts became the despised *civils*. In Kahn's letters, one glimpses an indifference to the welfare of all but his mistress and their young son. In the bitterly cold winter of 1916–1917, when most basic commodities were in short supply, he was simultaneously anxious for the well-being of his beloved Mimi and their baby and unmoved by his mother's moaning. He observed: "I am pleased that you have a little coal," but he had no patience for his mother, "who also complained of the cold and the lack of fuel." He suggested that she should do what he had done at Ypres in the last months of 1914: battle the mud, rain, and cold by conjuring up thoughts of summer sunshine. She should overcome the bitter cold of February 1917 by "transporting herself by thought to the gentle days of Spring to come."[87]

This antipathy to all civilians but one's immediate family is most evident in the letters of Maret, the quintessential poilu. Assigned to an infantry regiment for the duration of the war, he echoed the existential despair and fatalistic resignation of thousands of soldiers whose opinions were summarized in the postal control records. And, like them, he took grave exception to the nonsense uttered by ignorant civilians. In August 1916, having received a letter filled with the same patriotic palaver that his aunt had been spouting since the beginning of the war, he admitted to his parents that he found her sentimental claptrap wearisome and somewhat laughable; he urged them, however, not to let anyone else know that he had said so. The enthusiastic Aunt Rosalie continued to send her embittered nephew care packages and rousing letters, one of which assured him that the village locals would give "the Boches" a good run for their money. This suggestion that the elderly peasants of the Mayenne would teach the enemy a lesson that the young men in the trenches had not yet accomplished prompted Maret to share his jaded thoughts with his parents: "I'm sorry that Aunt is not a man because she would make a tough soldier and she would really know how to boost the morale of the guys in the line who need it most (whatever you do don't tell her that I told you this)."[88] He also had little patience for an uncle who confided that his own son, safe in a cushy position behind the lines, was suffering the blues: "if Uncle talks to you about

[86] Cuzacq, *Le soldat de Lagraulet*, 107.
[87] Kahn, *Journal de guerre d'un juif patriote*, 264.
[88] Maret, *Lettres de guerre 14–18*, 194.

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danger, you can tell him that your Fernand was . . . in the worst of it; he was completely surrounded by the Boches while his boy was four kilometers in the rear pushing his luck; I think there's a bit of a difference."[89] Annoyed by the excessive patriotism and unwarranted bragging of the home front, Maret remained, however, profoundly sensitive to the suffering of his immediate family: he worried about his father's work load, mourned the death of his beloved grandmother, and regretted that his parents had to suffer the effects of rationing.[90]

IN THEIR PASSION FOR LETTER WRITING, and their determination to tell the truth about the war, the French resembled their German enemies more than their British allies. A preliminary review suggests that although some British troops wrote quite openly about their experiences at the front (thus belying Paul Fussell's dismissal of wartime correspondence as a worthless source of historical information about the war), many seem to have relied most frequently on the field postcard, which prohibited the inclusion of any personal—let alone intimate—messages from the frontline correspondent.[91] Soldiers in the ranks, whose letters were subject to daily censorship by their commanding officers, seem to have sent postcards often, letters only occasionally.[92] Even highly educated correspondents appear to have written less regularly than the French. Edward Thomas, a Welsh poet who served on the Western Front from 1915 until his death in 1917, wrote his wife more than a thousand letters during the years of their courtship and marriage but only seventy-three during his military service in France.[93] And his letters, like those that John Masefield sent home, were marked by an emotional reserve not evident in the French correspondence. Masefield, who described in chilling detail the wounded he encountered as a medic in a French military hospital, earned a reprimand from his wife for failing to include any "tender" words in his lengthy letters home.[94] The Germans, by contrast, were eager letter writers, especially in the first two years of the war: with 13 million men in uniform, almost 30 billion letters, postcards, and packages made their way from or to the front between 1914 and 1918. And, like the French, they felt compelled to speak the truth, at least at first. Bernd Ulrich argues that many frontline troops drew inspiration from German Idealism's reverence for

[89] Maret, *Lettres de guerre 14–18*, 206.

[90] Maret, *Lettres de guerre 14–18*, 180.

[91] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York, 1975), 183. The letters that Lionel Sotheby sent to his parents, for example, include several graphic descriptions of life under fire. *Lionel Sotheby's Great War: Diaries and Letters from the Western Front*, Donald C. Richter, ed. (Athens, Ohio, 1997). By contrast, Canadian troops seem to have been intensely uncommunicative in their letters home. Jeffrey Kashen, *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War* (Edmonton, Alberta, 1996), 165.

[92] Huss, *Histoires de famille*, 88. For example, Private Herbert Boorer wrote his wife only twelve letters between his arrival in France in August 1915 and his death four months later; only forty-two letters that Marine Sergeant Bert Fielder sent his wife between August 1914 and October 1916 have survived. Michael Moynihan, ed., *A Place Called Armageddon: Letters from the Great War* (Newton Abbot, 1975), 19, 36.

[93] R. George Thomas, "Introduction," in Edward Thomas, *Letters to Helen*, R. George Thomas, ed. (Manchester, 2000), ix, xii.

[94] John Masefield, *John Masefield's Letters from the Front, 1915–1917*, Peter Vansittart, ed. (New York, 1985), 63.

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honest expression and described the reality of war in their letters home so starkly as to bring about a crisis of morale on the home front in early 1916. For the remainder of the war, the German army enforced strict censorship of the mail and imposed harsh punishments for any violation. Ulrich's rich analysis, which focuses on the testimonial quality of German letter writing, pays only passing attention to the affective content of frontline correspondence; his evidence does suggest, however, that married men in the German army were both less likely than their French counterparts to write frankly about the horrors of war before the introduction of censorship and more reluctant thereafter to speak openly of love and affection. In Germany, the soldiers' desire to speak truthfully in their letters home alienated them from the military high command, eroded public support for the war, and after 1916 withered under the increasingly vigilant eye of repressive censorship.[95]

In France, by contrast, wartime correspondents resisted the authority of censors and exploited their capacity for cultural appropriation in order to reinforce familial bonds of affection. In this regard, it is useful to think of French family correspondence during the Great War as an example of "bricolage," Michel de Certeau's concept of how the common man adapts established cultural practices to suit his own ends.[96] Having learned that letters were to be instruments of frank communication and familial affection, French troops and their civilian correspondents took these lessons to heart and adjusted them to their own needs. They described their daily experiences, confessed their own inadequacies, and chastised their lovers for lapses in the epistolary contract. Combatants wrote more frankly about the experience of war than skeptics have suggested. Knowing that they could never adequately convey the reality of war, they persisted nonetheless, in part because they hoped to convey some, if not all, of the horror of war; in part because they wanted their letters home to serve as permanent records of their experience, to be drawn on when talking to their children or writing their memoirs; and in part because their wives and families asked them to share their experiences as best they could.[97]

The few extant letters from wives, girlfriends, and sisters suggest that genuine comprehension was then—as it is now—always outside the grasp of noncombatants.[98] Tormented by their knowledge that the front was dangerous, they hoped against hope that the men they loved could protect themselves against the arbitrary power of death. When Marie Pireaud repeatedly begged Paul to stay well clear of danger, when Marie-Louise Donche urged her younger brother to keep his distance from men with lice, and when her older sister implored him to protect himself from the cold, they all revealed a fearful apprehension, commingled with a naïve ignorance, of life at the front.[99] Such simple solicitude could have been annoying to

[95] Bernd Ulrich, *Die Augenzeugen: Deutsche Feldpostbriefe in Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit 1914–1933* (Essen, 1997).

[96] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendell, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), xi.

[97] Simonet, *Franchise militaire*, 104; Maret, *Lettres de guerre 14–18*, 177.

[98] Bacconnier, Minet, and Soler, "Quarante millions de témoins," 147.

[99] SHAT, 1Kt T458, Marie Pireaud to Paul Pireaud, July 13, 1916; Paccot and Paccot, *Donche Larpin*, 77, 124, 155.

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the men who received these letters: What greater evidence could there be that civilians could never know what it was to serve in this hellish war? But Barbusse's account of a man in his squad, moved to tears when he read a letter in which his wife begged him to be careful, suggests that the solicitude expressed in these letters was more important than the naïveté.[100]

It is by no means clear, in fact, that soldiers really *wanted* their womenfolk to know directly the horrors of war. Many endured the miseries of life at the front precisely because they hoped to protect their families from its raw brutality.[101] What bothered frontline troops was not unavoidable civilian incomprehension but sheer indifference.[102] And regular letter writing, punctuated by periodic tokens of love and remembrance, kept indifference at bay. The evidence suggests that troops found great strength in their contacts with home because the civilians with whom they were in regular, intimate correspondence offered in their daily letters the consolation and commiseration that made endurance possible. At the same time that letter writing helped maintain deeply personal bonds within the immediate family, however, its absence fostered alienation beyond it. Indeed, as letter writers created concentric circles of intimacy that concentrated their attention and affection on their immediate family alone, they became indifferent to the suffering of all but a select few. Those in whom they confided, and who in turn remained faithful correspondents, became the decisive reason for staying the course. The family correspondence of wartime France suggests that most troops endured the horrors of war not out of some abstract, all-encompassing love of France, and not merely to maintain solidarity with their frontline comrades. Rather, they fought to protect their families and their farms, their wives and their way of life, their children and their future. A close reading of wartime correspondence reveals that, as the family became ever more narrowly defined, and as choices had to be made as to whom to include in one's circle of correspondents, letter writing reinforced bonds of love while it eroded more peripheral social relations. The ultimate irony of letter writing in wartime France, then, is that it simultaneously sustained intimacy within the immediate family and created greater alienation beyond it.

[100] Barbusse, *Lettres de Henri Barbusse à sa femme*, 163.
[101] Simonet, *Franchise militaire*, 69–70; Barbusse, *Lettres de Henri Barbusse à sa femme*, 76.
[102] Nicot, *Les poilus ont la parole*, 95.

Martha Hanna is an associate professor of history at the University of Colorado, Boulder. She is the author of *The Mobilization of Intellect: French Scholars and Writers during the Great War* (1996), and her current book project, entitled *The Intimate War: A Peasant Marriage in World War I France*, draws on the extensive wartime correspondence of Paul and Marie Pireaud to analyze the effects of World War I on marriage, family life, rural society, and gender relations in early twentieth-century France. During the 2003–2004 academic year, she is a Visiting Fellow at Clare Hall, the University of Cambridge.

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AHR Forum

Amalgamation and the Historical Distinctiveness of the United States

Understanding the meaning and implications of population diversity challenges us in the present as it has done consistently in the past. This AHR Forum *addresses the issue by focusing on the question of racial and ethnic amalgamation in the United States.* **David A. Hollinger** *frames the discussion with a thoughtful and provocative essay in which he draws on a large body of scholarship to argue that the mixing of the world's peoples in the United States is one of the most distinctive yet most unappreciated realities of the nation's history. He contends that through amalgamation—intermarriage among individuals from every possible ethnoracial group—Americans created new and unique communities of descent. Understanding their creation and development is critical to the recovery of a full understanding of the American past and particularly one that moves beyond the fundamentally flawed ideal of the melting pot. And such a history, he insists, requires that we recognize the distinctive experiences of particular racial and ethnic groups, especially the unique past of African Americans, as well as the power of white racism. Three commentators then expand the discussion.* **Thomas E. Skidmore** *draws on Brazilian history to place the subject in a comparative context.* **Barbara J. Fields** *argues that amalgamation cannot be understood without drawing important analytical distinctions between race and racism. And* **Henry Yu** *identifies some of the pitfalls in the use of interracial marriage and sex as analytical tools in historical analyses. Taken together, the article and commentaries suggest why racial and ethnic amalgamation pose fundamental analytical issues for historians who study various times and places.*

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AHR Forum

Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States

DAVID A. HOLLINGER

IN THE MIDDLE OF A JULY NIGHT IN 1958, a couple living in a small town in Virginia were awakened when a party of local police officers walked into their bedroom and arrested them for a felony violation of Virginia's miscegenation statute. The couple had been married in the District of Columbia, which did allow blacks and whites to marry each other, but the two Virginians were subsequently found guilty of violating the statute's prohibition on marrying out of state with the intent of circumventing Virginia law.[1]

That same summer, Hannah Arendt, the distinguished political theorist, an émigré from Hitler's Germany then living in New York City, was writing an essay on school integration. That issue had been brought to flashpoint the previous year in Little Rock, Arkansas, by President Eisenhower's use of federal troops to enforce the ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court that public schools were no longer to be racially segregated. But Arendt used her essay on school integration, which had been commissioned by the editors of *Commentary*, to talk also about miscegenation laws. Arendt seems not to have known of what was happening in Virginia that summer to Richard and Mildred Loving, the couple whose last name was such a fitting emblem for a relationship that was being denied the sanction of law. But Arendt insisted that, whatever the injustice entailed by the segregation of public schools, a deeper injustice by far was any restriction on an individual's choice of a spouse. The laws that make "mixed marriage a criminal offense," Arendt declared, were "the most outrageous" of the racist regulations then in effect in the American South.[2]

The stunned editors of *Commentary* balked. An aghast Sidney Hook, to whom

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[1] Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 83 (June 1996): 64–65; Robert A. Pratt, "Crossing the Color Line: A Historical Assessment and Personal Narrative of *Loving v. Virginia*," *Howard Law Journal* 41 (1998), as rpt. in Kevin R. Johnson, ed., *Mixed Race America and the Law* (New York, 2003), 56–59.

[2] Hannah Arendt, "Reflections on Little Rock," *Dissent* (Winter 1959): 79. This incident is analyzed by Werner Sollors, "Of Mules and Mares in a Land of Difference; or, Quadrupeds All?" *American Quarterly* 42 (June 1990), esp. 173–77.

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the editors showed a copy, rushed into print in another magazine to complain that Arendt was making "equality in the bedroom" seem more important than "equality in education."[3] Arendt's essay daring to suggest that the civil rights movement had gotten its priorities wrong later appeared in yet another magazine, the more radical *Dissent*, but only as prefaced by a strong editorial disclaimer and then followed by two rebuttals, one of which actually defended legal restrictions on interracial marriage. A well-meaning European refugee, said by friends to be hopelessly naïve about the United States, had raised publicly the very last topic that advocates of civil rights for black Americans wanted to discuss in the 1950s: the question of ethnoracial mixture.

To what extent are the borders between communities of descent to be maintained and why? The question is an old one of species-wide relevance, more demanding of critical study than ever at the start of the twenty-first century as more nations are diversified by migration, and as the inhibitions of the 1950s recede farther into the past. The history of this question in the United States invites special scrutiny because this country is one of the most conspicuously multi-descent nations in the industrialized North Atlantic West. The United States has served as a major site for engagement with the question, both behaviorally and discursively. Americans have mixed in certain ways and not others, and they have talked about it in certain ways and not others.

From 1958, I will look both backward and forward, drawing on recent scholarship to observe what the history of the United States looks like when viewed through the lens of our question. Certain truths come into sharper focus when viewed through this lens, and whatever instruction the case of the United States may afford to a world facing the prospect of increased mixture comes more fully into view.

Why were Arendt's contemporaries so eager to avoid the question of ethnoracial mixture? Because they had good reason to expect that any discussion of it would play into the hands of segregationists. Defenders of the Jim Crow system had been saying for years that the whole issue was race-mixing, anyway. All that civil rights agitation, they said, was an elaborate smoke screen for the simple truth, which was that black men wanted white women. School integration in particular was said to be a slippery slope if not a conspiracy: the mixing of black and white in the classroom would lead to more social contact, and ultimately to miscegenation.

Such charges on the part of segregationists would have been of less concern to the liberals were not so many other Americans, including an imposing number of white, northern opponents of segregation, dubious about marriage across the color line. A Gallup poll of that very year showed that 96 percent of white Americans disapproved of interracial marriage. This sentiment did not necessarily entail support for the remaining laws against black-white marriage still being enforced in Virginia and several other southern states, but it did mean that organizing to overturn such laws was not a priority.

Only nine years after the Arendt episode, to be sure, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Loving v. Virginia* that the Virginia statute was unconstitutional.

[3] Sidney Hook, *New Leader*, April 13, 1959.

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Things moved quickly in the 1960s.[4] When Mildred and Richard Loving learned that a major civil rights bill was being debated in Congress, they were inspired to appeal their conviction. But black-white marriages were still against the law in every state but one south of the Mason-Dixon line as late as 1967, when the court's ruling in *Loving* ended legal restrictions on marriage across any and all color lines.[5] Thereafter, white opposition to black-white marriages diminished gradually but steadily, decade by decade.[6] Black-white marriages themselves remained rare, although they tripled in the quarter-century after the court's ruling.[7]

Yet Arendt understood more fully than did her exasperated friends that the Virginia statute's approach to the question of ethnoracial mixture was peculiarly American. Even the Union of South Africa did not have a miscegenation statute until 1949, and that one was based on the American model.[8] The notorious Nuremberg laws of Nazi Germany were, as Werner Sollors has pointed out, inspired partly by the miscegenation laws of the United States.[9] The cosmopolitan Arendt knew that racial restrictions on marriage were a real problem from a human rights point of view, and were a striking historical anomaly that American liberals were loath to face. The very word "miscegenation" was, after all, an American contribution to the English language.

Prior to the coining of this term during the Civil War, "amalgamation" had been the word generally used to refer to the mixing of races. This was true of Wendell Phillips and a handful of other abolitionists who did espouse the eventual mixing of the races as a goal,[10] and was true for alarmists warning against it. But in 1863, the very year emancipation made mixture more possible, "amalgamation" was replaced by the more ominous word that rang more like "mistaken mixture," and under circumstances not so different from those that surrounded Arendt nearly a century later. In an episode familiar to specialists in U.S. history but known to few other people today, *Miscegenation* was the title of an anonymous tract widely distributed

[4] An important example of open opposition to miscegenation laws during the 1960s was William D. Zabel, "Interracial Marriage and the Law," *Atlantic* (October 1965): 75–79.

[5] *Loving v. Commonwealth of Virginia*, 388 U.S. 1; 87 S.Ct. 1817; 1967 U.S. Maryland repealed its miscegenation statute just prior to the court's action. Fourteen states in the Far West and upper Middle West repealed their statutes between 1952 and 1966.

[6] Polling data are reviewed in one of the most carefully detailed monographs yet addressed to the history of ethnoracial mixture in the United States, Paul Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (Madison, Wis., 1989), esp. 192–93.

[7] Martin Kilmjin, "Trends in Black/White Intermarriage," *Social Forces* 72 (1993): 119–46.

[8] A. Leon Higgenbotham and Barbara K. Kopytoff, "Racial Purity and Interracial Sex in the Law of Colonial and Antebellum Virginia," in Werner Sollors, ed., *Interracialism: Black-White Intermarriage in American History, Literature, and Law* (New York, 2000), 138–39. Higgenbotham and Kopytoff quote the South African minister of the interior's presentation to the assembly of that country in 1949, in which the minister urges opponents of the proposed legislation to consider the fact that "thirty out of the forty-eight states of the United States" have "found it necessary to take legislative steps" of exactly the sort he proposed for South Africa.

[9] Sollors, "Introduction," *Interracialism*, 6. Sollors cites Heinrich Krieger, *Das Rassenrecht in den Vereiningten Staaten* (Berlin, 1936).

[10] Phillips's most famous utterance on this theme was his address on the Fourth of July, 1863, in Framingham, Massachusetts, in which he endorsed, and called by the name of "amalgamation," that "sublime mingling of the races, which is God's own method of civilizing and elevating the world." The history of the pre–Civil War discourse about amalgamation has recently been clarified by Leslie M. Harris, "From Abolitionist Amalgamators to 'Rulers of the Five Points': The Discourse of Interracial Sex and Reform in Antebellum New York City," in Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York, 1999), 191–212.

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in the North late in 1863 calling on the Republican Party to embrace the cause of race-mixing and make it the basis for that party's campaign of the following year. The tract was a hoax, written and distributed by two proslavery journalists who hoped to push the Republicans into endorsing this manifestly unpopular idea and thus to be more likely to lose the election to the Democrats. As Sidney Kaplan has demonstrated, the abolitionists themselves were suspicious from the start.[11] The abolitionists did not know the tract was a hoax until after the election, when Abraham Lincoln's success rendered the revelation of the hoax a minor footnote to the campaign. But all during the campaign, the Republicans apparently felt about the anonymous author much the same way liberals of 1958 felt about Arendt.

Eventually, miscegenation would become an ostensibly neutral word,[12] but one that flourished in a Jim Crow discourse alongside another term that came into use for the mixing of white Americans with each other. This was the notion of the "melting pot." It had been around since the earliest years of the Republic, but it gained currency at the start of the twentieth century in relation to massive immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe. This problematic figure of speech was used primarily to address the prospects for the incorporation of these predominantly Italian, Jewish, and Polish immigrants and their descendants, and not simply as ethnic groups within a plural society but as individuals who would as a matter of course intermarry with the British and other Northwestern European stocks. What made the term problematic was an ambiguity analyzed by Philip Gleason and others. Was the idea to melt down the immigrants and to then pour the resulting, formless liquid into preexisting cultural and social molds modeled on Anglo-Protestants like Henry Ford and Woodrow Wilson, or was the idea instead that everyone, Mayflower descendants and Sicilians and Irish and Ashkenazi and Slovaks, would act chemically upon each other so that all would be changed, and a new compound would emerge?[13]

Although both versions of the melting pot had their champions and their critics—and of course there were strong voices against both, preferring to keep out altogether any immigrants who were not "Nordic"—very few of the early twentieth-century discussants of the melting pot even mentioned blacks, for whom mixing with whites was "miscegenation."[14] Yet when Ralph Waldo Emerson had spoken before

[11] Sidney Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," in Kaplan, *American Studies in Black and White: Selected Essays, 1949–1989* (Amherst, Mass., 1991), 47–100. Kaplan's classic analysis of the "miscegenation hoax" was first published in 1949. For a recent, authoritative study of the hoax and of the entire discourse about "amalgamation" and "miscegenation" during the antebellum and Civil War eras, see Elise Lemire, *"Miscegenation": Making Race in America* (Philadelphia, 2002), esp. 115–44. Lemire argues that the literary depiction of black-white intimacy helped create the very categories of black and white as these categories had come to be popularly understood in the United States by the time of the Civil War.

[12] Even W. E. B. Du Bois used "miscegenation" interchangeably with "amalgamation" and "racial mixing." His learned essay of 1935, "Miscegenation," intended for an encyclopedia but not published during his lifetime, is available in Sollors, *Interracialism*, 461–73.

[13] Philip Gleason, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" *American Quarterly* 16 (Spring 1964): 20–46. Invocations of the figure of the melting pot in our own time have largely forgotten the element of anti-Anglo aggression entailed in some of its early formulations. In the climactic scene of Israel Zangwill's play of 1909, *The Melting-Pot*, a major agent in the popularization of the concept, the Jewish immigrant hero envisages a future in which Mayflower descendants will be transformed in the fiery crucible and made equal to more recent immigrants from many lands.

[14] Among the few who did this was Zangwill himself, in a fleeting reference at the very end of his

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the Civil War about an American "smelting pot"—a slightly different figure of speech associated originally with the concept of amalgamation—he had explicitly included "Africans and Polynesians" in addition to "all the European tribes."[15] Not that Emerson's welcoming of people of all colors and from all continents was shared by that many of his white contemporaries. Quite the contrary. Emerson here spoke for a tiny minority. But he spoke in the idiom of melting, or smelting, before the vocabulary had changed. As the new word—miscegenation—became associated with black-white mixing, a preoccupation of the years after the Civil War, the residual European immigrant aspect of the question came to be more than ever a thing apart, discussed all the more easily without any reference to the African-American aspect of the question. This separation of mixture talk into two discourses facilitated, and was in turn reinforced by, the process Matthew Frye Jacobson has detailed whereby European immigrant groups became less ambiguously white by becoming more and more definitively "not black."[16] The Jim Crow era featured not only separate schools and public accommodations in many states but also separate and invidious national vocabularies for talking about mixture.

The two vocabularies reflected the two historical conditions that make the United States the North Atlantic West's most dynamic site for dealing with our question. First, the United States operated under one of the few constitutional regimes in that domain that had tolerated slavery as recently as the 1860s and as a result had a national population a significant segment of which—about 12 percent during most of the twentieth century—was color-marked as once having been pieces of property or as being the direct descendants of people who had been.[17] Second, the United States was the most self-consciously immigrant-based society in all of Europe and North America, distinguished even from Canada by the proportion of its population derived from outside Great Britain and France and by the fact that Canada did not have a citizenship law to distinguish its own nationality from that of the British Empire until 1947. The foreign-born population of the United States between 1860 and 1930 ranged between 11.6 percent and 14.7 percent, and a much larger percentage than that of white inhabitants throughout those seventy years were, of course, the children or grandchildren of immigrants.

A third condition helps make the United States a setting in which our question is importantly engaged: the presence of Indians, or at least the presence of those indigenous people who were left after the slaughters and disease-caused deaths that accompanied the occupation of their land by Europeans. Yet the Indian case was sufficiently different from both the African-American case and that of the European immigrants to stand somewhat outside the miscegenation conversation and the melting pot conversation. Indians had been enslaved episodically in the British colonies of North America, but Indian slavery was never a significant feature

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play in one of his lists of the peoples that "the great Alchemist" would eventually make into one: "Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian—black and yellow"; Israel Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot* (New York, 1909), 199.

[15] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960–82), 11: 299–300.

[16] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

[17] Slavery continued in Cuba until 1884 and in Brazil until 1888.

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of labor systems in the United States. Twelve states did include Indians in their miscegenation statutes, but enforcement was often lax. The Virginia law did not include Indians because a motion to include them was defeated by Tidewater aristocrats who claimed to be the descendants of John Rolfe and Pocahontas. For all the anti-Indian behavior and attitudes on the part of the white population, the latter often nourished an idealized view of the "noble savage," which historians have shown coexisted with the most genocidal of dispositions. Millions of white Americans have bragged that they had "Indian blood," and often cited it by quantum, as in "I'm one-eighth Cherokee." The appropriation of Indian land was accompanied by an extensive appropriation of the Indian genetic heritage and Indian symbolic identification with America. The topic of white-Indian mixture was most often discussed in terms of blood quantum, not only by federal officials but also by tribal governments and in everyday conversation on the part of whites.[18]

The affirmation of Indian ancestry proceeds apace in our own time. In the twenty years between 1970 and 1990, the federal census reported an increase of 259 percent in the American Indian population despite a very low birthrate. What had happened, of course, is that more and more Americans decided to "come out" as part Indian.[19] The American Indian population, even as expanded, remains a tiny fraction of the nation—about 1 percent—but it demands mention on account of the contrast it presents to the African-American case. We do not see a multitude of ostensibly white Americans reclassifying themselves as part black.[20]

The stigma carried by blackness is unique, and is affixed and perpetuated resolutely by the American practice of treating blackness as a monolithic identity that an individual either has or does not have on the basis of the principle that any African ancestry at all determines that one is simply black.[21] The invidiousness of this "one-drop rule" was eloquently encapsulated by Barbara Fields more than twenty years ago: we have a convention "that considers a white woman capable of giving birth to a black child but denies that a black woman can give birth to a white child."[22] One has not been able to say, "I'm one-eighth African American" without giving up socially, if not legally, the seven-eighths part of one's self that is not. You can be one-eighth Cherokee and still be seven-eighths something else, but if you are one-eighth black you are not likely to be counted as white at all. Indeed, one index of the power of the one-drop rule for blacks is that some Indian tribal governments

[18] For an accessible, pointed discussion of the ambiguities of "Indianness," including an account of the popular practice of claiming a fractional Indian ancestry, almost always through one's grandmother, see P. S. Deloria and Robert Laurence, "What's an Indian?" *Arkansas Law Review* 44 (1991), rpt. in Johnson, *Mixed Race*, 312–18.

[19] See the tables of the federal census as conveniently available in Norman R. Yetman, *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in American Life*, 6th edn. (Boston, 1999), 88.

[20] Such cases of attempted white-to-black reclassification, while rare, are not unknown. They are often discussed in relation to minority-eligible entitlement programs. This phenomenon is addressed in Luther Wright, Jr., "Who's Black, Who's White, and Who Cares," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 48 (1995), rpt. in Johnson, *Mixed Race*, 181–83.

[21] The standard history of the principle of hypodescent in the United States is F. James Davis, *Who Is Black?* (University Park, Pa., 1991). A readable popular account that increased public awareness is Lawrence Wright, "One Drop of Blood," *New Yorker* (July 25, 1994): 46–55.

[22] Barbara Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in Morgan Kousser, *et al.*, *Region, Race, and Reconstruction* (New York, 1982), 149.

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have recently tried to expel from tribal membership long-time members who have demonstrably black ancestors.[23]

Comparativists have often commented on the uniqueness to the United States of this principle of hypodescent.[24] The principle is widely taken for granted in the United States right down to the present, and is even defended as a political strategy in some contexts by organizations speaking for the interests of African Americans.[25] But the principle originates in the property interests of slaveholders. Children begotten upon slave women by their owners or by other white men would grow up as slaves, adding to the property of the owners of the women and preserving the amazingly durable fiction that male slaveholders and the other white males in the vicinity were faithful to their wives. The principle was sharpened during the Jim Crow era, when opposition to social equality for blacks was of course well served by a monolithic notion of blackness accompanied by legislation that outlawed as miscegenation black-white marriages but left less strictly regulated any non-marital sex in which white males might engage with black females. As Tocqueville famously remarked well before the Civil War, "To debauch a Negro girl hardly injures an American's reputation; to marry her dishonors him."[26]

Some of the slave era and Jim Crow regimes did employ fractional classifications, providing that "Octoroons," "Quadroons," and "Mulattos" be separately counted and allowed distinctive rights and privileges in some jurisdictions.[27] But this fractional approach was hard to administer, invited litigation, and blurred lines that many whites wanted kept sharp. In 1894, Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson* mocked a law that stipulated 1/32 as the fraction of black ancestry that decided one's race.[28] "Mulatto" was dropped from the federal census after 1920, and more and more state governments went the way of the Virginia statute, which as revised in 1924 classified as white only a person "who has no trace whatsoever of blood other than Caucasian."[29]

[23] For the case of the Seminoles, see "Who Is a Seminole, and Who Gets to Decide?" *New York Times* (January 29, 2001): 1.

[24] A recent example is the summary discussion by David Parker and Miri Song in the introduction to their edited collection, *Rethinking "Mixed Race"* (London, 2001), 13–14. A cogent account of the different histories of ethnoracial categorization and related public policies in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States is G. Reginald Daniel, "Multiracial Identity in Global Perspective: The United States, Brazil, and South Africa," in Loretta I. Winters and Herman L. DeBose, eds., *New Faces in a Changing America: Multiracial Identity in the 21st Century* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 2003), 247–86.

[25] See the comments on this issue by Christine B. Hickman, "The Devil and the 'One Drop' Rule," *Michigan Law Review* 95 (1997), rpt. in Johnson, *Mixed Race*, 104–10.

[26] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop, trans. and ed. (Chicago, 2000), 590.

[27] For a detailed account of the legal history of hypodescent prior to its sharpening in the early twentieth century, see Michael A. Elliott, "Telling the Difference: Nineteenth-Century Legal Narratives of Racial Taxonomy," *Law and Social Inquiry* 24 (1999): 611–36. For a similarly detailed account of the history of the U.S. Census's engagement with mixture from 1790 to the present, see Ann Morning, "New Faces, Old Faces: Counting the Multiracial Population Past and Present," in Winters and DeBose, *New Faces*, 41–67.

[28] Mark Twain, *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (Hartford, Conn., 1894).

[29] The text of the Virginia "Act to Preserve Racial Integrity" is available in Sollors, *Interracialism*, 23–24. Hypodescent, it should be acknowledged, was not universally applied in all states even after 1924. Louisiana law, for example, was always more responsive to degrees of African descent than the laws of most other states. The inconsistencies of efforts to impose fractional definitions in the laws of various states is a major theme of Teresa Zackondik, "Fixing the Color Line: The Mulatto, Southern Courts, and Racial Identity," *American Quarterly* 53 (September 2001): 420–51.

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Criticism of this one-drop rule has surfaced from time to time,[30] but not until the 1990s did critical discussion of hypodescent become sustained and widespread in mainstream media. The lead in this discussion was taken by persons at least some of whose white ancestry derives from recent voluntary unions rather than from the legacy of the exploitation of slave women by white masters and overseers.[31] But at stake is the degree of identity choice available to all black individuals whose measure of whiteness has been erased by law and convention. At stake, too, is the extent to which the United States as a whole will finally acknowledge the reality of the black-white mixing that has already taken place, and will thus be obliged to accept a fact long recognized by scholars: that blackness in the United States is an ascribed status, imposed on a spectrum of color shades and descent percentages, rather than a category of nature.[32] At stake, further and most important, is the significance of blackness itself in this society. While there is a danger that the acceptance of mixture will ultimately reinforce white privilege by treating as "white" all but the darkest, who might then be all the more isolated and subject to enduring prejudice, isn't there also a more hopeful prospect? The more that mixture is accepted, the less fear there might be of what is being mixed. Blackness itself might become less stigmatized. If the one-drop rule is an indicator of the depth of anti-black racism, might not the weakening of that rule be an indicator of the diminution of that racism? The present historical moment differs from previous episodes of "whiting" in that now the very white-black distinction is being critically engaged rather than reinforced and sharpened in the process of being relocated to render Jews, Italians, Mexicans, and others more clearly white and blacks more clearly black.

The vigorous debate over the census classifications—should there be a box to check for mixed race, should an individual be able to check more than one box, and so forth—is only the most visible aspect of an unprecedented discursive episode in the history of American engagement with our question. A society that often has policed the black-white color line with terror now registers a more relaxed fascination with the crossing of that line, even widespread acceptance of such crossings. Hollywood movies explore the theme with increasing frequency, and family memoirs of black-white fusion fill the display tables at bookstores. Some of these books—including James McBride's *The Color of Water* and Shirlee Taylor Haizlip's *The Sweeter the Juice*—have become bestsellers.[33] And among recent

[30] The definitive work on the literary history of black-white mixing is Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature* (New York, 1997).

[31] A discerning study of the sociology of the new "multiracial movement" is Kim Williams, "From Civil Rights to the Multiracial Movement," in Winters and DeBose, *New Faces*, 85–98.

[32] For an exceptionally clear and fair-minded analysis of the concept of "race" in the American historical context, see Lawrence Blum, *"I'm Not a Racist, But . . . "* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002). For a helpful sampling of recent theoretical writings on this concept, see Bernard Boxill, ed., *Race and Racism* (Oxford, 2001), especially Boxill's introduction, 1–41, and the opening essay by Naomi Zack, "Race and Philosophic Meaning," 43–82. See also Naomi Zack, ed., *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity* (Lanham, Md., 1995).

[33] James McBride, *The Color of Water* (New York, 1999); Shirlee Taylor Haizlip, *The Sweeter the Juice* (New York, 1994); see also Paul Spickard, "The Subject Is Mixed Race: The Boom in Biracial Biography," in Parker and Song, *Rethinking "Mixed Race,"* 76–98. Spickard addresses more than three dozen biographies and memoirs published in the United States in the 1990s. He also engages critically (80–81) one of the most widely read essays of the 1990s on ethnoracial mixture and the one-drop rule,

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fiction bestsellers, Philip Roth's *The Human Stain* gives us the most artistically and morally ambitious treatment of black-white mixing and of the multiple paradoxes of the one-drop rule offered by a white novelist since Mark Twain.[34] Organizations lobbying for greater recognition of ethnoracial mixture proliferate, sponsor conferences, publish volume after volume, and now operate numerous web sites.[35] DNA evidence lending support to the old suspicion that Thomas Jefferson fathered children with a slave mistress has stimulated sympathetic retellings of the Jefferson–Sally Hemings story that help mark the difference between our time and even the very recent past, when the mere mention of Hemings was often received as a scurrilous attack on Jefferson's honor. Tellers of the Jefferson-Hemings story now explore more readily the possibility that the relationship was a tender and loving one, and sometimes imply that the relationship, despite the horrors of slavery, illustrates the way in which American society is a single, extended family.[36] One journalist after another takes as a harbinger for the nation's demographic and ideological future the determination of the popular golf champion Tiger Woods to affirm all aspects of his multiple ancestry, including black, white, Indian, Chinese, and Thai.[37]

Oprah Winfrey proclaimed the mixed-descent Woods to be "America's son" in a construction that invites a comparison between what Woods' "family tree" might look like and the family tree of another "America's son," the one drawn by Norman Rockwell at about the time of Hannah Arendt's imbroglio with *Commentary* and the Lovings' arrest in Virginia. Rockwell's "Family Tree," offered as the *Saturday Evening Post* cover for October 24, 1959, is defined by a preoccupation with degrees of respectability and with Union-Confederate reconciliation, not by the mixing of

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Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "White Like Me," *New Yorker* (June 17, 1996): 66–81, an analysis of the life of "black" writer Anatole Broyard, who passed as white.

[34] Philip Roth, *The Human Stain* (New York, 2000). But while Twain allowed the "black" character growing up as white to display disturbing behaviors that played to his reader's suspicions that "black blood" might carry negative propensities, Roth embraced his "black" character in what was, for Roth, the ultimate psychological and cultural solidarity: Roth endowed Coleman Silk with the persona Roth had developed affectionately in novel after novel over the course of thirty-five years, the persona of the neurotic Jewish intellectual. Midway between Twain and Roth, chronologically, another prominent white novelist addressed the theme, but Sinclair Lewis's *Kingsblood Royal* (New York, 1947) offered white readers few of the concessions Twain did, was covered by none of the conventions of humor that gave Twain great license for dealing with sensitive topics, and was too deeply radical in its critique of racism and of the one-drop rule to generate a positive response from a white readership in the 1940s.

[35] The most prominent organizations include the Association of MultiEthnic Americans and Project RACE (Reclassify All Children Equally); http://www.webcom/intvoice is the web site for another such organization, "Interracial Voice." One scholar has counted more than eighty multi-racial organizations established in the United States since 1979; see Williams, "From Civil Rights to the Multiracial Movement," 93. Two volumes of the 1990s that advanced public awareness of this movement were edited by a president of the Association of MultiEthnic Americans: M. M. Root, ed., *Racially Mixed People in America* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1992); Root, ed., *The Multiracial Experience* (Newbury Park, Calif., 1996).

[36] For a thorough, scholarly review of the evidence, see Joseph J. Ellis, "Jefferson: Post-DNA," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 57 (2000): 125–38.

[37] Woods stimulated extensive public discussion of the one-drop rule in 1997 when he told talk-show host Oprah Winfrey on national television that he was not comfortable being labeled "black," and sometimes thought of himself as a "Cablinasian," a label made up of fragments of "Caucasian," "black," "Indian," and "Asian." For an informative discussion of the controversy surrounding Woods, see Henry Yu, "How Tiger Woods Lost His Stripes," in John Carlos Rowe, ed., *Post-Nationalist American Studies* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 223–46.

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FIGURE 1: "Family Tree" by Norman Rockwell. Copyright 1959 SEPS: licensed by Curtis Publishing, Indianapolis, Indiana. All rights reserved. www.curtispublishing.com.

ethnoracial groups. (See Figure 1.) Rockwell shows the stylized, Ozzie-and-Harriet era white child to be the descendant of, among other characters, a colonial-era pirate and frontier-based "Squaw man" and their mates. There is no black face on the tree, but Rockwell invites beholders, while chuckling at their culture's tendency

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for genealogical aggrandizement, to be comfortable with the Indian woman in the Anglo child's genealogy, as well as with the presence there of a proto-Latina in the person of the pirate's mate.[38] The whiteness of the cherubic little boy at the top of the painting filters visually down the tree—and back through American history—to cover all the people Rockwell admits into the company of begetters and begotten. The men whose social marginality is marked by their non-Anglo mates are thus recognized in the family tree of the white 1950s, as are even the slightly darker women who coupled with the one-eyed pirate and the scruffy frontiersman. Rockwell's "Family Tree" is a super-Anglo picture of the American population, in which tiny quantities of Hispanic and Indian descent are feminized, located in a distant past, and diluted to the point of non-recognition in Rockwell's white present. Had Rockwell been more concerned to display an ethnoracially marked melting pot, he might well have rendered some of the more swarthy figures in the picture easily recognized as non-Anglo European immigrants. But the evident lack of such an intent on Rockwell's part renders his inclusion of the Indian and the *senorita/senora* all the more revealingly incidental. It was inconceivable that Rockwell would have encouraged the white readers of the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1959 to suppose that a black person might be among their ancestors, but it was not a stretch to get Indians and Latinos into the mix.

But the ancestry of Tiger Woods also includes Chinese and Thai. Woods' partly Asian ancestry can direct us to one of the circumstances that have promoted the extraordinary new display of interest in the question of ethnoracial mixture in our own time and can turn us, also, to dimensions of the question involving Americans of Asian and Latin American descent.

MASSIVE IMMIGRATION FROM ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA since about 1970 has radically altered the ethnoracial composition of the United States, has produced new kinds of mixtures, and by enacting socially recognized mixture on a large scale has made some African Americans all the more cognizant of the invidious character of the one-drop rule for black identity.[39] We get a sense of the magnitude of this new migration if we contemplate the fact that the number of non-black immigrants between 1970 and 2000 who are also non-Europeans roughly equals the number of African Americans already resident in the United States in 1980, about 26 million. Another 9 million non-black immigrants entered the United States during the same three decades, especially from Russia, Ukraine, Poland, and Iran (a "Middle Eastern" rather than an "Asian" country by popular reckoning), but the Asian and Latin American migrations were the most relevant to our question. Each of these

[38] The convention of representing non-Anglo ancestry as disproportionately female is often noted in the literature on ethnoracial mixtures. See, for example, Bethany Ruth Berger, "After Pocahontas: Indian Women and the Law, 1830–1934," *American Indian Law Review* 1 (1997), rpt. in Johnson, *Mixed Race*, 71–80.

[39] For a memoir of a "black" person who questioned hypodescent only after encountering the *mestizaje* associated with Latinos, see Ranier Spencer, "Race and Mixed-Race: A Personal Tour," in William S. Penn, ed., *As We Are Now: Mixblood Essays on Race and Identity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 126–39, esp. 134–35.

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two cases had features that distinguished it from the other, and from the African-American case to which both are often compared.

Immigrants from Asia were entering a country with only a tiny number of preexisting Asian Americans—there were only about a million and a half at the time of the Celler Act in 1965, well under 1 percent of the population—yet a country with a history of anti-Asian prejudice that in some respects ran parallel to anti-black prejudice, even legally, and in other respects did not. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first nationally or ethnoracially group-specific restriction on immigration, and Asian immigrants generally remained ineligible to become naturalized citizens until 1952, when Congress finally abolished the white-only principle for naturalization that had been in place since 1790 and that courts had subsequently construed to apply to immigrants from India as well from East Asia.[40] Asians were never constitutionally enslaved, nor were they lynched in large numbers in the twentieth century, but some of the miscegenation statutes listed "Oriental" or "Mongolian" along with "Negro."[41] In southern states, this followed less from the presence of Asian ethnics—there were almost none in most southern states—than from doctrinal consistency.

Only in a few western states, especially California, was the prohibition of marriages between whites and Asians a serious project. Yet even California's miscegenation statute had been ruled unconstitutional by that state's own supreme court in 1948, nearly twenty years before *Loving v. Virginia* and even more distant from the new wave of immigrants from China, Korea, Vietnam, India, and other Asian nations that began to appear. By the time of that immigration, moreover, most white Americans who had an opinion about Japanese internment during World War II, the most notorious enactment of anti-Asian prejudice in popular memory, regarded that internment as a dreadful mistake, deserving even of reparations, which were in fact eventually paid.[42]

Hence the new immigrants from Asia were entering the country at a time when anti-Asian prejudice was in decline and when restrictions on Asian-white marriages were a distant memory in the parts of the country where most Asians had been living and where most of the new immigrants settled. These circumstances—taken together with the fact that many of the new immigrants from Asia had vibrant international kinship networks and marketable skills that quickly translated into strong class position—help explain the rapid incorporation of Asian ethnics into American society, even as measured by intermarriage. In the 1990 census, about half of the Asian Americans who had been born in the United States and were then

[40] The law had been modified in 1870 to provide for the naturalization of persons of African descent, but the bar to the naturalization of immigrants from Asia had been mitigated only by the 1943 provision of an annual quota of 105 Chinese immigrants attendant upon the repeal in that year of the Chinese Exclusion Act.

[41] Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law," 49, notes that fourteen states had included Asian Americans, under a variety of labels, at one time or another, and that nine did the same with "Maylays," the term long in use for Filipinos.

[42] The movement for reparations for Japanese-American internees came to climax in 1988 with the passage of the Civil Liberties Act (also known as the Japanese American Redress Bill), which authorized a payment of $20,000 to each victim of internment. Although this figure did not come close to compensating the interned persons for the amount of property loss suffered by many of them, it was an important symbolic gesture.

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getting married were acquiring non-Asian spouses.[43] The high rate of Asian-white marriage blurs the line between these two descent communities, and thus speaks to the question of ethnoracial mixture behaviorally by exemplifying the relative ease of mixture even for a non-European group against which miscegenation laws were once on the books and members of which were thrown into concentration camps without a shred of due process even within my own lifetime.[44]

The expansion through immigration of the Hispanic or Latino descent community, too, speaks behaviorally to the question of ethnoracial mixture in a highly different context, yet in terms that eventually proved almost as challenging to the habit of taking the African-American case as a model for understanding and responding to the injustices done to other ethnoracially defined minorities. Part of what it meant to be Latino to begin with constituted a challenge to the American system of classification, because the category was less strictly color-marked. Immigrants from Mexico, by far the largest Latin American producer of immigrants to the United States, were understood to derive from two descent communities classified as races in the United States: Caucasian and Indian. The mixing of Spanish colonials from Europe with the indigenous population of the New World generated the notion of mestizo. The more Mexican Americans in the United States, as Gary Nash has observed, the less relevant were the old "racial" categories.[45]

This mixing of European and indigenous blood did not prevent the Latino population of the Southwest from being abused by Anglos, who found the Latinos different enough whatever they were made of. Segregated schools were common in the 1920s and 1930s in Texas, California, and Arizona. Texas citizens of Mexican descent were routinely prevented from serving on juries until 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, in *Hernandez v. Texas*, that the Fourteenth Amendment rights of Hispanics, even though said to be "white" by the state of Texas, were violated when Hispanics were excluded as a "class" from service on juries. Yet none of the miscegenation statutes mention Latinos by any of the names they might have been called. Latinos were usually regarded as legally white even when being stigmatized and mistreated. In court cases under miscegenation law, persons said by opposing counsel to be Negro, as Peggy Pascoe has shown, often insisted that they were actually Mexican. Much then depended on a court's assessment of the "pedigree," as it was often put, of a person whose marriage was under threat of annulment on the grounds of the alleged discovery of a partly black ancestry.[46]

The understanding that to be Mexican was to be legally white was so taken for granted in some settings that the plaintiff in the California suit that resulted in the invalidating of that state's miscegenation statute was herself a Mexican American. Andrea Perez, both of whose parents had been born in Mexico, sued several Los

[43] Reynolds Farley, "Racial Issues: Recent Trends in Residential Patterns and Intermarriage," in Neil Smelser and Jeffrey Alexander, eds., *Diversity and Its Discontents* (Princeton, N.J., 1999), 126. See also Roberto Suro, "Mixed Doubles," *American Demographics* (November 1999): 56–62.

[44] For a far-ranging discussion of out-marriage by Asian Americans, see Frank Wu, *Yellow: Race in America beyond Black and White* (New York, 2002), 261–300.

[45] Gary Nash, "Toward a Recognition of Mestizo America," *Journal of American History* 82 (December 1995): 941–62.

[46] Pascoe, "Miscegenation Law," 51–52.

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FIGURE 2: Andrea Perez in a 1982 staff photo, from Morningside Elementary School in Pacoima, California, where Perez worked as a bilingual teacher's aide while in her sixties. Photo courtesy of Dara Orenstein and Morningside Elementary School District. Perez was the plaintiff in the case that struck down California's miscegenation law in 1948 and set the frame for *Loving v. Virginia*. She met her black husband-to-be while working in an airplane assembly plant during World War II and remained married to him until her death in 2000.

Angeles County clerks for declining to issue a marriage license enabling her to marry a man who was black, whom she met on the assembly line in her capacity as a "Rosie the Riveter." (See Figure 2.) Right in the heart of the history of our question, then, in the pathbreaking case on which *Loving v. Virginia* was modeled, Latinos were sufficiently Caucasian that Perez's Mexican ancestry was not even mentioned in the case's documents and was rarely noted in newspapers other than those published by and for African Americans.[47] *Perez v. Sharp* is a reminder of how different California was from the states of the former Confederacy: its state supreme court actually threw out a miscegenation statute, and it did so a full decade before the Lovings were arrested and Hannah Arendt shocked New York liberals

[47] For accounts of Perez's suit and of press attention to it, see Mark Robert Brilliant, "Color Lines: Civil Rights Struggles on America's 'Racial Frontier,' 1945–1975" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 2002), 129; and Dara Orenstein, "Between the Lines: Mexicans, Miscegenation, and *Perez v. Sharp*," unpublished paper, 2002.

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with her interest in the issue.[48] The situation was somewhat different in Texas, where Andrea Perez might well have been allowed to marry a black man. Mexicans "were rarely, if ever prosecuted" when they married blacks, as Neil Foley has explained, because Mexicans, while legally white, were "often regarded as non-white." Yet many "middle class Texas Mexicans," Foley summarizes, were eventually able to move "out of the ethnoracial borderlands between blackness and whiteness by constructing identities as Americans and embracing whiteness" because they, unlike African Americans, were not "racially marked as black" by "the so-called one-drop rule."[49]

Even in California, however, Mexican Americans had not been considered white when they wanted to marry Asians. Thus quite a number of Punjabi immigrants acquired Mexican-American spouses in the 1920s and 1930s because county clerks enforced the state's prohibition on Asian-white marriages only when the Asian Indians sought to marry Anglos. This anomaly is rendered all the more striking by the fact that the South Asian immigrants were technically Caucasian according to classic race theory, but in 1923 were declared by the U.S. Supreme Court to be non-white anyway.[50]

Yet the federal government was eventually obliged to recognize that some Latinos were on the black side of the black-white color line. Puerto Ricans and immigrants from Cuba and the Dominican Republic, for example, grew up in societies that did not mark the black-white color line sharply, with the result that, in the words adopted by the Census Bureau in 1970, "Hispanics can be of any race." This simple declarative, designed to acknowledge that some people the government classified as racially black were socially and culturally identified with Latin America, was remarkable in several respects. It subtly compromised the principle of hypodescent for blacks. It left intact the notion that white and black were racial rather than ethnic categories and that there was an important distinction between race and ethnicity. And it produced the awkward, antiphonal census category of "non-Hispanic white."[51] Thus the Bureau of the Census ended up designating the

[48] *Perez v. Sharp*, 32 Cal. 2d 711, 198 P.2d 17.

[49] Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 208, 211. See also Foley, "Becoming Hispanic: Mexican Americans and the Faustian Pact with Whiteness," in Foley, ed., *Reflexiones: New Directions in Mexican American Studies* (Austin, Tex., 1998), 53–70.

[50] For the South Asian and Latino mixture, see Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia, 1992). A helpful discussion of the Supreme Court's 1923 ruling in *U.S. v. Thind* that South Asians were non-white can be found in Ian Haney Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York, 1996), 86–92. California officials were not always clear whether ethnic Filipinos were covered by the "Mongolian" provision of that state's anti-miscegenation statute. Decisions were made on a county-to-county basis until 1933, when the state's supreme court, responding to a suit brought by a Filipino American protesting the refusal of the Los Angeles County clerk's office to issue him a marriage license to marry a white woman, ruled that Filipinos were not covered. The legislature promptly added "Malay" to the statute. For California and Filipino Americans, see Leti Volpp, "American Mestizo: Filipinos and Anti-Miscegenation Laws in California," *University of California Davis Law Review* 33 (2000), rpt. in Johnson, *Mixed Race*, 86–93.

[51] A convenient listing of the Census Bureau's shifting categories from decade to decade is provided as an appendix to Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford, Calif., 2000), 187–90. For a probing discussion of the role of "blackness" within Latino political solidarities, see Silvio Torres-Saillant, "Problematic Paradigms: Racial Diversity and Corporate Identity in the Latino Community," in Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco and Mariela M. Paez, eds., *Latinos Remaking America* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 435–55.

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white majority of the whole country not by a label designed specifically for it but by referring to what that majority was not. It is as if the only term one had for British people from outside Wales was "non-Welsh British."

The Latino case had other peculiarities. Latinos shared with Asian Americans a history free of legally recognized slavery within the United States, but, unlike immigrants from Asia, their immigration had not been decisively restricted. Mexicans, whose naturalization rights had been guaranteed by treaty in 1848 and whose inexpensive agricultural labor was sought by landowners in the Southwest, had been exempted from the epochal Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 that ended the massive immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe and made more rigid the exclusions of Asians that were already in place. Despite the resulting migration across the border, however, only 4.5 percent of the American population were Hispanic as registered by the census of 1970.[52]

That figure had gone up to 12.5 percent by 2000, thus bringing into much greater prominence a "racially" mixed community of descent that some Latino advocates insisted should be called a "race" of its own, subject to abandoning the biological understanding of race and replacing it with a more cultural one.[53] It is no wonder the government resisted this move, because if the race-ethnicity distinction were broken in the direction of classifying Latinos as a race, where else might this move lead? Were Jews, too, a race after all, because the Nazis, even if they got the theory wrong, managed to get the word right? What about Arabs? Armenians? Irish? Many scholars have long since adopted the terms "ethnoracial," "communities of descent," and "racialized groups" to refer to what were once called either "races" or "ethnic groups," recognizing the blurred, contingent, and constructed character of the relevant boundaries, but the Census Bureau and much of the American public remains in the thrall of the concept of race.[54]

In the meantime, more and more of the already mixed Latinos were getting married to non-Latinos. By the 1990 census, nearly one-third of Latinos born in the United States who were getting married were out-marrying.[55] By 2000, it was

[52] For a new study of the politics of the immigration restriction legislation of 1924, see M. M. Ngai, "The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law," *Journal of American History* 86 (1999): 67–92.

[53] For an exceptionally clear and well-informed discussion of the census categories and their relation to ethnoracial mixture, including a review of the specific issue of how to deal with Latinos, see Joel Perlmann, *Reflecting the Changing Face of America: Multiracials, Racial Classification, and American Intermarriage* (Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y., 1997).

[54] For an up-to-date, critical overview of the scientific utility of the concept of "race," see Joseph L. Graves, Jr., *The Emperor's New Clothes: Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2001). See also the pointed interventions of James F. Crow and Ernest Mayr, in *Daedalus* (Winter 2002): 81–88 and 89–94, and by Bruce Wallace in the Spring 2002 issue (144–46) of the same journal. Although the characterization of race as a "social construction" rather than a biological reality has been a mantra in recent decades for people who defend the continued use of "race," a difficulty is that the term long maintained its currency in the English language as a way of denoting exactly those features of a human being that cannot be changed by social conditions, as in the saying, "The leopard cannot change its spots" (which derives from an ancient commentary on skin color, Jeremiah 13: 23, which reads: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the Leopard his spots?"). Hence a term with an imposing history of denoting a permanent, physically embedded, "natural kind" is asked now to refer to contingent social relationships that many advocates of the word's continued use believe can and should be changed. In this context, some discussants (for example, Blum, *"I'm Not a Racist,"* esp. 147–63) now refer to "racialized groups" instead of "races."

[55] Farley, "Racial Issues," 126; Suro, "Mixed Doubles," 58.

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clearer than ever that out-marriage for Latinos increased with the number of years north of the border, and with levels of education and income. The Latinos least likely to out-marry were the most poorly educated of recent immigrants (often illegal) and their children, whose chances of getting ahead were diminished by the decay of the public school system and other public services in California and elsewhere in the Southwest. The Latino case thus confirms the implications of the Asian-American case that class position exercises enormous influence over the relative stability of ethnoracial boundaries.

That the weak class position of most African Americans owes much to the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow has long been understood, but the formidable role of miscegenation law in that legacy is not widely appreciated. The defense of slaves as property is what inspired not only hypodescent but also miscegenation law itself as first developed in the Chesapeake colonies during the seventeenth century. The governments of the slave-intensive colonies and their successor states did not try very hard to prevent the birth of children with black mothers and white fathers, but they did act to make it difficult for the children of such unions to achieve any right to inheritance. As Eva Saks has established on the basis of an analysis of the entire history of the relevant court cases, fear of property loss was a driving force behind the prohibition on black-white marriage. And so it remained right down to the Civil War. Emancipation deprived the white southerners of their property in the form of slave chattels, but these white southerners could protect much of the rest of their property and recreate some of the social and economic conditions of slavery by preventing most descendants of black-white sexual unions from advancing inheritance claims. The ex-Confederates did this by legally marking all of the issue of their former slaves as permanently and exclusively black and by prohibiting any black person from marrying a white person. Hence all children of black-white couplings were bastards, and under the law in many jurisdictions they had no claim to inheritance. Jim Crow–era legislators and judges, as Saks shows, knew full well what was at stake. Six of the Reconstruction state governments had repealed the miscegenation statutes of the slave era, but as soon as the Republicans withdrew federal power in 1877—not to deliver it again for eighty years, when President Eisenhower did it at Little Rock—the former slaveholders and their allies regained control, and promptly reenacted and sharpened the slave era's prohibitions on black-white marriage.[56]

The combination of hypodescent with the denial to blacks residing in many states with large black populations of any opportunity for legal marriage to whites ensured that the color line would long remain to a very large extent a property line. Hence the dynamics of *race* formation and the dynamics of *class* formation were, in this most crucial of all American cases, largely the same. This is one of the most important truths about the history of the United States brought into sharper focus when that history is viewed through the lens of the question of ethnoracial mixture.

[56] Eva Saks, "Representing Miscegenation Law," *Raritan* 8 (Fall 1988): 39–69.

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IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS TRUTH, it cannot be repeated often enough that miscegenation law generally treated Latinos as white, and it was applied with little consistency to Indians and Asians. To be sure, marital and legal reproductive freedoms for Indians and Asian Americans were restricted in some states for a number of years. But these restrictions did not perpetuate the social and economic conditions of slavery, and thus had a less profound effect on class position. Moreover, the bulk of the Latino and Asian-American population of the United States today are either immigrants or the children of immigrants, not the descendants of families who were directly affected by the miscegenation laws of state governments within the United States. To recognize these differences is not to obscure the injustice inflicted on non-black descent groups, which historians have amply documented. But it is to confront the peculiar circumstances, duration, and class-consolidating consequences of anti-black racism. The power of this particular variety of racism to perform such extreme racialization and economic domination derived from the fact that black people, and they alone, were overwhelmingly the descendants of men and women who had been pieces of property in the British colonies and in the United States, and that these black people, unlike immigrants of all colors, even those from Mexico, had little choice but to reside in the country in which their ancestors had been enslaved, and that they, unlike Indians, carried no mystique of the new American Eden.

Yet these differences in the historical experience of the several American minority descent groups sometimes have been hidden from view as we react in horror to the evils of white racism wholesale. This happened during the 1960s when the nation's system of anti-racist programs was organized and during the 1970s when these programs were consolidated and the political alliances supporting these programs were cemented. At those historical moments, significantly, almost nobody wanted to look at the society and history of the United States through the lens of our question.

Legal and educational initiatives primarily designed with African Americans in mind were extended to other historically disadvantaged ethnoracial minorities, implicitly color-coded as yellow, brown, and red. People in each of these color groups had been dreadfully mistreated, after all, and were still the victims of prejudice in many contexts. It was convenient to apply to those groups the basic approach already worked out for black Americans. As John D. Skrentny has shown, the assumption that this or that group was "like blacks" drove the "minority rights revolution" in certain directions, while the failure of the black analogy to gain credibility in relation to some other classes of well-mobilized disadvantaged persons limited the scope of that revolution.[57]

Although the decision to expand the range of Affirmative Action beyond the black population was taken in the 1960s by government bureaucrats with little pressure from political organizations devoted to advancing the interests of Asian Americans, Latinos, and Indians, such organizations usually welcomed these expansions once effected, and in the 1970s they became forces behind the defense

[57] John D. Skrenty, *The Minority Rights Revolution* (New York, 2002). See also the essays collected in Skrentny, ed., *Color Lines: Affirmative Action, Immigration, and Civil Rights Options for America* (Chicago, 2001).

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of Affirmative Action programs. A conglomerate of minority advocacy organizations seemed like a good political investment. And at exactly the time that these lobby groups and the governmental and educational officials who responded to their concerns were acting, black Americans were asserting themselves vigorously as a group, showing more interest in group solidarity than in the problematic character of the one-drop rule. The black model as understood in the early 1970s—by African-American advocacy organizations as well as by public officials and courts—carried the assumption of sharp group boundaries as facts of life and did not offer a challenge to such boundaries as historically contingent constructions.[58] Indeed, to proceed otherwise was potentially to deny to victims of white racism the benefits they were due: if the one-drop rule defined discrimination, it naturally defined anti-discrimination remedies.

What came to be called Affirmative Action and multiculturalism were both predicated on the sense that ethnoracial groups were clearly bounded, durable entities. This sense was strongly reinforced throughout the 1970s by negative representations of the very ideal of assimilation, which as supervised by Anglo-Protestants was said to have robbed immigrant groups, especially Catholics from Ireland, Poland, and Italy, of their cultural heritage. Michael Novak's 1971 bestseller, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, gave voice to the notion that what really called for defense was the integrity of groups rather than the opportunity to cross the boundaries between them.[59] In 1972, Congress passed the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act, providing federal funds for programs that would study the culture of ethnic groups. Sociologists sometimes interpreted this upsurge of European ethnicities as largely a symbolic affirmation of old world images facilitated by the very extent of the assimilation experienced by the ethnicity-affirming populations, and asserted that the upsurge was in some respects a "backlash" against official attention to the needs of black people.[60] Yet these anti-assimilationist, culturally particularist gestures on the part of many European-derived descent groups rendered all the more credible the multiculturalist and Affirmative Action initiatives that played to the enduring integrity of each community of descent. Educational initiatives as well as entitlement programs were better able to get moving if one supposed the society to be divided up in easily managed, often color-coded groups, each possessed of its own culture.[61]

[58] The somewhat different perspective advanced by leaders of African-American organizations in different periods is illustrated by the praise black leaders of the late 1940s gave to Sinclair Lewis's *Kingsblood Royal*, a novel that was in fact based on the life of the light-skinned Walter White, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Although the novel's devastating critique of anti-black racism and the illogic of the one-drop rule found little white support, Lewis's implication that blackness was a social construct was welcomed by many black Americans, as readers of the *New York Times* were recently reminded by Brent Staples, "When the Bard of 'Main Street' Turned the Kingsbood Family Black," *New York Times* (August 18, 2002): IV, 12. For a sound analysis of the novel and the difficulties white critics of the 1940s had in understanding it, see Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 265–71. Lewis in effect drew Norman Rockwell's family tree with a black face in it.

[59] Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York, 1971).

[60] The most influential intervention to this effect was Herbert Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1979): 1–20.

[61] It should be noted that the unique historical and constitutional situation of American Indians was widely recognized by Congress and the federal courts during this period, even while American Indians were commonly incorporated into the educational and entitlement programs described here. The

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But in this wholesome rush to recognize diversity while reducing it to a manageable set of monoliths, questions that later proved to be important were not asked. As Skrentny, Hugh Davis Graham, and other scholars have documented, the officials who added one group or another to the list of those targeted for a particular entitlement provided few explanations for their often sweeping directives and rulings, held almost no public hearings to air the issues, and generally failed to think through the theoretical basis of their decisions.[62] Just what groups should benefit from group-specific entitlements and on the basis of what justification? What specific characteristics marked an individual as a member of a designated group? What was the significance of mixed descent? Were new immigrants as eligible as the descendants of slaves, and, if so, on the basis of what analysis of the relation of their particular descent community to the prior and present actions of the United States and its citizens?

As a result of the failure to address these questions, especially the last one, 26 million Asian and Latin American immigrants and their children eventually found themselves eligible for at least some Affirmative Action benefits simply by virtue of the fact that they had come from Panama or Taiwan or the Philippines rather than from Iraq or Greece or Russia. There was virtually no public debate on the issue of immigrant eligiblity for ethnoracially defined entitlements. Political opponents of Affirmative Action sometimes called attention to examples of well-to-do, highly educated immigrants taking up minority set-aside business contracts in programs that had won approval on the grounds that they would assist American-born blacks. But the intent was almost always to undermine all of Affirmative Action rather than to distinguish between its justification for blacks and its justification for immigrants and their children.[63] Federal agencies and courts—along with many multicultural education programs carrying out "affirmative action for cultures"—operated on the basis of an implicit calculus of victimization, but they shrank from the task of following through, of actually developing the calculus and offering it for public scrutiny.

To be sure, the pivotal political and administrative decisions were taken when the population of Asian Americans and Latinos was tiny—less than 1 percent of Americans were listed as of Asian descent in the census of 1970, and only 4.5 percent were Latinos—and before officials, civil rights leaders, and policy intellectuals had any inkling that the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 would produce so many immigrants from Asia and Latin America. Had the Asian-

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passage in 1978 of the Indian Child Welfare Act is an example of Indian-specific measures developed during the 1970s.

[62] Hugh Davis Graham, *Collision Course: The Strange Convergence of Affirmative Action and Immigration Policy in America* (New York, 2002); John D. Skrentny, "Affirmative Action and New Demographic Realities," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (February 16, 2001).

[63] One Republican senator attempting to discredit all of Affirmative Action observed that the wealthiest monarch in the world, the Borneo-based sultan of Brunei, would be in principle eligible for Affirmative Action if he immigrated to the United States. For this incident, and for an analysis of the decision of most Republicans to live with Affirmative Action despite its lack of popularity with voters, see John D. Skrentny, "Republican Efforts to End Affirmative Action: Walking a Fine Line," in Martin A. Levin, *et al.*, *Seeking the Center: Politics and Policymaking at the New Century* (Washington, D.C., 2001), 132–71. For examples of press coverage of European immigrants (especially from Portugal) who obtained contracts under Affirmative Action programs, see Graham, *Collision Course*, 154–55.

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American and Latino populations remained as steady as the African-American population, the extension of entitlements to these other groups might not have put the system under such pressure. But the millions of ethnoracially Asian and Latino immigrants revolutionized the meaning of descent-defined entitlements. The number of Americans potentially eligible for at least some Affirmative Action programs more than doubled even during the decades that Affirmative Action for American-born blacks was under increasing political pressure, and even as the relative ease with which the children of immigrants from Asia and Latin America mixed with Americans of European descent shattered the myth that all non-European ethnoracial groups in America were as tightly bounded as the black group, whose borders were kept tidy by the historically anomalous practice of hypodescent racialization.

Perhaps an intellectually coherent and politically viable argument could have been developed for entitlement programs for non-blacks, including some newly arriving immigrants. There was no shortage of abuses to be enumerated and assessed, nor was evidence lacking that many whites were prejudiced against persons of Asian or Latin American descent. White privilege was real, and there were good reasons to design programs to combat its power. But such an argument on behalf of policies serving non-blacks was not developed with sufficient specificity to preserve the special claims of African Americans, whose interests virtually all policymakers in the 1960s assumed was the point of the entire entitlement conversation.[64] Hence later on, when immigrant eligibility for Affirmative Action programs exposed the entire system of ethnoracially targeted entitlements to be a jerry-built, poorly theorized edifice quite different from what President Lyndon Johnson and his Great Society associates had in mind, and no longer subject to viable defense on the powerful grounds of the distinctive history of African Americans, it was too late to save Affirmative Action for African Americans except on the piecemeal basis to which political pressures of several kinds had reduced it by the end of the 1990s.

In the meantime, defenders of Affirmative Action rarely focused on immigrant eligibility for entitlement programs, and concentrated instead on charging opponents of Affirmative Action with trying to perpetuate white privilege. No doubt this charge was often true, but this emphasis in the defense of Affirmative Action also dodged the increasing complexity of the actual politics in which group preferences were embedded.[65] The edifice of ethnoracially defined entitlements had been

[64] Just how far the need to clarify the basis for entitlements for non-blacks was from almost everyone's mind is indicated by the character of the discussion that took place in 1965 at the single hearing held by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on EEO–1, the precedent-setting employer reporting form that became the model for later Affirmative Action documents throughout federal and state officialdoms and in the private sector. Although this form was defined by the four classic "minorities" of the ethnoracial pentagon that were made general to the entire federal bureaucracy in 1977 through the legendary Statistical Directive No. 15 of the Office of Management and Budget, no voice at the hearing commented even in passing on the non-black minorities. Everyone assumed the non-black groups to be so tiny a part of the picture as to require no discussion and to entail no policy dilemmas in the future. I owe this information about the EEOC hearing to John D. Skrentny.

[65] A prominent example of a vigorous mid-1990s defense of Affirmative Action that avoids the issue of immigrant eligibility is Stephen Steinberg, *Turning Back: The Retreat from Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy* (Boston, 1995). Steinberg deals extensively with immigration, which he sees as largely damaging to African Americans. But he treats Affirmative Action itself as if it applied only to

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designed architecturally by practical bureaucrats who did not foresee the potential scope of the edifice's operations; then, the political defense of the edifice against those who would dismantle it had been taken up by a multi-group coalition that tried to make the old design work despite increasingly apparent differences among the groups the edifice had come to serve.

A major consequence of this post-1960s episode in mixture avoidance and minority group equivalency was that the American public gradually lost its grip on an insight that had been prominent when the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were passed by large, bipartisan majorities in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. That insight was that the descent community of African Americans was historically unique. Only blacks inherit a multi-century legacy of group-specific enslavement and hypodescent racialization long carried out under constitutional authority in the United States. But the monolithic character of white racism has been so taken for granted that white racism has been assigned the same capacity often assigned to a single drop of black blood: the capacity to define equally whatever it touched, no matter how the affected entity was constituted and what its life circumstances might have been. We might call it the principle of white racist hypovictimization, or the one-hate rule. To become aware of the one-hate rule's ironic relation to the one-drop rule is not to imply that the damage done by honest efforts to combat white racism by treating it monolithically is remotely on the same scale as the damage done by hypodescent racialization. But this irony is another feature of the history of the United States that comes into clearer focus when that history is seen through the lens of the question of ethnoracial mixture.[66]

THERE IS YET MORE TO SEE through the lens of our question if we hold our gaze a bit longer and broaden its scope. By looking back from recent census data on the whole sweep of American history, prepared now to discern mixture even where it was denied by historical actors, we can see unfolding a human drama for which the vocabulary of the melting pot is not adequate, nor that of miscegenation, nor that of blood quantum. The concept of "assimilation," too, is insufficient, not only on account of its implication of a one-way process of newcomers adapting to an unchanging, prior society but also because the concept as commonly understood does not incorporate the prodigious black-white mixing masked by hypodescent racialization.[67] Nor do the recently popular, ahistorical figures of speech, "mosaic"

African Americans, and thus his arguments for its perpetuation, which are grounded in an analysis of the history of that single group, do not speak directly to the specific programs that were being diminished and abolished.

[66] This article was completed before the appearance of Peter Kolchin's judicious "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *Journal of American History* 89 (June 2002): 154–73. It is possible that more attention to the history of ethnoracial mixture can consolidate the historiographical advances Kolchin summarizes and address more forthrightly some of the desiderata he identifies.

[67] Yet the concept of assimilation, long maligned, is now being defended in ways that better enable it to convey part of the story I am calling "amalgamation." See Russell A. Kazel, "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History," *AHR* 100

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or "salad bowl," begin to capture the decidedly temporal, dialectical drama that should be recognized as a major theme in the history of the United States, and that should again be called by its proper name: amalgamation.

That drama of amalgamation is behind the 1990 census reports I have already mentioned, indicating out-marriage rates for young Latinos born in the United States at about 33 percent and for Asian Americans at about 50 percent.[68] On the same charts, the out-marriage rate for American Indians is about 60 percent. The experience of the European descent communities who entered the United States in large numbers during the great 1880–1924 migration is also highly pertinent. By the 1990s, persons who identified themselves as having Italian ancestry were acquiring spouses without any such ancestry at a rate of 73 percent, according to demographer Reynolds Farley, and the comparable figure for those with Polish ancestry was 81 percent.[69] Further from descent-group boundary maintenance are the descendants of the even earlier generations of migrants from Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia. Further still are the descendants of immigrants from England, Scotland, and Wales, the subdivisions of Great Britain that once seemed important to Anglo-Americans. These varieties of white assimilation are often taken for granted as we contemplate the very different experience of non-European descent communities, but in world-historical perspective this mixing of Europeans, too, is far from trivial.

The case of Jewish Americans invites special attention in view of the fact that Jews, more than Italians and Poles, and the other groups who comprised the migration from Eastern and Southern Europe, were subject to extensive, legally sanctioned discrimination in housing, public accommodations, education, and employment as recently as World War II. In 1940, Jewish Americans were marrying non-Jews at a rate of about 3 percent but, by 1990, were doing so at a rate of well over 50 percent.[70] Since Jewish Americans have very strong class position, their experience can remind us, once again, that class position often advances or retards rates of intermarriage.

The Census Bureau tells us that only about 6 percent of African Americans—defined by the hypodescent standard—were acquiring non-black spouses by 1990.[71] The final report on this aspect of the 2000 census is yet to be released, but

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(April 1995): 437–71; Richard Alba, "Assimilation's Quiet Tide," *Public Interest* (Spring 1995); Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), esp. chap. 3, "Not Everyone Is Chosen: Segmented Assimilation and Its Determinants," 44–69.

[68] Out-marriage rates differ considerably within these color-coded descent groups. About 60 percent of persons of Cuban and Puerto Rican ancestry born in the United States marry non-Latino spouses. Persons of Filipino and Korean ancestry born in the United States acquire non-Asian spouses at about the same rate. Mexican and Chinese out-marriage rates are lower. See Jerry Jacobs and Teresa Labov, "Gender Differentials in Intermarriage among Sixteen Race and Ethnic Groups," *Sociological Forum* (forthcoming, 2003).

[69] Farley, "Racial Issues," 126.

[70] For the 1940 figure, see Arthur Goren, "Jews," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 596; for 1990, see Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *Jews and the New American Scene* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 72. Lipset and Raab rely on the National Jewish Population Study of 1990, which reported that 57 percent of the Jews who had married during the five years previous to 1990 had married non-Jews.

[71] Farley, "Racial Issues," 126.

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preliminary assessments place the figure at about 10 percent.[72] Why is the black out-marriage rate so much lower today than the rate for other ethnoracial minorities? Although weak class position on the part of most blacks and an enduring prejudice against blacks on the part of most whites are no doubt prominent factors, and would fit with most of the sociological theory on the dynamics of mixture, there is surely more to it than that. Some blacks have their own reasons for seeking black spouses. This can be true for any community of descent, as internal community adhesives are often compelling. But there are obvious historical reasons why some American blacks, as opposed to members of groups based on immigration, might want as little as possible to do with American whites, today and perhaps for a very long time into the future.[73]

Yet when we look at the statistics, we cannot fail to notice that the rate of black-white marriage is now considerably greater—several times greater—than the rate of Jewish-gentile marriage only sixty years ago. And we need to remember that not everyone who cohabits and reproduces gets married. The percentage of the American population—white and black, and even yellow and brown and red—that is getting married at all is diminishing. Non-marital cohabitation across ethnoracial lines is generally believed to be even more common than marriage across ethnoracial lines, but the data is less definitive.

Even so, the extent of ethnoracial mixing registered in the marriage statistics of the federal censuses of 1990 and 2000, taken together with the growing willingness to accept as real the black-white mixing—including that created by the massive rape of slave females—that has gone into the genetic making of the African-American population, invites us to see the history of the United States as, among other things, a story of amalgamation, however episodic and however given to the greater bonding of some elements than others. To speak of "amalgamation" as a major theme in U.S. history is to reclaim the vocabulary of Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass and Ralph Waldo Emerson, to renounce the Jim Crow distinction between miscegenation and the melting pot, to integrate the story of black-white mixing with the story of other kinds of mixing, to escape the implications of Anglo-conformity often historically associated with the figure of the melting pot, to recognize a dynamic interaction not captured by the more limited concept of assimilation, and to deny at long last the legitimacy of the principle of hypodescent.

Amalgamation in the history of the United States has been episodic and segmented. Not every tribe in the United States has mixed equally with each other, or at the same pace, or with equal agency, or has faced the same obstacles and inhibitions and incentives and disincentives. Not every mixture has had an equal impact on the whole. Hence the old myth of the melting pot is at once deeply false and deeply true. To confront these features of the process of amalgamation and to understand the specific role played in that process by hypodescent racialization is to integrate the story of physical mixing with the story of racism and anti-racism. It is a mistake to treat these two narratives as rivals, with the story of physical mixing

[72] That black-white marriages had increased by about 70 percent during the decade of the 1990s was reported by the Census Bureau in its report "Interracial Married Couples," June 29, 2001: in 1990, there were 211,000 black-white married couples, and in 2000 there were 363,000.

[73] Randall Kennedy critically discusses disagreements among African Americans concerning mixture-related issues in "Interracial Intimacy," *Atlantic* (December 2002): 103–10.

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allowed to license political complacency ("We don't need policies to deal with the effects of racism, because we can just let nature take its course"), and the story of racism and anti-racism allowed to license calls for struggle ("We must mobilize to defeat racism"). The greater acceptance of descent mixture in our own time is obviously a result of the political struggle that has diminished racism in the United States. Its emergence cannot be explained apart from that struggle for ethnoracial equality.

The national experience with intimacy across ethnoracial lines has been one of amalgamation *interruptus*: irregular, stutter-step, tension-filled, and sometimes violent, and thus quite different from the spontaneous, relatively relaxed intimacy leading to closure so often celebrated under the sign of the melting pot. But it has been amalgamation nevertheless, and on a scale and within a time frame that gives it a strong claim to being one of the central features of the history of the United States when viewed in comparative perspective. A number of other nations have experienced large measures of mixture. Brazil, Argentina, South Africa, New Zealand, and Canada are prominent examples, each with its own history of our question deserving of the world's attention. But the United States is at least an important case in which a large number of descent groups deriving from a great range of points of origin have blended. If demographic mixture is a theme more prominent in the modern history of the Western Hemisphere than of the Eastern, the amalgamation narrative foregrounds the features of the United States that most make it an "American" nation rather than an expansion of a Europe in which nationality and descent continue to go together more often than not.[74]

This mixture-centered view of the history of the United States contrasts vividly with what is at once the most Western Hemisphere–preoccupied and the most conspicuously census-inspired of all interpretations of American history, the frontier thesis. Frederick Jackson Turner developed this interpretation on the basis of the census of 1890 finding that what had been the territory beyond white settlements was now made up of organized counties with enough people in them to be enumerated in the census. This led Turner to reflect on the significance of uninhabited land, which he declared to be the fostering of the individualism and democracy that, he believed, had made the United States what it was. The narrative of the frontier was keyed by the encounter of Europeans with a geographical environment defined by the absence of people. Indians did not really count as people, as their land was uninhabited by Turner's definition.[75] Yet the narrative of amalgamation is antithetical: it is keyed instead by the encounter of human beings with each other, across the lines of many communities of descent, in a series of

[74] For a defense of the idea that "miscegenation comes close to epitomizing the American experience," in both Latin America and North America, see Earl E. Fitz, "From Blood to Culture: Miscegenation as Metaphor for the Americas," in Monika Kaup and Debra J. Rosenthal, eds., *Mixing Race, Mixing Culture: Inter-American Literary Dialogues* (Austin, Tex., 2002), 243–72, esp. 244. This hemisphere-centered analysis is also an example of the continued use in some quarters of "miscegenation" as a neutral term.

[75] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" [1893], rpt. in Fulmer Mood, ed., *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner* (Madison, Wis., 1938), 183–232. My understanding of the historical significance of the Turner thesis has been influenced by Kerwin L. Klein, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890–1990* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

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intimacies and counter-intimacies fostered by a range of economic and cultural forces.

Hence I invoke Turner not because his ideas are sufficiently alive today to demand refutation, nor to suggest that amalgamation and hypodescent are strong enough concepts to perform the range of analytic tasks Turner and his disciples asked the concept of the frontier to perform, but simply to underscore the difference between Turner's historiographical era and ours. The narrative of the frontier was remarkable for avoiding people and the specific terms of their action upon each other. The frontier thesis purported to explain the course of American history without much attention to the slavery question, and Turner boldly turned the tables on the Civil War–preoccupied historians of his day by explaining the end of slavery as a function of the frontier, in the person of the man Turner called the greatest westerner of all, Abe Lincoln of Illinois. The frontier thesis was the most popular during exactly the years when the Jim Crow system was the least contested, from the 1890s through the 1930s. The Turner thesis invited white northerners and white southerners to unite in thinking about America together, without being distracted by disagreements about black Americans. The most influential of the Jim Crow era's historians of slavery, Ulrich B. Phillips, who is now remembered for the overbearing racism of his account, was a doctoral advisee of Turner's. Yet the narrative of amalgamation visible in the writings of many historians of our own time[76] concentrates on the people and the relationships that Turner ignored, and on the behavioral and discursive answers Americans have offered to the question of ethnoracial mixture during the 110 years since he wrote.

These multiple answers, taken together, support the consensus of contemporary social science that the communities of descent sometimes called either racial or ethnic are highly contingent entities, with boundaries more subject to state power than was normally supposed by earlier generations, whose members were often blind to their own agency in creating and preserving these boundaries, taking as primordial the stuff of history that they themselves had helped to make. Yet nothing in American history calls into question the truism that boundaries are necessary, or that the maintenance of any solidarity requires exclusions as well as inclusions. And in an era of global dynamics, the challenge of drawing the "circle of the we" is more central than ever: where to try to draw what boundaries, with whom, and around what?[77]

This issue is now prominent on the agendas of many societies around the world, especially in European nations increasingly populated by immigrants from Asia, the Middle East, and the Caribbean. The history of the United States is potentially instructive in this contemporary setting not because this nation has drawn its social boundaries wisely or justly—far from it. It is beyond the scope of this essay to try

[76] Although specialized studies consistent with this view of the history of the United States abound, attempts at synthesis remain rare. One breezy but helpfully provocative effort to outline a national story emphasizing the theme of amalgamation, offered frankly as a "speculation," is in the final chapter of Michael Lind, *The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution* (New York, 1995), 352–88.

[77] I have argued for the centrality of this issue in "How Wide the Circle of the We: American Intellectuals and the Problem of the Ethnos since World War II," *AHR* 98 (April 1993): 317–37; and *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*, 2d edn., expanded (New York, 2000).

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to outline what the world might make of the American story of amalgamation and hypodescent. But I suspect that among the most important "lessons of American history," if that phrasing is not too strong, is one as humbling as it is hopeful: the history of the United States shows that even a nation carrying a heavy load of racism can incorporate individuals from an imposing variety of communities of descent on terms of considerable intimacy. The case of the United States implicitly refuses to let other nations off the hook that is presented to all immigrant-receiving democracies by the egalitarian ideals for which Western Europe has been so vital a cradle.

Among the Americans who have understood that European ideological heritage, especially as it came to the United States directly from England, was Herman Melville. He was also a fierce prophet of America's role as an agent of the further development, if not the perfection, of English liberty. The long-term world-historical mission of the United States was to "forever extinguish the prejudices of national dislikes," Melville proclaimed in 1849. This great contemporary of Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, and Ralph Waldo Emerson envisaged a future in which the dispersed children of Adam and Eve would find each other in America, there to experience under the ordinance of democracy a Pentecostal moment. All the tribes of the earth will testify with cloven tongues of fire to their common humanity, yet the language in which they will speak, said Melville, will be "the language of Britain."[78] And so, in a manner and with many interruptions, and up to a point, it has been.

But we must distinguish between the empirically warranted narrative of amalgamation, punctuated as it is by hypodescent racialization, and the extravagance of the amalgamation fantasy. The latter is increasingly common in the public culture of the United States today. We see it in journalistic accounts not only of the lives of Tiger Woods, Mariah Carey, and other mixed-descent celebrities but also of the cross-color marriages by leading politicians. Some commentators predict that ethnoracial distinctions in the United States will disappear in the twenty-first century. Perhaps they are right, but there is ample cause to doubt it. And a glance at the history of Brazil, where physical mixing even of blacks and whites has magnificently failed to achieve social justice and to eliminate a color hierarchy, should chasten those who expect too much from mixture alone. Moreover, inequalities by descent group are not the only kind of inequalities. In an epoch of diminished economic opportunities and of apparent hardening of class lines, the diminution of racism may leave many members of historically disadvantaged ethnoracial groups in deeply unequal relation to whites simply by virtue of class position. Even the end of racism at this point in history would not necessarily ensure a society of equals.

Fortunately, the distinction between the fantasy and the historical narrative is not hard to draw. Even Hollywood, in its best moments, can draw it. In *Bulworth*, a popular motion picture of 1998, forty years after Hannah Arendt's indiscretion, an indiscreet senator tells a national television audience that racism can be ended by wholesale intermarriage. "All we need," said Warren Beatty's Senator Bulworth, "is

[78] Herman Melville, *Redburn* (London, 1986), 240. See also Acts 2: 1–21.

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a voluntary, free-spirited, open-ended program of procreative racial deconstruction."[79] But the filmmakers shrewdly inserted these lines in a speech that the senator delivered while seized by a truth-telling dementia. So, we are to believe that there is a measure of truth to what he says, but you have to be crazy to say it. And that is where the United States enters the twenty-first century: wise enough to know how far it is from fulfilling Melville's prophecy but crazy enough to believe in it, at least part of the time.

[79] *Bulworth*, a film by Warren Beatty, 1998.

David A. Hollinger is Preston Hotchkis Professor of American History at the University of California, Berkeley. His books include *Science, Jews, and Secular Culture* (1996) and *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (2d edition, expanded, 2000). His recent articles include "The Historian's Use of the United States and Vice Versa," in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (2002), "Damned for God's Glory: William James and the Scientific Vindication of Protestant Culture," in Wayne Proudfoot, ed., *Re-Experiencing William James* (forthcoming, 2004), and essays appearing in *Constellations*, *Aleph*, *Diacritics*, *Philosophical Studies*, *Representations*, *Daedalus*, *Church History*, and *The Cambridge History of Science*. He is currently studying the impact of the Protestant foreign missionary project on the United States.

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AHR Forum

Racial Mixture and Affirmative Action: The Cases of Brazil and the United States

THOMAS E. SKIDMORE

FOR ME, AS A HISTORIAN OF BRAZIL, North America's "one-drop rule" has always seemed odd. No other society in this hemisphere has defined its racial types in such absolutist terms. David Hollinger, like many American historians before him, is clearly intrigued by this apparently unique "approach to the question of ethnoracial mixture."[1] How can we account for it? How could such a different racial classification have arisen in North America and not in any of the many other European colonial experiments in the New World?[2]

Hollinger cites three features that in combination allegedly made U.S. racial evolution different. The first is a regime that tolerated slavery and thereby produced a significant population of slave descent. The second is massive immigration that enriched American society. The third is survival of an Indian population, even if only in token numbers.

But Hollinger examines the influence of these three factors on racial attitudes and behavior in the United States alone. If we add one other country, Brazil, to the picture, we find something rather startling.[3] All three of Hollinger's conditions also obtained in Brazil. Yet they did not produce the one-drop rule. Something else must have been at work.

If I had been writing this commentary a half century ago, I would have stressed the enormous difference between the two countries in the racial status given to the offspring of mixed unions.[4] Throughout the United States (multi-racial societies emerged in Charleston and New Orleans, but only temporarily), the one-drop rule defined mixed bloods (even the lightest mulattos) as black. In Brazil, by contrast, racial attribution depended on how the person looked and on the particular circumstances of that person, which led to the racial fluidity for which Brazil is famous.[5]

[1] David A. Hollinger, "Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States," *AHR* 108 (December 2003): 1365.

[2] F. James Davis, *Who Is Black?* (University Park, Pa., 1991).

[3] For a recent comparison, which includes two other countries, see Anthony W. Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of the United States, South Africa, and Brazil* (New York, 1998).

[4] The Portuguese Church even encouraged interracial marriages in order to solidify the colonial population. In the United States, by contrast, interracial marriages were illegal in many states and for a period illegal throughout the country. Ronaldo Vainfas, *Trópico dos pecados: Moral, sexualidade e Inquisição no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1989), 98.

[5] Thomas Skidmore, "Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870–1940," in Richard Graham,

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My account would have given several reasons for this, based on a strong consensus of scholarly opinion in both countries, epitomized by Charles Wagley (the dean of U.S. anthropologists specializing in Brazil) and Gilberto Freyre (Brazil's most famous articulator of his country's racial identity). Both men argued that the milder race relations in Brazil reflected contrasting historical, social, cultural, and moral traditions in the two countries.[6] These were the days—the 1950s—when both Brazilians and Americans believed that Brazil had "solved" its race problem. The explanations were several. One argument was that Brazil had achieved abolition in the 1870s and 1880s, not through the chaos and destruction of a civil war but by negotiation and successive legislative compromises (with legislation in 1871, 1885, and 1888). If, by the twentieth century, those of color seemed to be at the bottom, the standard explanation was lack of education.

Carl Degler, in his pioneering comparative analysis of race relations in Brazil and the United States—which argued that the greater mobility of the mulatto in Brazil was central—reasoned that the differing status of women in the two cultures was crucial in explaining why the free mulatto did not appear in numbers in the United States. The Anglo-American white wife, who allegedly enjoyed higher social status than her Luso-Brazilian counterpart, was enabled by her status to prevent her philandering husband from legitimizing his mixed-blood offspring.[7]

Another possible explanation emphasized social values, especially the English colonists' attitude toward sexual behavior. This was expressed as a fierce defense of the sanctity of marriage, especially when accompanied by racial endogamy.[8] What was the basis of this early racial preference in marriage? Winthrop Jordan has documented Elizabethan England's phobia about all things black.[9] Could this racial preference in marriage have combined with the family nature of English settlement of North America? To facilitate racial endogamy, English colonists came with their wives, whereas the Spanish and Portuguese colonists arrived without wives or other family. Thus Anglo-American wives were in a better position to enforce racial endogamy.

A third possible explanation was demography. Brazil had a smaller percentage of Europeans than Anglo America. Fifty years before abolition, Brazilian free coloreds already outnumbered the slave population. The Brazilian mixed bloods could therefore find more "economic space" in which to emerge as a free colored

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ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin, Tex., 1990). In the last decade, the concept and place of the mulatto has been discussed at increasing length in the popular literature: Kathy Russell, Midge Wilson, and Ronald Hall, *The Color Complex: The Politics of Skin Color among African Americans* (New York, 1992); Jon Michael Spencer, *The New Colored People: The Mixed-Race Movement in America* (New York, 1997); Stephan Talty, *Mulatto America: At the Crossroads of Black and White Culture, a Social History* (New York, 2003). The pioneering work in this field was Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York, 1984).

[6] Charles Wagley, *Introduction to Brazil* (New York, 1971); Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York, 1956).

[7] Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York, 1971).

[8] Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore, 2002), 200–24. It should be noted that Godbeer's analysis includes regional variations. My purpose here is to emphasize the national trends that gave birth to the one-drop rule.

[9] Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes towards the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968).

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class.[10] According to this explanation, Brazil had generated a de facto multi-racial society before the campaign to abolish slavery even began.

As of the 1940s and 1950s, both nations—but especially Brazil—defined their race-relations system in terms of what it was not. The Brazilians pointed to the United States, with its segregation and anti-intermarriage, as an example of the institutional extremes to which white Americans carried their Negrophobia (with lynching a violent manifestation of the same). The hypocrisy of the U.S. claim to be a model democracy was much criticized from abroad—especially from France, still the spiritual home of the Brazilian elite. This critical stance was reinforced by the worldwide anti-American campaign unleashed in the early Cold War—a climate that helped give the Brazilian elite a feeling of moral superiority toward the United States. Brazil may have imported more African slaves than America, the feeling went, but it had not created a society that created excuses (political belief as well as race) for dehumanizing measures of exclusion. E. Franklin Frazier, the noted African-American sociologist trained at the University of Chicago and expert on the U.S. African-American family, described this contrast in 1942: "Whereas in Brazil white, Brown, and black people know each other as individual human beings, white people in the United States only know the Negro as a symbol or stereotype ... While we may provide Brazil with technical skill and capital, Brazil has something to teach us in regard to race relations."[11]

The Brazilian elite's favorable view of their country's race relations was strengthened in the international world by several events in the cultural history of the 1950s. The first was the publication in English of Gilberto Freyre's classic *The Masters and the Slaves* (1956, originally published in Portuguese in 1933), which had become the bible for those who attributed to the Portuguese a uniquely benevolent system of race relations. For the next decade or so, Freyre was feted and praised in academic circles in the United States and Western Europe.

Freyre's image of Brazil as the polar opposite of the racist United States was reinforced when UNESCO, the de facto official arbiter of culture in the Third World, chose Brazil for a case study in how a thoroughly mixed racial population could live in harmony. The researchers were French, American, and Brazilian, thus underlining the project's international flavor.

Such argumentation seems much less conclusive when viewed through today's lens.[12] It is certainly true that Brazil lacks the history of racial hatred that characterizes the United States. But lack of racial hatred does not turn out to have led to lack of racial discrimination. That part of the story was first revealed by the UNESCO study. Begun as an investigation of an ideal environment for racial relations, its findings in fact documented the presence of racism in differing forms throughout most of the country.[13]

[10] Marvin Harris, *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (New York, 1964).

[11] E. Franklin Frazier, "Brazil Has No Race Problem," *Common Sense*, November 11, 1942, cited in David J. Hellwig, ed., *African American Perspectives on Brazil's Racial Paradise* (Philadelphia, 1992), 128–29.

[12] Thomas Skidmore, "Estados Unidos Bi-racial versus Brasil Multiracial: O Contraste Ainda é Válido?" *Novos estudos*, no. 34 (1992).

[13] Marco Ch. Maio, "O Brasil no Concerto das Nações: A Luta Contra o Racismo Nos Primórdios da Unesco," *História, ciências, saúde* 2 (1998).

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Beginning in the 1960s, a consensus grew among a small number of Brazilian academics and writers that the conventional explanations for Brazil's race relations were no longer convincing.[14] But none of these writers made much of an impact on Brazilian elite opinion. Leading cultural spokesmen, almost invariably white, simply ignored attempts to enlarge the space for Africans in Brazilian consciousness. The nation's most prominent sociology department, at the University of São Paulo, devoted virtually no effort to research and teaching on Brazilian race relations during the 1970s or 1980s. The same could be said of the sociology departments throughout the country. Discussion of the subject was generally limited to departments of anthropology, and then only approached in qualitative terms rather than quantitative measurement of discrimination.

In the 1990s, however, opinion began to shift in Brazilian universities, with debates about the lack of Brazilians of color among the student bodies and about possible measures to compensate Afro-Brazilians for past discrimination.[15] In the mid-1990s, the president of the country, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, officially acknowledged the existence of racial discrimination in Brazil, which he followed up by appointing a national commission to propose remedies.[16] Most dramatic of all, the federal government of Brazil adopted racial quotas. Several universities, such as the University of the State of Rio de Janeiro, have also set quotas for minority admissions. In looking for some mechanism to decide which candidates are eligible for a system like Affirmative Action, they have actually adopted the one-drop rule! Brazilian specialists in race relations have found themselves lost in the crossfire of these debates. As two organizers of a 2000 conference on race confessed, "either we are totally alienated or we are living in a social paradise."[17]

Recent trends in the United States have been dramatically different, with the one-drop rule losing its grip. Although ethnic and racial prejudices persist and discrimination still mars American democracy, non-white Americans have experienced significant upward mobility since the 1950s. Previous lines of racial and ethnic distinction have blurred, as identities, particularly of the younger generation, have been created anew.[18] Affirmative Action as a redress of previous injustice is out, disallowed by the federal courts. And Affirmative Action to promote diversity is under serious legal siege. Incidentally, this distinction among differing rationales for Affirmative Action has not been appreciated in most Brazilian discussions of this subject.

By 1992, one American specialist on Brazil had written that a comparison of Brazil and the United States based on official data showed the United States to be

[14] Abdias Do Nascimento, *Mixture or Massacre? Essays in the Genocide of a Black People* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1979); Clovis Moura, *Rebeliões da Senzala* (São Paulo, 1959).

[15] For a highly useful survey of recent data on gender and racial discrimination in Brazil, see Rebecca Reichmann, ed., *Race in Contemporary Brazil: From Indifference to Inequality* (University Park, Pa., 1999). The most comprehensive discussion is in the forthcoming publication by Edward E. Telles, *Race in Another America: Race Mixture, Exclusion and State in Brazil*, 2003.

[16] Jessé Souza, org., *Multiculturalismo e racismo: Uma comparação Brasil–Estados Unidos* (Brasilia, 1997).

[17] Yvonne Maggie and Claudia Barcellos Rezende, eds., *Raça como retórica: A construção da diferença* (Rio de Janeiro, 2002), 15.

[18] Joel Kotkin and Thomas Tseng, "Happy to Mix It All Up," *Washington Post* (June 8, 2003): B1–B3.

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the more racially equal of the two: "While most measures of racial inequality had declined markedly in the United States, the same measures in Brazil had tended either to remain stable, or in some cases—most notably vocational distribution—actually to increase. As a result, by 1980 the two countries had reversed position, with the United States now ranking as the more racially equal of the two societies." The same scholar noted elsewhere that "Brazilian race relations thus appear far more bi-polar than has traditionally been thought; conversely, black/white dichotomy in the United States is breaking down in the face of both massive emigration from Latin America and Asia and of new multi-racial identities."[19] Race relations are still more conflictive in the United States and, at least on the surface, more humane in Brazil. But it is not unusual to hear Afro-Brazilians saying they prefer the situation as they now see it in the United States to the frustrating ambiguities they still face in Brazil.

Present-day African-American scholarly opinion is represented in a book by an African-American sociologist who spent ten months of field research in a relatively small Brazilian community in 1992–1994. The title of her book is revealing: *Racism in a Racial Democracy*. The subtitle is even more revealing: *The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil*.[20] It could not be farther from E. Franklin Frazier's enthusiastic endorsement of the traditional Gilberto Freyre view in the 1940s.

How far Brazil will go down the road of quotas is impossible to say. Obviously, many conditions—social, cultural, ideological, economic—in Brazil differ sharply from those in the United States. But it is also worth remembering that quota systems—of whatever content—are now widely used in India and other nations of Latin America—even as they have become illegal here.

Has Brazil come full circle in its racial practice? Are Brazilians now beginning to embrace the very measures they once denounced as inappropriate for Brazil's "racial democracy"?[21] It is too soon to say. As a foreign observer, I would guess that white guilt over past discrimination is weaker in Brazil than in the United States. This may mean there will be stronger resistance to racially oriented remedial action than has proved the case in North America.

The embrace of Affirmative Action in Brazil will certainly generate a backlash, especially among many of the white elite. They will continue to argue that any racial preferences violate the merit-oriented standards (as validated by examination) that are needed to modernize their society. And they are already charging that advocates of Affirmative Action are servants "of cultural imperialism engaged in pitting Brazilians against Brazilians in order to destroy our confidence in the high value of our interracial culture."[22] As one can see, much has changed, but not the penchant for comparative analysis.[23]

[19] George Reid Andrews, "Racial Inequality in Brazil and the United States: A Statistical Comparison," *Journal of Social History* 26, no. 2 (1992): 254; Andrews, "Brazilian Racial Democracy, 1900–90: An American Counterpoint," *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 3 (1996): 499.

[20] France Winddance Twine, *Racism in a Racial Democracy: The Maintenance of White Supremacy in Brazil* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1998).

[21] Thomas E. Skidmore, "Temas e Metodologias Nos Estudos Das Relações Raciais Brasileiras," *Novos estudos, CEBRAP*, no. 60 (July 2001): 63–76.

[22] Olavo de Carvalho, "Só Preto, com Preconceito," *República*, no. 32 (June 1999): 36.

[23] The U.S.-Brazil comparison is used by numerous Brazilians who are responsible for social order

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in their country. One of the most striking examples is by former Rio de Janeiro police chief Jorge da Silva, *Violência e racismo no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1998).

Thomas E. Skidmore did two BAs in philosophy (Denison and Magdalen College, Oxford) and a PhD in Modern European history at Harvard before turning to Latin American history in 1961. His mentors at Oxford were T. D. Weldon and G. D. N. Worswick and at Harvard Franklin Ford. He has published on the entire Latin American region (including with Peter H. Smith, the leading text in the field, *Modern Latin America*), but his specialty has been modern Brazil. His *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (1974) contributed significantly to the present ongoing revisionist reexamination of the history of Brazilian race relations. His *Politics in Brazil* (1967) and *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil* (1988) became Brazilian bestsellers in Portuguese translation. He is currently the Carlos Manuel de Cespedes Professor emeritus at Brown University and is a frequent commentator in the Brazilian media on that country's history and politics.

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AHR Forum
Of Rogues and Geldings

BARBARA J. FIELDS

DAVID HOLLINGER has performed a valuable service by insisting on the historical uniqueness of the Afro-American experience, rejecting the false history, spurious logic, and expedient politics that collapse the situations of Afro-Americans, Latino Americans, Asian Americans, and indigenous Americans into a single category. He correctly insists that there is no counterpart for any other descent group to the one-drop or any-known-ancestry rule that, with minor exceptions, has historically identified Afro-Americans. He criticizes the bankrupt politics that has resulted from treating a multi-century history of enslavement and racist persecution as a simple variation on the immigrant experience. (He might have added that the immigrants-all version of American history, while labeling as immigrants Africans and Afro-Caribbeans who arrived as slaves as well as Indians and Mexicans whose country was taken over by outsiders, omits from its central narrative persons of African descent who truly were immigrants.[1]) And when he gets too close to some of the very misconceptions that his own analysis ought to preclude, his good sense draws him back; as when, after speculating that greater recognition of mixed-ancestry offspring might result in greater acceptance of unambiguous African ancestry, he quickly acknowledges that greater isolation is just as likely. But the focus on "ethnoracial mixture" with the suggestion that historians should "see the history of the United States as, among other things, a story of amalgamation" is a different matter. It brings to mind an anecdote about an Irishman who, when asked the way to Ballynahinch, responds: "If I were you, I wouldn't start from here at all."[2]

Starting from "ethnoracial mixture" leads to the great evasion of American historical literature, as of American history itself: the substitution of "race" for "racism." That substitution, as I have written elsewhere, "transforms the act of a

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[1] See Winston James, "Explaining Afro-Caribbean Social Mobility in the United States: Beyond the Sowell Thesis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44 (April 2002): 218–62; Roy Bryce-Laporte, "Black Immigrants: The Experience of Invisibility and Inequality," *Journal of Black Studies* 3 (1972): 29–56.

[2] Eric Hobsbawm tells a version of this universal joke in "On the Revival of Narrative," in Hobsbawm, *On History* (London, 1997), 191. David A. Hollinger, "Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States," *AHR* 108 (December 2003): 1389, 1386.

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subject into an attribute of the object."[3] Disguised as race, racism becomes something Afro-Americans are, rather than something racists do. Racists and apologists for racism have long availed themselves of the deception. "Don't blame me because you're colored," a white homeowner in Westchester, New York, told Hugh Mulzac, an Afro-Caribbean, when refusing to sell him a house—as though Mulzac's ancestry, rather than the homeowner's refusal, had aborted the sale. Similarly, a *Washington Post* columnist, during an effort to mitigate the killing of a blameless and unarmed African immigrant by New York City police officers, characterized as "race—but not racism" the commonplace refusal of cab drivers to stop for Afro-American passengers.[4] It is as though real estate transactions, the braking of motor vehicles, and the discharge of firearms were controlled—perhaps through telekinesis or some other paranormal or supernatural process—by the victim's appearance or ancestry, without the aggressor's will or participation.

Thomas Jefferson pioneered the race-instead-of-racism ideological maneuver, and his *Notes on the State of Virginia* is its *locus classicus*.[5] Judging slavery essential to the project of extending the sovereignty of the United States over the American continent, he tried to resolve the contradiction between enslavement and the natural right to freedom by interpreting slavery as a fact of the slaves' inferior nature.[6] To that end, he formulated the notion of race, draping its ideological nakedness in a tissue of purported scientific argument so thin that he would surely have seen through it on any subject less central to his nation-founding project than slavery: the American mammoth, let us say, or the intellectual potential of the American Indians.[7] Significantly, he addressed both of those subjects in a query about nature, whereas he sketched his argument about the inferiority of the Negroes in a query about civilization.[8] Jefferson's ingenuity could not free him from his bind, however. As surely as he knew that slavery was essential to his project, he also knew that it could wreck his project by lodging a deadly flaw at the heart of American sovereignty and in the government that embodied that sovereignty.

Knowing with equal profoundness two irreconcilable truths—that slavery was vital to the nation and, at the same time, likely to destroy it—Jefferson could not sustain, even to the end of the book, the self-deceiving transformation of racism

[3] Barbara J. Fields, "Whiteness, Racism, and Identity," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 48.

[4] Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 115; Richard Cohen, "Profile of a Killing," *Washington Post* (March 16, 2000): A27.

[5] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787; Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982).

[6] "Those holding liberty to be inalienable and holding Afro-Americans as slaves were bound to end by holding race to be a self-evident truth." Barbara Jeanne Fields, "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181 (May/June 1990): 101.

[7] For example, in dismissing the claim of the Indians' inferiority, Jefferson insists on the importance of investigating them in a proper context: "[T]o form a just estimate of their genius and mental powers, more facts are wanting, and great allowance to be made for those circumstances of their situation that call for a display of particular talents only." But, in pronouncing black people devoid of the talent Indians display in handicraft arts and oratory, he sees no comparable need for context, asserting baldly that "[i]t would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this investigation." Jefferson, *Notes*, Query VI, 62, and Query XIV, 139.

[8] Jefferson's ruminations about the mammoth and his vindication of the American Indians appear in *Notes*, Query VI, "Productions Mineral, Vegetable and Animal." His speculation about the Negroes' biological inferiority appears in Query XIV, "Laws."

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into race. Into the famous query on "Manners," he dropped as if from nowhere a hyperbolic account of slavery as "a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions" (not much time for cultivating tobacco if that were literally true) and, for good measure, referred to the slaves as citizens and implied their moral and intellectual equality with their enslavers.

> [W]ith what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriae of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another: in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him.[9]

Abruptly contradicting his own earlier rationale, he revealed race to be racism; and slavery, rather than something slaves were, became something slaveholders did—to the corruption of themselves, the injustice of the slaves, and the probable destruction of the country. Thereafter, Jefferson masked his eyes from the glare of that momentary insight, so confounding that it caused him, for a split second, to abandon rationalism and secularism along with racism, and to ponder supernatural interference in human history.

> Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference![10]

Jefferson's successors (one scholar has called him America's first racial pundit[11]) have proved more adept than he at the race-racism evasion, indulging in it without Jefferson's outburst of compensatory hyperbole. "Race" appears in the titles of an ever-growing number of scholarly books and articles as a euphemism for slavery, disfranchisement, segregation, lynching, mass murder, and related historical atrocities; or as an unintentionally belittling shorthand for "persons of African descent and anything pertaining to them."[12] The more dutifully scholars acknowledge that the concept of race belongs in the same category as geocentrism or witchcraft, the more blithely they invoke it as though it were both a coherent analytical category and a valid empirical datum. In place of Jefferson's moment of impassioned

[9] Jefferson, *Notes*, Query XVIII, 162–63. See Lewis P. Simpson's remarkable analysis in "Land, Slaves, and Mind: The High Culture of the Jeffersonian South," in Simpson, *Mind and the American Civil War: A Meditation on Lost Causes* (Baton Rouge, La., 1989), esp. 25–28.

[10] Jefferson, *Notes*, 163. Simpson argues that Query XVIII marks a crisis in Jefferson's faith in the capacity of reason to solve the problems of human society and human history; see "Land, Slaves, and Mind," 25–28.

[11] Michael R. West uses the expression in "The Education of Booker T. Washington: The Negro Problem, Democracy, and the Idea of Race Relations" (forthcoming, Columbia University Press).

[12] Examples include *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*; *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigration and the Alchemy of Race*; *Race, Rock, and Elvis*; *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*; *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation*; *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1789–1860*; *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865–1901*; *Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government during World War I.*

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truth-telling, his successors fall back on italics or quotation marks, typographical abbreviations for the trite formula, "race is a social construction."[13]

The formula is meant to spare those who invoke race in historical explanation the raised eyebrows that would greet someone who, studying a crop failure, proposed witchcraft as an independent variable. But identifying race as a social construction does nothing to solidify the intellectual ground on which it totters. The London Underground and the United States of America are social constructions, so are the evil eye and the calling of spirits from the vasty deep, and so are murder and genocide. All derive from the thoughts, plans, and actions of human beings living in human societies. Scholars who intone "social construction" as a spell for the purification of race do not make clear—perhaps because they do not themselves realize—that race and racism belong to different families of social construction, and that neither belongs to the same family as the United States of America or the London Underground. Race belongs to the same family as the evil eye. Racism belongs to the same family as murder and genocide. Which is to say that racism, unlike race, is not a fiction, an illusion, a superstition, or a hoax. It is a crime against humanity.

No operation performed on the fiction can ever make headway against the crime. But the fiction is easier for well-meaning people to handle. ("*Race*," I have written elsewhere, "is a homier and more tractable notion than *racism*, a rogue elephant gelded and tamed into a pliant beast of burden."[14]) Confronted with the intellectual arguments against the concept of race, my undergraduates react by grasping for another word to occupy the same conceptual space.[15] "I don't feel comfortable saying 'race' after your class. But I don't know what else to call it," is a characteristic response. At the suggestion, "Why not 'ancestry,' if that's what you're talking about?" they retreat into inarticulate dissatisfaction. Instinctively, they understand that, while everyone has ancestry, only African ancestry carries the ultimate stigma. Therefore, what they are unknowingly searching for is a neutral-sounding word with racism hidden inside, which is what "race" is. The apparently blameless word permits students to reabsorb into the decorum of the routine something whose essence is not just indecorum but monstrosity: the attachment to fellow human beings of a stigma akin to leprosy in medieval Europe, only worse, in that it sets beyond the pale of humanity not the leper alone but the leper's progeny ad infinitum.

[13] Scholars often identify the truism that race is "socially constructed" as the argument of my essay "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America." But (minus the tedious language), that is the article's starting point, not its conclusion.

[14] Fields, "Whiteness, Racism, and Identity," 48.

[15] In this, they are not alone. The noted scholar Steven Pinker, determined to salvage some vestige of biological race from the "popular" view that "races do not exist but are purely social constructions," commits the common error of confusing genetic distinctions with racial distinctions. (See *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* [New York, 2002], 143–44.) He thereby twists a scientifically justifiable view of race as a statistical abstraction—that is, an imaginary entity comparable to the per capita annual income or the body mass index—to fit the old and discredited view of race as a group of people defined by particular characteristics. He mentions Tay-Sachs and sickle-cell anemia, often tagged by true believers as racial characteristics. But both are, in fact, uncharacteristic, afflicting only a minority even within the populations most affected by them. On Pinker's own showing, statistical generalizations about "the large inbred families we call races" no more define individuals or groups than does average height or per capita income in a person's county of residence. Races "exist," therefore, only in the sense that the equator, the body mass index, or the per capital annual income "exists."

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Domesticating such a monstrosity for presentation in civilized company requires believers in race to attempt cosmetic repairs of its most obnoxious peculiarities. One such peculiarity is the fact that, effectively, there can be only one race, since the one-drop-of-blood or any-known-ancestry rule applies only to African ancestry;[16] indeed, the rule ceases to function at all if applied to more than one type of ancestry. The cosmetic applied to the resulting asymmetry and invidiousness is "whiteness," whose champions purport to discover "racialization"—and therefore races—all over the shop. A further sleight of hand defines race as identity so that "white" also becomes a race.[17] Similar cosmetic embellishments claim "agency" for the victims in creating race or deodorize it by tracing its origin to "culture" rather than racism. But people no more fasten the stigma of race upon themselves than cattle sear the brand into their own flesh. And, no matter how slipshod the definition of culture, no one can seriously assert that one culture unites those whom American usage identifies without hesitation as one race.[18]

Even language can be squeezed into the glass slipper of race by a sufficiently ruthless pruning of the foot. According to believers in something known as "black English," the deep structures of African languages—in other words, the speakers' African-ness—accounts for the speech habits of Afro-Americans. But African linguistic structures cannot explain why, despite the much greater survival of Africanisms in Jamaican creole, the children of Jamaican migrants to Britain do not speak "black English"; instead, they speak the language of their class and region, as white Britons do. (Nor can such structures explain why there is no such thing as black French, black Portuguese, or black Spanish.) The speech patterns of Afro-Americans testify not to the greater strength of African linguistic survivals among Afro-Americans as compared to Afro-Caribbean migrants in Britain but to the greater prevalence and rigidity of segregated schooling, housing, and sociability, especially among the working class, in the United States, as compared to Britain.[19] Racism, in other words, not race.

Once the race-racism evasion has seated monstrosity in the realm of the normal, corollary evasions follow. Two scholars, one of them a member of the Civil Rights Commission, have defended the disfranchisement of law-abiding Afro-Floridians during the presidential election of 2000 against the charge of racism. They do so on the grounds that a higher proportion of Afro-Floridians than Euro-Floridians have felony convictions and are therefore not entitled to vote. No matter that law-abiding Afro-Floridians have exactly the same rate of felony convictions (zero) as law-abiding Euro-Floridians, and that punishing one person for another's conduct

[16] Fields, "Slavery, Race, and Ideology," 97–98.

[17] Fields, "Whiteness, Racism, and Identity," 48–51. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, in "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47, pours a needed bucket of cold water on the ubiquitous concept of "identity."

[18] Raymond Williams, *Keywords* (London, 1988), 87–93; and Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (Oxford, 2000), explore some of the byways in the history and politics of the word and the many things the word has stood for.

[19] Barbara J. Fields, "*Origins of the New South* and the Negro Question," *Journal of Southern History* 67 (November 2001): 824–26. See Mervyn Alleyne, "A Linguistic Perspective on the Caribbean," in *Caribbean Contours*, Sidney W. Mintz and Sally Price, eds. (Baltimore, 1985), 155–79. Alleyne notes the presence of creole languages in the Francophone Caribbean, their absence in the Hispanophone Caribbean, and their presence in some parts of the Anglophone Caribbean and absence in others.

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negates the basic premises of a law-governed democratic society. Under cover of the evasion that attributes race to the disfranchised rather than racism to the disfranchiser, the authors have smuggled in a charter for collective punishment.[20] Presumably, they would not defend stripping citizens of the right to vote because of felony convictions among persons sharing their occupation, hobbies, astrological sign, or shoe size. But, according to these scholars' reasoning, innocent persons may legitimately be punished for the conduct of those who share their ancestry—which is racism by definition.[21]

Another widely read author defends collective punishment even more explicitly while discussing the refusal of cab drivers to stop for black passengers. He calls the refusal "rational discrimination" and concludes that it is based on "group differences which are real." He concedes that such discrimination, while rational, may not be moral, not, however, because it violates basic rules of justice by punishing one person for the alleged misconduct of another but because it "penalizes minorities for physical characteristics that they cannot change." The issue, in that view, is intolerance rather than injustice.[22]

Tolerance itself, generally surrounded by a beatific glow in American political discussion, is another evasion born of the race-racism switch. Its shallowness as a moral or ethical precept is plain. ("Tolerate thy neighbor as thyself" is not quite what Jesus said, Edward Mendelson, a colleague in the Columbia English department, reminds students in his classes.) As a political precept, tolerance has unimpeachably anti-democratic credentials, dividing society into persons entitled to claim respect as a right and persons obliged to beg tolerance as a favor. The curricular fad for "teaching tolerance" underlines the anti-democratic implications. A teacher identifies for the children's benefit characteristics (ancestry, appearance, sexual orientation, and the like) that count as disqualifications from full and equal membership in human society. These, the children learn, they may overlook, in an act of generous condescension—or refuse to overlook, in an act of ungenerous condescension. Tolerance thus bases equal rights on benevolent patronization rather than democratic first principles, much as a parent's misguided plea that Jason "share" the swing or seesaw on a public playground teaches Jason that his gracious consent, rather than another child's equal claim, determines the other child's access.

Tolerance as an alternative to equality is so firmly rooted in good intentions that practitioners fail to recognize the evil. Reed Whittemore probably felt no pang about claiming, in a review of Ralph Ellison's *Shadow and Act*, that, by writing the book, Ellison had "decided it was possible to join the human race, and so did so." Whittemore contrasted Ellison favorably with white artists who were "trying to

[20] Abigail Thernstrom and John R. Lott, Jr., Letters, *New York Times*, June 1, 2002.

[21] It is symptomatic of the abrogation of democracy by racism that the United States maintains a penal system in which arrest, charge, conviction, and sentence depend heavily on one's ancestry and that, alone among supposedly advanced democracies, it permanently disfranchises persons who have served out their time in prison.

[22] Dinesh D'Souza, *The End of Racism* (New York, 1995), 245–88. Thernstrom, Lott, and D'Souza appear untroubled that their defense of group discrimination contradicts individualism, which otherwise ranks among their highest political values.

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secede" from the human race.[23] White persons, he implied, are human beings until they choose not to be; black persons are not human beings until they earn the privilege, one at a time, by performing a meritorious act (such as writing a book Whittemore approves of).

Hannah Arendt illustrates another corollary of the race-racism evasion by insisting that the denial of human and citizenship rights is divisible into parts, some worthier of condemnation than others, and prohibition of intermarriage the worst of all. But what makes prohibition of marriage across the color line worse than forbidding someone to vote, sit on a jury, move about freely, get an adequate education, express political views without fear, or even enjoy safety of life and limb? Arendt was probably tempted into error by a belief that intermarriage would promote assimilation, which would eliminate the problem by eliminating the problem people. Such a solution appears logical if one attributes the problem to the race of the prey, rather than the racism of the predator.

The historical precedents have long since discredited that solution, in any case. The descendants of Portuguese and Spanish Jews who had converted to Christianity under duress during the fifteenth century were still "New Christians" to their persecutors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Under the statutes of purity of blood (*estatutos de limpieza de sangre*), candidates for posts in government, the military, cathedrals and chapters, monastic and religious orders, and universities had to be certified as free from Jewish ancestry through elaborate genealogical searches. Persons whose families had been Christian for centuries could find themselves stigmatized by the discovery of a remote Jewish antecedent unknown to them; and the disability extended, with greater or lesser efficiency depending on the time and place, to the American colonies of Spain and Portugal. The Jews' very compliance with their persecutors' demand for conversion kindled greater anger against them, their enemies interpreting centuries of Christian practice as deep cover for a crypto-Jewish menace boring from within.[24]

Whether called assimilation or amalgamation, the goal of blending in the discordant element operates on the rationale rather than on the problem. Framing questions in those terms guarantees that the answers will remain entangled in racist ideology. For example, a pair of sociologists investigating the degree of Afro-Caribbean immigrants' assimilation into American society unquestioningly adopt as their measure of assimilation the rate of intermarriage between Afro-Caribbeans and native white Americans, rather than the much higher rate of intermarriage between Afro-Caribbeans and native Afro-Americans.[25] The American ancestry of most native Afro-Americans goes back to the seventeenth or eighteenth century,

[23] Reed Whittemore, "Beating That Boy Again," *New Republic* (November 14, 1964): 26. Michael R. West kindly drew my attention to this instance of well-meant racism.

[24] Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Assimilation and Racial Anti-Semitism: The Iberian and the German Models* (New York, 1982), 11–14, 22, 44n; C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (London, 1969), 266–72, 333–34; Stuart B. Schwartz, "Colonial Brazil, c. 1580–c. 1750: Plantations and Peripheries," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. 2, Leslie Bethell, ed. (Cambridge, 1984), 494–96. *Estatutos de limpieza de sangre* also policed the color line in Latin America. For example, see Jay Kinsbruner, *Not of Pure Blood: The Free People of Color and Racial Prejudice in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico* (Durham, N.C., 1996), 36–37, 120, 128.

[25] Suzanne Model and Gene Fisher, "Unions between Blacks and Whites: England and the US Compared," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25 (September 2002): 728–54.

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whereas native white Americans are apt to be only first or second-generation Americans. Racism thus enters unannounced and unnoticed, to define eleventh or twelfth-generation black natives as less American than the children and grandchildren of white immigrants.

The race evasion compounded by the equation of race with identity explains why the siren song of multi-racialism attracts so many people. The point is best approached by way of a question: What is wrong with racism? One answer, whose historical pedigree includes such antecedents as David Walker, Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips, W. E. B. Du Bois, A. Phillip Randolph, and Martin Luther King, Jr., holds that racism is wrong because it violates the basic rights of human being and citizen. Most decent people would assent to that view, if it were put to them in so many words. But the ever-widening campaign for recognition of a "multi-racial" category of Americans suggests a different answer. What is wrong with racism, in that view, is that it subjects persons of provably mixed ancestry to the same stigma and penalties as persons of unambiguously African ancestry. The anguish of the Jean Toomer or the Anatole Broyard rests, ultimately, on a thwarted hope to be excused, on grounds of mixed ancestry, from a fate deemed entirely appropriate for persons of unambiguous African ancestry.[26]

Such a view, for all the aura of progressivism and righteousness that currently surrounds multi-racialism, is not a cure for racism but a particularly ugly manifestation of it. For Jean Toomer and Anatole Broyard, as for today's apostles of multi-racialism, it is mixed ancestry, rather than human status, that makes racism wrong in their case. If there is pathos in their predicament (bathos seems closer to the mark), it arises from that fact that American racism, while making no room for fractional pariahs, vaguely supposes that, logically, it ought to. White Americans have conceded little space for those claiming immunity by reason of mixed ancestry, and generally regarding passing as a particularly insidious form of deceit. The Anatole Broyard who passes without detection is like a leper who neglects to strike his clapper dish and shout "Unclean!" before approaching an inhabited area. Still, a latent strain of sentimentality has sympathized with the predicament of the person of mixed African and European ancestry: the tragic mulatto of racist literature and pop culture. Consistency seems to require that injustice be visited on the pariahs according to their quantum of pariah blood. But the imitation-of-life, tragic-mulatto plot-line works and appears tragic only if the audience simultaneously accepts two conflicting views, both racist: on the one hand, that the penalty for African taint should be proportioned to its extent; on the other, that there can be no such thing as a fractional pariah: one either is or is not.

Persons of mixed background like Jean Toomer, Anatole Broyard, and Tiger Woods, along with their well-meaning but misguided champions, have reached the understanding that the categories imposed by racism are too restrictive to fit

[26] Jean Toomer, described by one scholar as "a signal light for the writers of the Harlem Renaissance," seethed at publishers' expectation that he should go on producing what they and their readers would recognize as "Negro" literature. Eventually, he denied outright any trace of African ancestry. See Darwin Turner, "Introduction," *The Wayward and the Seeking: A Collection of Writings by Jean Toomer* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 11–12; and his introduction to Toomer, *Cane* (New York, 1988), 136. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., discusses Broyard's explicitly racist contempt for black people in *Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Black Man* (New York, 1997), 201–02.

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persons of ambiguous ancestry. They have not reached the deeper understanding that these categories are too restrictive to fit anyone. They were too tight for Amadou Diallo, the African immigrant mistakenly killed by New York City police officers, and he died of the constriction. Diallo probably defined himself as a member of his nation or tribe or lineage, rather than as "black." But, under the American system, it was the officers' definition of him, not his definition of himself, that held the balance between life and death.

Racism is a qualitative, not a quantitative, evil. Its harm does not depend on how many people fall under its ban but on the fact that any at all do. And the first principle of racism is belief in race, even if the believer does not deduce from that belief that the member of a race should be enslaved or disfranchised or shot on sight by trigger-happy police officers or asked for identification when crossing the campus of the university where he teaches, just as believing that the sun travels around the earth is geocentrism, whether or not one deduces from the belief that persons affirming the contrary should be hauled before an inquisition and forced to recant. Once everyone understands that African descent is not race and that African ancestry differs from others only in the racism with which Euro-America has stigmatized it, the problem changes: what is needed is not a more varied set of words and categories to represent racism but a politics to uproot it.

Barbara J. Fields is a professor of history at Columbia University. She earned her doctorate at Yale University, where she studied under C. Vann Woodward. She is the author of *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (1985), which won the AHA's John H. Dunning Prize. She is the co-author of *The Destruction of Slavery* (1985), *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (1992), and *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War* (1992), for which she shared the Lincoln Prize. From 1992 to 1997, she was a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Fellow. Her book in progress concerns the politics, ethics, and craft of writing about human affairs.

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AHR Forum

Tiger Woods Is Not the End of History: or, Why Sex across the Color Line Won't Save Us All

HENRY YU

In December 1996, several months after Tiger Woods left Stanford University to become a professional golfer, a *Sports Illustrated* story entitled "The Chosen One" quoted Tiger's father, Earl, claiming that his son was "qualified through his ethnicity" to "do more than any other man in history to change the course of humanity." Tiger's mother, Kultida, agreed, asserting that, because Tiger had "Thai, African, Chinese, American Indian and European blood," he could "hold everyone together. He is the Universal Child." The story's author concluded that, "when we swallow Tiger Woods, the yellow-black-red-white man, we swallow . . . hope in the American experiment, in the pell-mell jumbling of genes. We swallow the belief that the face of the future is not necessarily a bitter or bewildered face; that it might even, one day, be something like Tiger Woods' face."[1] Building on the interest in Tiger Woods, stories about mixed-race children and intermarriage proliferated. In January 2000, both *Newsweek* and *Time* opened the millennium with cover art speculating on the multi-racial faces of America's future.[2]

The celebration of Tiger Woods' mixed descent and his widespread popularity would seem to support David Hollinger's argument that the history of the United States has been a successful (albeit episodic) history of "amalgamation" overcoming group differences. With Woods as a prominent example, we might even be "crazy enough to believe" the idea that eventually "racism can be ended by wholesale intermarriage," as Hollinger hints in his concluding paragraph.[3] However, I would argue that focusing on "intermarriage" and "race-mixing" should bring us to a different conclusion about U.S. history, and Woods might serve as a useful prism for separating out some other important aspects of the encounter of the United States with Asia and the Pacific.

"Americans have mixed in certain ways and not others," Hollinger asserts, "and they have talked about it in certain ways and not others."[4] This statement is the most generative idea in his essay, both in terms of what it implies about his own overall argument and also how it relates to what is a different way of understanding

[1] Gary Smith, "The Chosen One," *Sports Illustrated* (December 23, 1996): 31–33.

[2] *Time*, January 1, 2000; and *Newsweek*, January 1, 2000.

[3] David A. Hollinger, "Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States," *AHR* 108 (December 2003): 1389–90.

[4] Hollinger, "Amalgamation and Hypodescent," 1364.

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the phenomena he describes. Mixing is an interesting concept. It suggests a process of transformation, a taking of two previously unlike things and making something new out of them. But what are the "things" to be mixed? To describe the process of mixing is at the same time to define the entities that existed before the mixing. Hollinger argues that there are things called ethnoracial "communities of descent" that have "amalgamated" in "episodic" fashion throughout U.S. history. But what are these "communities of descent"?[5]

The limitations of Hollinger's analysis are quickly apparent when we consider just one of his "communities" of descent: Asian Americans. We must be careful not to read back into historical time definitions of racial or ethnic belonging without explaining the work that went into their formation and stability. There may be myriad reasons for the historical rise of a sense of identity as "Asian American" during the 1970s—being lumped together by a census category, a common reaction to "anti-Oriental" racism, the desire to create political coalitions with shared causes, a sense of commonality born of sharing similar migration experiences in the United States. There is no evidence, however, that at any time historically people have considered themselves "Asian American" because of a pan-Asian sense of shared descent, even if identities such as "Chinese" or "Japanese" might have been imagined categories of shared descent.

Strangely enough, Hollinger's focus on mixing and boundary crossing assumes the stability of the "socially constructed" racial categories that we as historians should be critically examining. Racial mixtures are one of many cases that only seem to threaten the boundaries of classificatory systems. A racially "mixed" individual and the sexual boundary crossing that produced such an individual do not in themselves challenge the existence of the boundaries between categories. Indeed, they can serve to highlight the conceptual stability of the categories being mixed, even as they purport to challenge the effectiveness of boundaries in maintaining a sense of difference. People cross national borders constantly, for instance—their crossings do not lessen a sense of national difference, they in fact produce and exacerbate it.

THERE IS AN ODD JUXTAPOSITION BETWEEN novelty and banality in American discourses about race, including Hollinger's essay. Hollinger opens with a story highlighting the "shock" of editors who "balked" at Hannah Arendt's essay. This signature moment in 1958 serves to introduce us to the transgressive quality throughout U.S. history of talking about sex and marriage between races. Hollinger implies that the silence about this subject and the silencing that not so subtly enforced it has been deafening, and that we need to listen to the sounds of Americans who have been amalgamating in the dark. However, there has been constant talking about race and race-mixing throughout U.S. history, a discursive effluence that in fact is effusive. Such an outpouring of talk (accompanied by the nervous titter of naughtiness) is in itself revealing.

The conclusions that Hollinger draws from his evidence of interracial and

[5] Hollinger, "Amalgamation and Hypodescent," 1364, 1386.

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interethnic sex have a long and rather mundane history in social-scientific literature, and the basic parameters of his argument are the legacy of a long obsession among many "progressive" thinkers with the social potential of sexual transgression.[6] Arendt was neither as out of step with existing intellectual discourse on intermarriage as Hollinger suggests, nor was the idea that anti-miscegenation laws were a problem so radical. If anything, there was a fluorescence of fascination among social scientists in the twentieth century with the question of sexual unions across racial and ethnic lines. A graduate student researcher working for me at UCLA, Anthony Yuen, produced a bibliography of almost 700 articles and books (produced in the period from the 1850s to the 1960s) on the topic of interracial sex and mixed marriages—hardly a silence on the matter. Indeed, analogous to the way that Michel Foucault described the history of modern sexuality as inextricably bound to its creation and expansion as a subject of discourse, we could ask a different question than Hollinger's about using the "lens" of interracial sexuality: Why do American intellectuals and social commentators find interracial sex so fascinating, so alluring, so in need of being talked about as if it has never been talked about before?[7]

My answer would be that a political emphasis on the transgressive potential of sexual relations between the races (such as that of Hannah Arendt) was a historically specific reaction to the particular practices of white supremacy in the United States. If there have been episodes or periods when the boundaries of racial division were transformed by new patterns of sexual union, they were associated with the reorganization of white supremacy and the ways that it produced racial hierarchy. Each of the historical moments that Hollinger describes as episodes of "amalgamation" was conditioned by the practices of white supremacy that existed at that moment, and, like a new model of car that looks different but is still a version of last year's model, the ongoing processes that incorporate migrants to the United States have changed, but the recurring theme of white supremacy has remained a part of the overall design. Whether this year's model is "better" than last year's, of course, depends on the criteria used.[8] Certainly, if efficiency in "amalgamating" people of diverse origins into a sense of national unity is a standard, white supremacy has been wildly successful at many points in U.S. history, but that measure of progress might not be something we should celebrate. Neither should we overly celebrate the safety features added each year that protect us from the inherent dangers of driving a car that is built around white supremacy.

What I would propose as a framework for understanding the "episodes" that Hollinger describes is based also on a history of migration, but one attuned to the

[6] See my argument in Henry Yu, "Mixing Bodies and Cultures: The Meaning of America's Fascination with Sex between 'Orientals' and Whites," in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, Martha Hodes, ed. (New York, 1998).

[7] It seems that Hollinger's larger aim in his essay is to shift the focus of historical inquiry away from racialization and toward the overcoming of racial division; in effect, his analytical strategy is that, rather than giving the history of racialization (and the recent scholarship on it that he purports to review) a primacy in U.S. history, he instead addresses it by claiming that U.S. history is primarily about the mixing of racialized groups and the attenuation of the divisions and hierarchies that racialization produced.

[8] I am indebted to George Lipsitz for this image of ideologies that perpetuate social injustice and racism.

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specifics of historical period and region and the ways that racial formations differed in time and place. Rather than describing these episodes of "amalgamation" as adding up to an episodic drumbeat of progress in overcoming the divided origins of American settlers and enslaved laborers, I see them as moments of recognition, points in history that historians have an easier time seeing as indications of an existing or shifting racial order. This is one thing on which I would agree with Hollinger, that the intensity of reactions to sexual transgression provide a revealing window on U.S. history.

In a variation on Frederick Jackson Turner's description of "sections" in U.S. history, I would sketch a history of migration and "amalgamation" that would emphasize the very different processes of racialization that occurred in the Atlantic Northeast, the Atlantic Southeast, the Pacific Southwest, and the Pacific West. The vast amounts of wonderful scholarship on racialization associated with the Atlantic slave trade in the American South and Caribbean are much better known and, as a field, more developed than for the other sections or regions, which has had both good and bad effects. An understanding of U.S. history through the lens of black-white racialization has transformed what had long been the curiously self-serving national history of European settler-colonialism that dominated U.S. history writing. It has also changed the way that we think of the role of white supremacy in the transformation of the European-origin migrant streams that came through northeastern ports such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. However, the dominance of the black-white racial binary as an analytical framework has served much less well in framing and understanding the Pacific regions.

Hollinger seizes on the key insights of scholarship on race and race-mixing in what Turner called the South and the East, basically an Atlantic-centered world of migration. The policing of black-white racial boundaries in the South involved anti-miscegenation laws that in practice prevented marriage and most sexual contact between white women and non-white men. There was no lack of sexual contact between white men and non-white women, so not all sexual acts across racial lines were equally transgressive of the racial order.[9]

The history of this racial order and the challenges it created in terms of maintenance and opposition have dominated much of the writing of U.S. history in terms of race, not only in the South but also in thinking about other regions. In terms of transgressive sexual acts, if there has been a particular fascination among social thinkers for mixtures and marriages between blacks and whites, it was shaped in opposition to these specific regimes of racialized laws and practices.[10]

[9] As Cheryl Harris, and Hollinger in following Harris, Barbara Fields, and others, points out, an array of legal practices protected the property rights of white slaveholders by defining all children of sexual relations between white men and black women as black, denying the possibility that rights to property could be inherited in a matrilineal fashion and making blackness a legal property passed through the mother. Cheryl Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106 (June 1993): 1790–91.

[10] This points to an important conflation in Hollinger's essay, that between mixture and marriage. What is not clear is whether he means by "mixture" the bodily mixture of two people in the act of sexual reproduction that results in a "mixed" child, or simply that his proposed "communities of descent" are

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The whiteness studies that have proliferated recently have been particularly astute in defining the effects of this black-white binary on the alchemy of whiteness in the Atlantic Northeast. The transformation of the Irish in the nineteenth century charted by David Roediger and Alexander Saxton, through the whitening of Jews, Slavs, Italians, and other Southern and Eastern Europeans in the twentieth century that Matthew Frye Jacobson described, have linked well with insights on the development of the black-white binary in the Southeast, at the same time providing a rich reappraisal of European migration. I would only add the observation that, in terms of the lens of intermarriage, the fascination of social scientists and "progressive" observers in the mid-twentieth century with black-white mixing was connected to their interest in the cross-denominational mixing of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in the Northeast, and that the seeming success of the latter promised the potential for the former (what Nathan Glazer later called the "ethnic analogy" for predicting the overcoming of obstacles for "racial" groups).[11] Hollinger's use of the term "ethnoracial" is a genetic descendent of this Northeast-centered intellectual tradition of thinking about ethnicity and race.

The incredible expansion in the definitions of American belonging during the twentieth century, an intensification and a widening of processes of inclusion into a shared sense of American citizenry, was the continuation of a trend that had seen German and Irish migrants incorporated into American civil society during the nineteenth century.[12] In other words, it was primarily the extension of the process of European migration across the Atlantic to the New World, and it was a process that had operated quite well through two centuries with the racial dichotomy of black versus white, at times thriving because of the demonization of blacks and the privileges of white supremacy. The overcoming of vicious anti-Catholicism and antisemitism has often been used as a sign of hope for the inclusive possibilities in U.S. history, and there have been historical alliances in particular between those suffering from anti-black and antisemitic practices. However, the expansion of

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mixing through marriage in some way that is particularly significant. Is mixture through working at the same place, or going to school together, or going to the movies, in other words mixing socially with the possibility of sex, somehow less significant than the mixture marked by state-sanctioned marriage? His initial focus on anti-miscegenation laws and the political power of states to issue marriage licenses devolves into a far-ranging discussion on marriage rates, the consequences of sexual reproduction on racial classifications based on descent, the problem of Affirmative Action that extends beyond African Americans, and the mythic potential for "amalgamation" in U.S. society.

[11] Nathan Glazer, *Ethnic Dilemmas, 1964–1982* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

[12] The conception of "ethnicity" arose not just with W. Lloyd Warner's first use of the term "ethnic" in the 1940s, it was a product of the vast expansion and transformation of whiteness that amalgamated the masses of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe that had previously been cut off in 1924. "Ethnicity" as a way to define differences was the product of a newly ascendant anthropological definition of culture that divorced it from biological definitions of race that centered on the physical body; however, the popular and social-scientific usage of the term also rested on the incorporation of European migrants into American citizenry, helped by widespread service in World War II and by postwar suburbanization and the economic and educational mobility provided by federal government subsidies such as the GI Bill. See George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness* (Philadelphia, 1998); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (Princeton, N.J., 1998); David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, 1991); Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic* (London, 1990); and my argument in "Ethnicity and Race," in *Encyclopedia of American Cultural and Intellectual History*, Mary Kupiec Cayton and Peter W. Williams, eds. (New York, 2001), 3: 109–20.

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whiteness that occurred over the middle half of the twentieth century was not antithetical to the maintenance and even the growth of the privileges of being white.

In the Pacific region, white supremacy has operated in very different ways than in the Atlantic. Native Americans have been crucial, as have inhabitants formerly of the Spanish empire in the Southwest. In a manner analogous to the dominance of the transatlantic for understanding the Northeast and Southeast, however, we cannot understand race and race-mixing in the West without centering it on the Pacific. Before labor shortages during World War II brought large numbers of African-American and Mexican migrants to California and the Pacific coast, the primary racial binary had been between "Oriental" and white.[13] For a century, labor conflict defined the politics of racial division between Asian and white, helping amalgamate European migrants to the West into a common whiteness just as anti-black animus had done on the East coast; but if we consider not just issues of labor migration but also of the outward expansion of the U.S. military into the Pacific, racialization and the transgressions of sexual contact take on a very different hue than in the Atlantic United States.

We might return quickly to Tiger as an example of what was unique about "race-mixing" in American encounters with Asia and the Pacific Islands. Woods is the product of his Green Beret father's tours of duty in the Vietnam War (Earl Woods met his wife Kultida while based in Thailand) and a century of military conflicts between the United States and Asian enemies. From the violent pacification of Filipinos resisting the annexation of the Philippines following the Spanish-American War of 1898, through the savage fighting of the Pacific campaign against the Japanese, through the human wave assaults of the Chinese and North Koreans during the Korean War, through the dehumanization of "gooks" and "Charlie" that marked the Vietnam conflict, the United States has been fighting enemies in Asia.

The face of the enemy has also looked remarkably like the laborers brought across the Pacific in large numbers. The kingdom of Hawai'i, overthrown in an armed coup supported by the United States and annexed in 1898, is perhaps the best symbol of a regional history dominated both by warfare and by the racial hierarchies of labor. The site of the development of plantation labor systems that brought wave after wave of laborers from southern China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines, as well as from Portugal and Puerto Rico, Hawai'i was also the base for numerous military campaigns in the Pacific (most notoriously the site of Pearl Harbor, the target of the Japanese attempt to curtail American naval power). It is also the place with the highest rates of "racial mixing" as it is usually defined, long heralded by missionaries and social scientists alike as a racial laboratory that would presage the future of the United States and the world (the phrase *hapa haole* first arose there, from which the common contemporary term for half Asian, half white—hapa—is derived).[14]

[13] Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier* (New York, 1998); Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston, 1991); Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York, 1986); Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensible Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1971).

[14] For instance, Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1933); and Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York, 1937); for arguments about how the rise of a "local" culture and a

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It is hard to overemphasize the importance in U.S. history, and in particular that of the Pacific region, of the fact that the last century has been a series of military confrontations in Asia. Even the current set of anti-terrorist forays into Central Asia is arguably a new turn in this long road—the dangerous Orient defined by the Orientalist discourses of European history described so well by Edward Said rather than the East Asian or Southeast Asian enemies usual for the United States. What legacy has this had on ideas about people in Asia and in annexed Pacific Islands such as Guam, Samoa, and Hawai'i, as well as on Asian-American and Pacific Islander migrants and their descendents in the United States? How has this long military history of conflict, demonization, and sexualization affected the racialization of "Orientals" and "Polynesians" in ways that were unique and even novel in comparison to understandings of African Americans or Native Americans or other racialized peoples?[15]

While anti-miscegenation laws arose in the West Coast states to prevent the marriage of male Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino laborers with white women, they did nothing to deter white men from having sex with and at times marrying "Oriental" women. And in the context of the widespread sexual contact between American military personnel and the sex workers who have serviced them throughout this century of wars in Asia and the Pacific, it would be absurd to think that sexual contact has indicated the forms of social progress that Hollinger is assuming that individual intimacy symbolizes. From war brides and their children who returned with GIs from Asian wars, as well as those who were left behind, what were once labeled "Eurasian" or "Amerasian" children have been a long-term feature of American encounters with Asia.[16]

Recently, the hope invested in Asian-white unions has largely been a dividend of the idea that recent Asian immigrants in the United States are a "model minority" and have somehow succeeded in overcoming the obstacles of race. Hollinger's focus on the success of "Asians" in out-marrying and somehow integrating with whites and overcoming their historical segregation is a telling

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mythology of a new mixed-race Hawai'i helped reinforce native disenfranchisement, see Jonathan Okamura, "Aloha Kanaka Me Ke Aloha 'Aina: Local Culture and Society in Hawaii," *Amerasia* 7, no. 2 (1980): 119–37; and John Rosa, "Local Story: The Massie Case Narrative and the Cultural Production of Local Identity in Hawai'i," *Amerasia* 26, no. 2 (2000): 93–115.

[15] At first, such intermixings were understood in ways similar to the way mulatto and mixed black-white children were understood. Products of transgression, halfway between two segregated worlds, their existence was both fascinating and abhorrent for many observers in both Asia and the United States. Depending on the circumstances of their birth and upbringing, such children were cast as brokers between societies, at other times living on the margins unwanted. Missionaries and sociologists in the 1910s and 1920s saw the marriages between Japanese and whites as optimistic indicators, hoping in the future of America in ways that presage Hollinger's essay. For an interesting perspective on Asian Americans and the Pacific region, see Gary Okihiro, *Common Ground: Reimagining American History* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); as well as Okihiro, *Columbia Guide to Asian American History* (New York, 2001). See the formative essay collection, Paul Spickard, Joanne L. Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite Wright, eds., *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (Honolulu, 2002).

[16] See Ji-Yeon Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America* (New York, 2002); Masako Nakamura, "Reconsidering Japanese 'War Brides' in U.S. History, the 1940s–1960s" (MA thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2002); Caroline Chung Simpson, *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945–1960* (Durham, N.C., 2001); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001).

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reflection of the blinders produced by a black-white, continental vision of intermarriage and race-mixing as transgressive overcoming. He has ignored not only patterns of gender (marriages between Asian women and white men are more common than between Asian men and white women) but also the whole history of the U.S. military in Asia, a history of sexual interrelations and "race-mixing" that has more connections with the imperial encounters between European colonizers and "natives" than the hopes for sexual intimacy born of the Civil Rights era.[17]

Finally, in terms of the Southwest, a region defined by its intersection between expanding chattel slavery, the encounters between Native *indios* and Spanish in Mexico, and the Pacific world described above, we find a region and history least explicable using Hollinger's framework. Since many recent migrants from Latin, Central, or South America embody the complex global admixtures of Native American, European, African, and Asian ancestry that have also marked North American history, attempts to encapsulate such migrants into a single category as "Latinos" have reflected the same difficulties that all such categorizations incur. Yet processes of racialization have nonetheless marked many of the peoples of Latin America, and for those who have been either incorporated through territorial expansion into the United States or who have migrated here, there has already been a long history. The racialization of Spanish-speaking peoples in the areas that would become Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, as Hollinger notes, has always been complicated, and it continues to be. Within the vast spectrum of more recent Spanish-speaking migrants to the United States (as well as those who continue to speak forms of their indigenous, native speech), some have found it possible to pass as white, whereas for others linguistic differences or similarities will be less salient than an identification of them as being non-white.[18] What has been the most powerful dividing line, however, has been the Manichean divisions between citizen and alien, colonizer and colonized, a feature of the Pacific region in general that has afflicted Asians and Pacific Islanders, as well as Hispanic migrants in the territories encompassed by an expanding United States. In this regard, "amalgamation" has

[17] For instance, Paul Spickard observes of Japanese Americans, the most likely of Asian Americans to outmarry historically: "At least until the 1970s, the bulk of Japanese American outmarriages were by women, not men." Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (Madison, Wis., 1989), 49. See Spickard, chap. 5, for a discussion of the phenomenon of American men and Asian war brides; also Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, War Bride* (Philadelphia, 1986). Between 1952, when the McCarran-Walter Act allowed American servicemen to bring Japanese and Korean wives back to the United States, and 1965, when changes in immigration laws allowed Asian wives to come in through normal immigration channels rather than as a special "war bride" privilege for servicemen, over 40,000 Asian brides, averaging between 2,000 and 5,000 a year, came into the United States. A significant minority of these women (likely between one-fourth and one-third) married Japanese-American, Chinese-American, or African-American servicemen, but a majority married white servicemen. Bok-Lim C. Kim, "Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen: Women in Shadows," *Amerasia Journal* 4 (1977). In a period when the migration to the United States of Asians in general was severely curtailed, this represents a significant skewing of the gender ratio of intermarriage. Indeed, the migration of Japanese, Korean, Filipina, and Vietnamese brides of U.S. servicemen was one of the largest sources of Asian migration to the United States in the period between World War II and the end of the Vietnam War. Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston, 1991), 140. Because the U.S. armed forces have continued to be predominantly male, this pattern of Asian wives and white American servicemen has continued. In addition, since 1965, the rise of Asian "mail-order brides" as a phenomenon has continued to skew white-Asian marriages toward a norm of white male/Asian female. Yen L. Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws and Love* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1997).

[18] Neil Foley, *White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

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not been a neutral term, and sexual intimacy has been marked by inequities of power and violence.

INTERMARRIAGE CAN PROVIDE A NUMBER OF PERSPECTIVES on U.S. history. Using the lens of marriage alliance, for instance, is quite revealing of the ways that territorial acquisition and conquest operated on the borderlands of the expanding United States, not only in the Spanish Southwest but also in the fur trade frontier of the West and the early plantation settlement of Hawai'i. Here, strategic marriages could expand family power and provide access to property and other forms of inheritance. Hollinger asserts too much when he argues, however, that somehow the issue of racial mixture and intermarriage has provided a uniquely hopeful perspective on both United States and world history. At one point, Hollinger speculates that one of the "lessons of American history" is that "even a nation carrying a heavy load of racism can incorporate individuals . . . on terms of considerable intimacy."[19] If racial intermarriage seems like such an accomplishment, perhaps it is because the practices of white supremacy in the United States have built it as such a high hurdle.

I wish that Hollinger had concluded his essay with his penultimate paragraph rather than his final one. It is here before the end that he says best what we gain from using the lens of "race-mixing" to look at U.S. history. Given how profoundly U.S. history has been shaped by the contours of racial division, such a perspective can reveal the terrain of those boundaries that so tragically separated people. However, even though Hollinger argued for the importance of distinguishing between the "empirically warranted narrative of amalgamation" for U.S. history and the "extravagance of the amalgamation fantasy," he ended up in his final paragraph blurring the two. Following the line from *Bulworth* he quotes, perhaps a "free-spirited" program of "procreative racial deconstruction" might be something Americans should consider,[20] but the truth is, as enjoyable as it might end up being, it will not save us all from a long history of racial hierarchy.

[19] Hollinger, "Amalgamation and Hypodescent," 1389.
[20] Hollinger, "Amalgamation and Hypodescent," 1389, 1390.

Henry Yu is an associate professor in the Department of History at the University of British Columbia, in Vancouver, Canada, and in the Department of History at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he is also a faculty member of the Asian American Studies Center. Currently, he is working on developing collaborative research and teaching on trans-Pacific migration, as well as a book to be titled "How Tiger Woods Lost His Stripes." He received his BA in Honours History from the University of British Columbia, and his MA and PhD in history from Princeton University. His book, *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America* (2001), focuses on the role of social science and Asian Americans in the production of ideas about race and culture, and his published essays include "Mixing Bodies and Cultures: The Meaning of America's Fascination with Sex between 'Orientals' and Whites," in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, Martha Hodes, ed. (1998).

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

BERTRAND M. ROEHNER and TONY SYME. *Pattern and Repertoire in History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 413. $45.00.

"The main objective of this book is to show that seemingly unrelated events in fact follow common patterns, so behind an apparently chaotic collection of events there is in fact a hidden order" (p. 50). Bertrand M. Roehner and Tony Syme have high hopes of bridging the gap between natural and social science (p. 40) and of making social science cumulative "by breaking up complex historical phenomena into simpler 'modules' " (p. ix): that is, patterns and repertoires of collective behavior that can be compared across time and space and so reveal unexpected regularities.

The hope of creating a social science equivalent to natural science has been at home in France since the time of Denis Diderot at least. Auguste Comte institutionalized the aspiration by inventing sociology; Roehner and Syme persevere in the same hope, helped most notably by an infusion of American-style historical sociology from the works of Charles Tilly. Yet the isolation of this tradition from existing patterns of historical discourse in the United States makes the book unlikely to attract readers of the *AHR* or to convince historians that they are really on track to make social science precise and powerful.

The book begins and ends with programatic chapters. In between, the authors deal with facets of revolutions, general strikes, and wars. They describe their procedure, wryly and retrospectively, as follows: "Reading a novel from the first to the last page is usually a pleasant exercise; but reading ten novels from page 100 to page 120 will certainly be frustrating . . . Yet this is precisely what is done in the preceding chapters. Because our objective is to compare different repertoires, we must constantly shift from one story to another, from one country to another, or from one time to an earlier or later one . . . This is the price we pay for a comparative perspective, and what we lose in storytelling we gain in awareness of new connections and relationships" (p. 365).

Quite so, but why pages 100 to 120? What governs the authors' choice of stories to compare? Roehner and Syme simply do not say. And what about missing context? Are episodes stripped away from their background really comparable? The authors do not ask or answer this obvious question. Often their results take the form of tables and diagrams, and when possible they attempt quantification. Yet overall, and not surprisingly, they find repetitions of the sort they are looking for. But how does this procedure establish general truths? The authors do not say, being content to describe "repertoires" like the fact that, in the nineteenth century, Prussian and then German generals in field command felt free to disobey instructions from the rear, so that General Alexander von Kluck's maneuvers in 1914, which led to the French victory of the Marne, were fully according to precedent and not a unique, unintelligible event. Or again, the authors compile a table showing eight parallels between the French Estates General meetings of 1356–1357 and 1789, including such "repertoires" as "large number of representatives," "armed support from the population of Paris," and "agitation of the peasants," making events of 1789 at least a little less surprising.

Such findings seem pretty much old hat to me, and not very significant either. I also fail to see how excerpting episodes and lining them up in tables improves intuitive comparisons. Recognition of significant patterns in the past has long been familiar among American historians: think of Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Frontier* (1964), Crane Brinton's *Anatomy of Revolution* (1938), or Carl Becker's *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (1932). Roehner and Syme seem unaware of such books. They declare that Marc Bloch and the *Annales* school introduced comparative history (p. 11) and demonstrate their distance from American historiographical traditions by citing François Guizot as an authority on Oliver Cromwell (p. 230). They do marshal some comparatively minute but interesting additional instances of comparative history, but this book falls far short of pioneering the new social science of their dreams.

WILLIAM H. MCNEILL
Emeritus
University of Chicago

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

LINDA M. HEYWOOD. *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 384. Cloth $65.00, paper $23.00.

This is an exemplary collection of essays, presenting new information and interpretations that fundamentally revise and deepen our understanding of the slave trade and the African diaspora. Spanning Europe, Africa, and the Americas, it also illustrates how a global perspective can help to reconceptualize phenomena that are often examined in more geographically bounded ways.

Although world history has burgeoned as a discipline in recent decades, it has tended to emphasize large-scale trends and connections. Finely textured social and cultural histories, for obvious reasons, generally have a much more restricted geographical scope. Yet the disconnect between African history and American (U.S. and Latin American) histories is particularly troubling. Studies of the African diaspora too frequently can only make vague assumptions and references to the African side of the history. This volume contributes to remedying both the disconnect among regional histories and the paucity of social-cultural texture in world histories.

The anthology is divided into sections focusing on Central Africa, Brazil, Haiti and Spanish America, and North America and the Caribbean. The essays focus on several interrelated themes. Central Africans, the contributors argue, comprised a far larger portion of those enslaved and transported than has previously been acknowledged. In certain areas—Brazil, Haiti, and the South Carolina-Georgia Low Country—Central Africans outnumbered West Africans. Central Africans came from several different polities but shared a Bantu linguistic heritage and a common cultural background. In addition, Central Africa had been subject to Portuguese missionary and colonial presence since the end of the fifteenth century. Thus Central Africans brought with them to the Americas a pre-existing creole (Afro-Lusitanian) culture and a native Central African Catholicism.

Linda M. Heywood's introduction traces the historiography of African diaspora studies, pointing out that early twentieth-century studies focused on particular regions, assumed that most slaves were of West African (Yoruba and Dahomey) origin, and emphasized diasporic African culture with little attention to African history. The second generation of diaspora studies, from the 1960s to the 1990s, took a more global approach, emphasizing the economics and demographics of the slave trade and downplaying cultural issues. In the last decade, a third wave—in which Heywood implicitly places this volume—has begun to use the concept of a "South Atlantic system" to look at the conjoined histories of Africa and the Americas and to explore "the role of Africans in the formation and transformation of Atlantic culture" (p. 7).

The contributers to the volume include Africanists (T. J. Desch-Obi, Heywood, Wyatt MacGaffey, Joseph Miller, Hein Vanhee), Latin Americanists (Mary C. Karasch, Elizabeth W. Kiddy, Jane Landers, Robert W. Slenes), a Caribbeanist (Monica Schuler), and several scholars whose training and central work cross borders and who might identify African diaspora studies or world history as their primary field (Ras Michael Brown, Terry Rey, John K. Thornton; Desch-Obi and Heywood could also fit into this category).

The first three essays look at the Central African background of the slaves transported to the Americas. Miller's contribution gives a political, ethnic, and demographic outline of Central Africa during the slave trade, with attention to the Central African polities and the involvement of the different European actors. His discussion of the Portuguese presence in Luanda and the Christianization of the Kongo kingdom, and his conclusion that "the captives leaving Luanda . . . had thus moved through cultural milieux of Portuguese and African tones varying in subtle degrees that rendered all but meaningless the transition between such modern dichotomous stereotypes as 'African' and 'European' " (p. 53), complicate our view of Africa and are echoed in many of the later essays. Thornton's essay examines the common Central African theology and spiritual beliefs, as well as their fusion with Christianity after 1491, when the Kingdom of Kongo was converted. Heywood looks at cultural syncretism in Portuguese Africa and describes a creolization process that both Africanized the Portuguese and allowed Central Africans to "selectively integrate elements of European culture into their own cultural fabric" (p. 91), once again complicating the categories of Portuguese or European and African.

Brazil and Haiti, both home to large communities of Central Africans, each merit three essays. Karasch traces the Central African presence in the remote Brazilian state of Goiás and argues that gold brought them there, and isolation allowed Central African cultural traditions to be maintained with particular poignancy into the twentieth century. Kiddy looks at the tradition of crowning the king of Kongo in different Brazilian contexts, arguing that the evolution of the tradition illuminates the shift from "distinctions based on ethnic identities to a Central African derived Afro-Brazilian identity" (p. 155). In perhaps the most unusual contribution in the book, Slenes uses a "strike" by the four African crew members on an English naturalist's boat in Brazil in 1816 to explore the world of Central African water spirits: only by looking at the Central African cultural belief system, he argues, can we explain this mysterious "strike" in which the slaves refused to row when a porpoise skull was brought aboard.

MacGaffey continues the discussion of water spirits in his felicitously placed essay, using traditional ethnographies to draw previously unexplored connections between specific Kongo beliefs and cultural practices among the slaves of Haiti. Landers makes fruitful use

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of the fragmentary documentary records of maroon communities in Spanish America to make a similar argument about Central African influences. Vanhee and Rey look at the influence of Central African Christianity on Haitian Voudu and Haitian popular Christianity, respectively, bolstering Miller, Thornton, and Heywood's discussions of the syncretic nature of Central African culture. The essays in this section make a convincing and original case for the overlooked importance of Central Africa in Haitian Studies. In particular, they challenge the commonly held assumption that voudou developed as a form of resistance to French hegemony, using Catholic saints as a veil to allow slaves to worship their traditional West African deities. Instead, these essays suggest that African Catholicism and Central (rather than only West) African religions were important ingredients in the Haitian religious world.

The final section is perhaps the most fragmented. Brown brings in two new issues in discussing West-Central Africans in the eastern United States: the role of the natural world, and gender. Schuler looks at nineteenth-century slaves "liberated" by the British and diverted from Cuba and Brazil (which maintained slavery almost until the end of the century) to indentured service on Guyana plantations. Desch-Obi's final essay also serves as a sort of conclusion: it is the only one that spans the Americas, looking at Central African martial arts traditions that evolved in Brazil, and also in places like Virginia and Martinique where Central Africans were not the majority. Central African combat rituals and religion contributed to the emergence of traditions like *capoeira* in Brazil or *ladya* in Martinique, and even the Christian ring shouts in the United States.

Together, these essays make an extraordinarily original and valuable contribution to African diaspora studies.

Aviva Chomsky
Salem State College

David Bindman. *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the Eighteenth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. 264. $39.95.

For better or for worse, European historians these days seem to be obsessed by, and nostalgic for, the eighteenth century. Here science was not yet professionalized, gender differences were not yet biologized, hierarchies were not yet racialized. All of this may well be true, although in fairness it should also be noted that eighteenth-century hospitals still killed more patients than they saved, eighteenth-century women in much of Europe remained illiterate, and eighteenth-century legal privileges still divided masters and serfs. As for racial discussions, the British as well as the Dutch, French, and Americans were happily profiting from the African slave trade, even if they had not fully developed "racial science." The nineteenth century, in contrast, saw vast improvements in transportation, medicine, and food production; the arrival of new educational and political opportunities for middle and even lower-class Europeans; and the end of slavery and serfdom. It was not all good, of course; but neither was European history after 1800 simply a straight, downward path leading inexorably to 1933. We need to stop romanticizing the premodern past and get a grip.

David Bindman's book does not, I think, intentionally ratify this position, but a strong and swift current of *Settecento*-philia does underlie it. The book argues that discussions of race in the eighteenth century were still quite fluid (compared to the evil nineteenth century in which, he presumes, everybody bought into "racial science"). Noble savage concepts vied with validations of Greek perfection; in attempting to sort humans into groups, thinkers varied as to how many varieties there actually were, whether or not skin color mattered, and how (and when) climate may have affected the differentiation of Adam's descendents. Authors were clearly concerned to keep at least some part of Genesis intact, although they were also eager to incorporate the latest information from travelers and to explain, rationally, observable physiognomic variations. Some (like Christoph Meiners) condoned slavery; others (like Pieter Camper) condemned it. These thinkers, Bindman writes, "in no way resemble that dismal creature the 'race scientist,' resident in the nineteenth century in many academic institutions in Europe and America, measuring skulls . . . weighing brains, and brooding on ways of improving the 'racial stock' by methods akin to Swift's *Modest Proposal*, but without any satirical intent" (p. 12). In plotting this downward trajectory, the author directly contradicts his later claim: "The relationship of aesthetics and race in the eighteenth century, therefore, cannot be seen in terms of a simple teleology" (p. 21). Inevitably, at the end of the telos is the Holocaust.

Space does not allow a full critique of this claim; suffice it to say that many of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' worst racists were not academics (Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Count Arthur Gobineau, Madison Grant), although some were, as George W. Stocking and Stephen Jay Gould showed long ago. Racial hierarchies were indeed omnipresent, but by no means was there total consensus on who belonged in what classificatory box. And there were plenty of abolitionists, anticolonial propagandists, and ambivalent missionaries, philosophers, and ethnographers. What to do, in Bindman's scheme, with successors like Henry Lewis Morgan and Franz Boas, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Joseph Conrad? It would also have been useful to have included a discussion of the importance of language in determining racial categories; after all, as Thomas R. Trautmann reminded us in *Aryans and British India* (1997), "Aryan" and "Semitic" were originally linguistic terms (and Max Müller, for one, wanted to keep them that way). That this discussion was also aesthetic is reflected in the strong belief by many that Indo-European languages were the most beautiful, and that Semitic and East Asian languages—

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because they were not inflected—were stilted and primitive.

This (rather major) omission aside, Bindman has done a credible job of assembling and discussing the major eighteenth-century reflections on race and beauty. The usual subjects are all here—Winckelmann, Lavater, Hume, Kant, Buffon, Linneaus, Herder—although understandably subtleties in their works cannot be debated in a relatively short book. The illustrations are well chosen and interesting; I especially appreciated the quasi-evolutionary series titled *Vom Frosch zum Dichter-Apollo* (From the Frog to the Poet Apollo). Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is Bindman's discussion of the work of the skull collector Pieter Camper, who was particularly concerned that artists represent the crania of non-European individuals correctly. "Camper's interest in visual 'correctness,'" Bindman claims, "links the worlds of scientific observation and artistic practice" (p. 206). Here, in the question of artistic practices, is a line of inquiry Bindman might have profitably taken; he could then have drawn interestingly from Bernard Smith's claims about the simultaneous evolution of artistic realism and the decline of the "noble savage" concept in the wake of the second and third Cook voyages (see Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* [2d ed. 1985]). It would have been highly interesting to see how art academies, for example, taught students to portray "others" (especially given the predominance of classical casts as models for depicting the self). As it stands, Bindman's book is best characterized as a helpful introduction to what is now a hot topic—and perhaps a useful irritant to make historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries recognize that the time has come to return from their specialized pursuits to the task of rewriting the history of racial thought, this time with the "simple teleology" really left out.

SUZANNE MARCHAND
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge

MARK HULLIUNG. *Citizens and Citoyens: Republicans and Liberals in America and France*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 250. $39.95.

This stimulating monograph challenges the interpretation of the republican liberal tradition in America first put forth in the 1950s by Louis Hartz. Although Mark Hulliung also deals with French republicans, his primary focus is on the United States. The book is a collection of six thematic essays that cover a chronology from the eighteenth century to the year 2000. Hulliung argues that viewing the liberal tradition as continuous in America is misleading: there have been strong, recurrent episodes of antiliberalism among the New Left, the neoconservatives, and the communitarians. The American Republic was "from the beginning both republican and liberal, not one or the other" (p. xi). The depiction of an eternal republican tradition in France is likewise a distortion. There the cause of liberalism was undermined by fear of excessive democracy. Every epoch of French history was not, as the French historian Hippolyte Taine would have it, merely a replay of the French Revolution.

There is much to recommend this book, which Hulliung dedicates to his students. His arguments are clearly, sometimes forcefully expressed and supported with extensive research in primary and secondary sources. His discussion of the changing meanings of civic virtue, the role of leadership in public life, individualism, communitarianism and other concepts is stimulating. Particularly persuasive is his analysis of the conflict between the Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian views of republican versus monarchial government. One flaw, however, is the continuous jumping back and forth chronologically, in each of the six essays, between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. And one wishes that Hulliung had offered a concluding chapter pulling together and summarizing the arguments of the preceding essays.

ROBERT P. SUTTON
Western Illinois University

WENDY M. GORDON. *Mill Girls and Strangers: Single Women's Independent Migration in England, Scotland, and the United States, 1850–1881*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2002. Pp. x, 234. Cloth $68.50, paper $22.95.

This book compares the experiences of independent women migrants in three textile cities in the period from 1850 to 1881. Wendy M. Gordon uses Preston, England; Paisley, Scotland; and Lowell, Massachusetts as exemplars of the textile industries in each country, although the women she studies worked in a variety of jobs. An independent female migrant, in her definition, is one who lives without (easily identifiable) family in a city other than her birthplace, but without crossing international borders. This category represented a more or less sizeable proportion of the workforce in each of the cities but a minority of single women in all three. For Lowell, where independent migrant women were emblematic of early industrialization, this segment of the population was shrinking in the face of international migration by mid-century. In Preston, independent migrant women were largely invisible because most went into domestic service. Paisley fell somewhere in between. Gordon, following the suggestion of Marc Bloch, uses the qualitative data from one city to flesh out a lack of comparable data in the others. Thus she uses the bank records of Preston, the letters of Lowell, and the poor law cases of Paisley to illuminate patterns she suggests were more widespread. In general, Gordon places more emphasis on the commonality of experience of work for independent migrant women than on the differences between the three communities.

Much of the story Gordon tells is familiar: the independent women migrants tended to be young

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adults who engaged in waged work as part of their life course, typically before marriage in their twenties; most came from rural areas and had to adjust to urban life; the volume of migration related to employer demands as well as to conditions in sending areas; women's networks provided information and assistance to newcomers; and young women worried about respectability as did the surrounding society, for independent also meant vulnerable.

Gordon goes beyond earlier interpretations by arguing that these women (a minority of single women, it bears repeating) had control of their own earnings and did not contribute much to family economies—except by removing their own care and the cost of assembling a dowry from the budget. Yet she suggests they retained family ties for both physical and emotional support at times and contributed to family finances in extreme cases. Gordon argues that the availability of appropriate housing was crucial in attracting independent women workers, whether to domestic service or to textile employment. In comparing reasons for choosing textile work as opposed to domestic service, Gordon indicates that the networks women could maintain as textile workers provided greater security in the face of personal problems than the apparently more protected, but also more isolated, role of domestic servant. In a world where marriage was the eventual goal of most, the ability to meet (and not get fired for seeing) men was a major asset. Textile work, at least at times, allowed a greater amount of disposable income to save or to spend on oneself in the form of attractive clothing, and the city generally provided rural migrants with new opportunities for social life, important components of the "factory girl" image. In all of these instances, Gordon effectively links personal motives to broader economic and social patterns.

Much of the study is based on eight to ten percent census samples of all adults from the four decades (plus one other census in Lowell). The technique makes it possible to place independent women migrants in context, although it means the author does not have large numbers of these individuals for analysis in some cases, especially in light of the various categorical subdivisions she employs. Gordon presents her findings in percentages, a practice that makes the text more readable and the comparisons easier but that prompts questions concerning the probability and magnitude of sampling error. The appendix only gives the overall sample sizes, which vary greatly, and neither the text nor the notes provide the actual numbers or the ability to calculate them in too many cases.

As a comparative study of three communities utilizing both qualitative and quantitative data, the book succeeds in presenting several hypotheses about a key segment of single women migrants, a group that helped shape the image as well as the reality of women and work in the transition from rural to urban life. To what extent these patterns apply to single migrants generally, or to more removed cultural settings, remain useful questions.

SUZANNE SINKE
Florida State University

JOHN MASON HART. *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico since the Civil War*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 677. $39.95.

John Mason Hart's in-depth study of the role of U.S. individuals, small businesses, and huge corporations in the economy of Mexico is a major contribution to our understanding of the history of both countries. He begins his story with the years immediately following the U.S. Civil War, when U.S. pressure combined with the guerrilla efforts of Mexican President Benito Juárez led to the withdrawal from Mexico of the French, who had sought to establish an emperor there. U.S. capital began to flow into Mexico, and its importance was established during the regime of Porfirio Díaz. The growth of U.S. economic power in Mexico was arrested and pushed back during the violent years of the Mexican Revolution and the period of institutionalization that followed, 1910–1940, in which Mexican regimes struggled to regain sovereignty over land and natural resources. Between 1940 and 2000, U.S. and Mexican representatives interacted in constant renegotiations of these economic relationships, as U.S. significance in the Mexican economy began to grow again. Hart shows clearly that this process was highly political, far from transparent, and dependent not only on local conditions but also on global forces.

Significant U.S. involvement actually began with the help that the U.S. government and private citizens provided to Juárez. After the French departed, major figures such as Ulysses S. Grant, himself a veteran of not only the Civil War but also the U.S.-Mexican War, took a great interest in the country to the south. Land privatizations, affecting the peasantry and the Roman Catholic Church, were instituted by the Juárez government and greatly aided the process of expanding U.S. influence in the countryside. By 1876, American interests were ready to support their own candidate for Mexican political power, and their choice was Díaz. His regime was good to U.S. investors; capital poured in, and financial players such as J. P. Morgan, James Stillman, and George Baker, known as "the Trio," became important in U.S. investments in Mexico. By 1910, U.S. capital had stimulated the development of communications and transportation in every area from railroads and highways to the telegraph; U.S. interests had acquired important mining operations and were involved in the beginnings of oil operations; U.S. citizens and corporations owned huge tracts of land. However, the Mexican labor involved in the operations of these businesses was paid little compared with the huge profits being realized, and this disparity was a factor in the enormous political upheaval that would shortly follow.

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Hart shows clearly that the Mexican Revolution led to "a broad-based cultural, political, and nationalist rejection of the political elites in the nation's capital, the great estate owners, and the foreign capitalists—for the most part, Americans" (p. 271). Despite Mexican concerns about U.S. intervention, post-1917 governments immediately set about the task of regaining national control over natural resources, although, particularly under President Venustiano Carranza, the labor movement and land reform made little headway. At the same time, U.S. financial leaders, taking advantage of the circumstances of World War I, developed a global reach that was extraordinary. For Mexico, close to home for the Americans, the struggle to assert its sovereignty would not be easy.

In the period between 1920 and 1940, the Mexican labor movement came under the protection (and the control) of the postrevolutionary governments and at the same time was able to use its new power against U.S. employers. Agrarian reform threatened American interests but was pursued with vigor. Many U.S. firms and individuals, particularly agricultural interests, were pushed out, and remaining enterprises operated under constraints and faced frequent renegotiation. These processes were begun with zeal in the 1920s and culminated under President Lázaro Cárdenas, when the political situation, while still perilous, had improved significantly, and foreign capital was not so economically crucial. Although Cárdenas himself faced substantial challenges from both within and outside the country, his land reform projects were sweeping. Labor problems led him to his most audacious act, the nationalization of the oil industry, previously controlled by U.S. and British companies. Historians have often seen Cárdenas's presidency as a break with the past in its far-reaching nationalization of both land and industry. Hart's work makes it clear that this process had begun well before the Cárdenas administration and was carried out more or less strenuously as circumstances permitted.

Hart's final section shows the ways in which American capital was able to return to Mexico, albeit in fits and starts, between 1940 and 2000. The process accelerated significantly after the Mexican financial crisis of 1982, when heavy borrowing by the Mexican government after miscalculations about the future value of its oil resources led to a severe debt crisis. Privatization of much of Mexico's extensive network of state-owned enterprises followed, as successive administrations struggled to stabilize the country's financial system. Quickly, new economic arrangements with the United States followed, the most important of which was the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Hart sees the agreement as hazardous for Mexico, given the continuing U.S. advantage in capital and technology. Indeed, he sees the economic relationships between Mexico and the United States as having come almost full circle, back to the close associations of the Díaz years.

This volume provides us with a comprehensive view of the development of Mexico's economy under the shadow of its northern neighbor's power. It clarifies current economic relationships and should be of enormous interest to any U.S. businessperson operating in Mexico. At the same time, it is a masterful historical work that cuts no corners in scholarship or documentation, following individual cases and trends over more than a century. For those seeking an understanding of economic and political relations between the two countries, this book is a fine place to start.

LINDA B. HALL
University of New Mexico

JENNIFER SIEGEL. *Endgame: Britain, Russia and the Final Struggle for Central Asia*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris. 2002. Pp. xviii, 273. $39.50.

The study of Anglo-Russian relations before World War I has been an active one of late. In 1995 two monographs, John Albert White's *Transition to Global Rivalry: Alliance Diplomacy and the Quadruple Entente, 1895–1907* and my own *Britain and the Last Tsar: British Policy and Russia, 1894–1917*, provided overlapping, if somewhat contradictory accounts of the relationship between London and St. Petersburg before 1914. Both books speak to the assertion, made by Keith Wilson, most particularly in *The Policy of the Entente: Essays on the Determinants of British Foreign Policy, 1904–1914* (1985), that prewar British policy was driven by a fear of Russia and that London went to war in 1914 in order to safeguard its empire against Russia, not to defend France against Russia.

As Persia was the largest fly in the Anglo-Russian ointment, Jennifer Siegel's monograph on Anglo-Russian relations in Central Asia from 1907 to 1914 is directly relevant to this topic. Siegel has written a first-rate study. Its particular strength is the author's extensive research in the Russian archives that were opened (and then, unfortunately, largely closed) in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. What she shows, in an elegant fashion, is that the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 did not, as is commonly alleged, bring an end to Anglo-Russian enmity. Nor did it firmly tie the two together, along with France, in a solid Triple Entente aimed at containing Germany in Europe. Instead, the convention was entered into by each side in an attempt to improve its imperial position and, due to inherent contradictions in the aims of the two states, was honored as much in the breach as in its observance.

Siegel sensibly employs a chronological approach. After outlining the reasons that both sides signed the convention—imperial defense concerns for Britain and the need to reduce defensive liabilities in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War for Russia—Siegel demonstrates that there were immediate tensions. In both countries, there were domestic opponents to this diplomatic reorientation, while in Persia and Afghanistan various incidents immediately challenged whether the convention could work in practice.

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In 1909 and 1910, this latter problem became evident. Russia wanted a stable Persia and was willing to intervene in the north to ensure that this came about; the British also sought a stable Persia but wanted this to come about by means of Persian, not foreign action. Any Russian action was seized upon by British opponents of the Anglo-Russian Convention as evidence of Russian untrustworthiness. By the end of 1910, the convention was under fire in both countries and there were complications internationally, as Germany sought to meddle in the region.

The year 1911 brought more quarrels over Persia, with challenges to Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, from within his own party. While a patch was placed on things in 1912, the two Balkan wars put more pressure on matters, while in 1913, events in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet all made it evident that the continuation of the convention was uncertain. By June 1914, it was evident that a thorough-going revision of the agreement was necessary, and it was not certain that it could be renewed in any form. Both sides were unhappy. In Persia, Russia wished to exercise its rights in the north in a fashion unpalatable to Britain, while the British wished to protect their trade from Russian depredations and to ensure access to oil. Similar differences existed over Afghanistan and Tibet. Before negotiations could begin, World War I intervened.

Siegel is to be congratulated. Her detailed work in the Russian archives provides both a depth and nuance to our understanding of Russian policy to an extent unavailable before. Her research in the British archives is solid, with the Foreign Office and India Office records both consulted. Many of her points could have been underscored further by the use of the papers of Sir Charles Hardinge, who was permanent undersecretary at the Foreign Office and then viceroy of India during this period. That, however, is the only major lacuna in her research, and its lack is more than made up for by the fact that she offers a perspective both from St. Petersburg and London. The result is a book that must be considered definitive for its particular topic and one that has much that is important to say about the relations between the Great Powers before World War I.

KEITH NEILSON
Royal Military College of Canada

MARY N. LAYOUN. *Wedded to the Land? Gender, Boundaries, and Nationalism in Crisis*. (Post-Contemporary Interventions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 225. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

In this work, Mary N. Layoun presents a wonderful analysis of three case studies of gendered cultural responses to crises of nationalism, as represented in alternative narratives of high cultural and literary tropes: the Greek Asia Minor "catastrophe" of 1922, the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, and the Palestinian expulsion from Lebanon in the 1980s. Through an extensive reading of such diverse sources as literature, official documents, songs, poetry, cinema, public monuments, and journalism, she treats with lucidity, analytical rigor, and elegance the theme of the master narrative of gendered nationalism, dealing quite admirably with a rather complex set of historical background materials. Her analysis demonstrates that although, through specific strategies, the language and order of nationalism is employed to construct homogeneous societies, alternative gendered narratives point to different desires of heterogeneous utopian communities.

Layoun's first case study focuses on Greek refugees from Asia Minor, who came to Greece following the 1922 war with Turkey. Here she offers a lucid recounting of the historical events that led to the repatriation of more than 1.5 million peoples between Asia Minor and mainland Greece, showing how refugees were reconstructed as national subjects. Their testimonies, unlike the official narrative, reveal tractable borders, as well as Orthodox and Muslim intermarriage while in Asia Minor. The internationally mandated effort to construct ethnic homogeneity in Turkey and Greece that followed the Asia Minor war disrupted a social world of ethno-religious sentiments in which a sense of communal belonging and intercommunal relations had once been strong. Refugee testimonies reveal a disjuncture between public and official discourse, as their stories both reconstitute boundaries and cross over them, presenting a gendered narrative perspective from which the story of the nation is told and retold.

While these points are well taken, Layoun does not mention that the arrival of the refugees contributed significantly to the political construction of a modern Greek nation-state, with its largely homogeneous population (in terms of language, religion, and culture), especially in the northern territories of Macedonia and Thrace. In a sense, the Asia Minor conflict was an early international experiment in ethnic purification, and a relatively "successful" one at that. Layoun's study also might have benefited from more specialized historical sources, as well as from a different transliteration mode (spelling errors in Greek terms could be avoided by more careful and rigorous proofreading). Some historians of Greece might take issue with the assertion that the "Great Idea" was a policy of the Greek kingdom throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, or challenge the assumption that the "Great Idea" was always irredentist and militaristic in character. There is no doubt that the "Great Idea" helped to define the Asia Minor expedition, but that does not necessarily imply that the concept had as long a history as Layoun asserts. Historical contingency as well as the so-called Great Powers played an important role in turning the ideology of the continuous national community to more militaristic and violent forms of expression.

In her chapter on the Cyprus crisis of 1974, Layoun provides a lucid account of how the crisis emerged. In a refreshing departure from the master narrative of most official and unofficial accounts (namely, that the

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crisis was the fault of the Turks, those eternal enemies of the Greeks), she shows rather how the internal contradictions of postcolonial Cyprus led to an eruption of violence. Layoun critically analyzes a speech of Archbishop Makarios, president of Cyprus when the Turkish invasion resulted in the partitioning of the island into two relatively homogeneous enclaves: Greek Cypriots to the south and Turkish Cypriots to the north. Layoun also offers a superb reading of novels and short stories, evoking the ways in which nationalists equated the inviolability of the woman's body with the inviolability of the national motherland while also elucidating the violently gendered proscriptions of social agency and power that find expression in such tropes. In metaphoric expressions of assault, violation, and death, the woman raped comes to symbolize the death of men, and by extension the metaphoric rape and death of the Cyprus nation. Yet the voices Layoun examines here are *all* metaphorical; one is left to wonder where the real ethnography of rape fits into all this. Readers may also wonder whether Layoun's analysis stands in need of revision following recent developments in Cyprus such as the elimination of the partitioning "Green Line" in April 2003 and the new initiative people have shown in returning to their homeland. Although Layoun maintains that official discourse hinders individual and group efforts toward intercommunal coexistence (p. 82), at present this seems to be the direction in which things are headed.

The chapter on the Palestinian refugees is perhaps the weakest of the book, and Layoun seems more comfortable applying her language skills in Greek than in Arabic. Unlike the other two case-study chapters, this one does not begin with a critical analysis of speeches by politicians, nor does Layoun attempt to demonstrate the opposition between official and unofficial narratives, confining herself only to the literary and cinematographic responses of the Palestinians. Again, her historical narrative is clear and lucid, and readers will be grateful for the commanding manner in which she has woven together a good deal of difficult and often confusing material. Having left their "homes" in Lebanon following the Israeli invasion some twenty years ago, the experience of Palestinian refugees has been quite different from that of their Greek and Cypriot counterparts. Here Layoun frames her analysis in terms of representations of the desire for a homeland, a place "between here and there" (in the words of Palestinian poet Mahmud Darwish). Palestinian refugees have struggled for a concrete space they can imagine as their own "place," and cultural and literary texts have afforded a means by which (or a space within which) such impossible questions can be asked and elusive desires fulfilled. Layoun's fine exegesis of Michel Khleifi's film, "Wedding in Galilee" (1987), offers a vivid rendition of the gendered community of the nation, with its male/public and female/domestic spheres, but it also brings out women's desire for a different kind of community in which the exclusionary processes of nationalism are suspended.

In conclusion, Layoun presents an interesting discussion of the relationship among culture (identity, subjectivity, and communal belonging), citizenship (namely civic rights and political responsibilities), and the process of "transculturation" (whereby marginalized people incorporate materials propagated by a dominant culture). She suggests that in a world in which capitalism is the economic mode of modernity, and the nation-state its political mode, gender and reproduction become handy metaphors for the rhetoric of the different kind of community that women seek. This chapter stands alone as a philosophical end piece, highlighting the theoretical importance of the "unspoken" and the "unperformed" rather than effectively extending these theoretical implications to the three different case studies presented earlier. And yet, the published stories that she analyzes are not "unspoken," and the films she critiques are not "unperformed." Discussions with the subjects, the women and the boys, the brides and the grooms, might have brought out a greater sense of what *is* left unspoken in the published record.

This book moves refreshingly beyond the official archives of national memory, to explore fictional narratives that evoke desires for intracommunal existence, yearnings for a utopian world community in which human and cultural rights are respected. I would suggest, however, that such notions are derived from the recounted past, a time when things were "beautiful" and peaceful coxistence prevailed. The future, by contrast, is beyond imagination, particularly for those who have come to feel a sense of futility in their struggles against nationalism. Without an exit from the prevailing conceptual paradigm, one nationalism is answered simply by another. We may typologize endlessly their form, content, and offensive or defensive posturing, but they are still nationalisms.

ANÁSTASIA KARAKASIDOU
Wellesley College

KATE A. BALDWIN. *Beyond the Color Line and the Iron Curtain: Reading Encounters between Black and Red, 1922–1963*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 346. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

Given the dramatic changes in the world over the past decade and a half, it is easy to forget the influence that the Soviet Union exerted over America's intellectual life, including that of a number of leading African-American intellectuals of the twentieth century. Kate A. Baldwin's book takes up that subject—and its obverse, the impact of African-American intellectuals on Soviet Russia—from the vantage point of Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Paul Robeson. A book considering the international context of the ideological development of those four important figures of the black Left would be an enormous

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contribution in itself. Baldwin's project is much more ambitious than that. She aspires to "a genealogy of 'the Negro question' as it emerged in dialogue between the Soviet Union and these black Americans" (p. 3) during the travels of each to the USSR over the period from the early 1920s to the late 1950s. Although the discussion of the Left's political program for African Americans has become well-trodden ground, Baldwin significantly adds to our understanding of the interaction between black and red. Her knowledge of Russian language, literature, and culture and access to documents relatively newly available constitute great strengths.

More important, Baldwin's literary approach to the topic fills in aspects of the topic that tended to be obscured by the Cold War context in which most of the debate had been carried out. Baldwin brings a recognition that what have traditionally been approached as almost purely political questions have their cultural side, one that has been too long lacking from debates that have yielded increasingly fewer insights on African-American radicalism. Her entry point largely allows her to avoid the recent tendency—exacerbated by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the resultant opening of its archives—to attempt to understand the African-American Left, particularly its communist component, through the lens of Russian politics. She even attempts to discern the influence of the four on Russian thought and literature, thus opening a new and fascinating line of investigation. For that alone, Baldwin's work represents a more important contribution than other works making use of the new sources.

Baldwin is most at home within the literary texts produced by her subjects. She adds important insights about their thought gleaned from an examination of writings that had hitherto been largely ignored, partly because some only survive in Russian translations. In the chapter devoted to each, we gain new insights into McKay's brief communist years, Hughes's attempts to grapple with Du Bois's notion of the "veil" during his sojourn to the Soviet Central Asian Republics, the impact of his Russian travels on Du Bois's own rather singular political evolution, and Robeson as performer of the folk music of many nations (including Russia) as almost an " 'organic intellectual' . . . with internationalist, transnational goals" (p. 218). The chapter on Hughes is particularly insightful.

Given its restricted scope, this book contributes least where it directly addresses the evolution of "the Negro Question" within the African-American Left, largely because neither McKay, Hughes, Du Bois, nor Robeson was centrally involved in its elaboration. That is, however, more than compensated for by the attention Baldwin devotes to a number of issues that have as yet barely been touched, particularly issues of gender and sexuality as they affected the theorizing of race on the Left. The selection of intellectuals who stood largely outside the black Left during its formative interwar years—and whose artistic endeavors in three of the four cases outshone their political activities—helps to refocus attention to what may become a more useful line of inquiry. In treating her four subjects as writers (and, in Robeson's case, a performer), Baldwin foregrounds the cultural dimension of what had, with a few exceptions, been considered largely from a political standpoint. As important, she does not strip communist Russia of its essentially Russian context, which denudes it of much of what made it fascinating to African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans who traveled there. She realizes as well that cultural misreadings as much as ideological proclivities resulted in much of the subjective knowledge each claimed about the other. The result is a provocative account of cultures in contact, a work opening new avenues of investigation that promises to expand working assumptions about the geography of the black Atlantic.

KEITH GRIFFLER
University of Cincinnati

JI-YEON YUH. *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America*. (Nation of Newcomers: Immigrant History as American History.) New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 283. $25.95.

This is one of the most compelling books I have read this year. It tells the story of "military brides": Korean women who married American soldiers and came to the United States to live at various times in the second half of the twentieth century. Ji-Yeon Yuh's account is alternately heart breaking and inspiring.

Yuh argues persuasively that Korean-American relations—indeed, Korea's national self-image—as well as the individual and collective self-images of Korean migrants to America (military brides included) are all framed by the quasi-colonial relationship between the two nations that has existed since the end of World War II. At the center of that relationship is the metaphor of camptown, the entertainment districts that surround U.S. military bases on the Korean peninsula. All Korean women who meet and marry American men are assumed, both by Koreans and by most non-Korean Americans, to be ex-prostitutes who bear a stigma of pollution. Other Koreans and Korean Americans may envy such women as having achieved prosperity and international upward mobility; they may take advantage of the women's knowledge and resources in their own struggles to make a place for themselves in the United States; but seldom, in Yuh's account, do they let these women have a place within the Korean diaspora. The military brides are written off by their families and by Korean Americans as people who gave up their Korean identity at marriage.

Yuh is especially good drawing out the women's stories. She is a fine questioner and a great listener, and she is also a provocateur. She has a sharp-edged feminist, anticolonial interpretation to offer, and she skillfully weaves the words of the women whom she interviewed into that interpretation. The strongest parts of the book are the early chapters, where Yuh lays out the context of the American-Korean neocolo-

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nial encounter and its psychological consequences, and the last chapters, where she describes the ways military brides remained true to Korea and their Korean families despite rejection, and their efforts to build community among their number.

There are not many scholars who could have written a book of this sort to as good effect. Yuh reads and speaks Korean fluently and is both an accomplished journalist and a trained historian. She was able to pursue in-depth interviews with the women who are her main subject, English and Korean-language publications and films, and archival sources in Korea and the United States. In addition, Yuh is very well read in racial theory and critical studies. Her method is as much anthropological as historical, and she handles all these materials and interpretive perspectives with aplomb. She does the reader the favor of relegating discussions of literature and methodology to notes and appendixes, thus allowing the women's lives to take center stage.

Yuh's narrative and interpretation do falter, however, in the book's middle chapters, for reasons that may be ideological, methodological, or both. Yuh is keen to point out the ways that husbands of the Korean military brides she interviewed may have sought submissive, Oriental stereotypes when they married Korean women. She is not shy at suggesting willful misunderstanding, even abuse, on the men's part. But her description of these marriages as suffering almost constant conflict over household roles, cooking, and language behavior does not ring fully true. Other writers such as Dugan Romano (*Intercultural Marriage: Promises and Pitfalls* [1988]) and Jessie Carroll Grearson and Lauren Smith (*Love in a Global Village: A Celebration of Intercultural Families in the Midwest* [2001]) described similar issues of difference as occasions for negotiation and mutual adjustment. But they did not find in the couples they interviewed the kind of screaming drama that Yuh describes here.

Partly the problem may lie with the size of Yuh's sample. She has interviewed only nine women; other women's experiences might have been very different from the ones she describes. More important, those other authors interviewed the men as well as the women, and some children of such marriages. Yuh only has talked with the women. Even then, Yuh does not offer up much of the women's actual testimony in this section of the book. Instead, she is fairly abstract and ideological in her arguments regarding marital disharmony and who is to blame. The reader is left unsatisfied, not sure whether the kinds of intimate conflict she describes really are what is going on in the lives of international Korean-American families.

Despite that flaw, this is a very fine book. Yuh does us the estimable service of bringing the Korean women she interviewed and their sisters out of the shadow of camptown and into dialogue with those who inhabit and write about Korean-American communities. Perhaps another author soon will achieve the same feat on behalf of that other much-neglected group of Korean Americans: international adoptees.

PAUL SPICKARD
University of California, Santa Barbara

HUBERT ZIMMERMANN. *Money and Security: Troops, Monetary Policy, and West Germany's Relations with the United States and Britain, 1950–1971.* New York: Cambridge University Press, and Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute. 2002. Pp. xvi, 275. $45.00.

Arguing that much of the literature on the Cold War focuses on military and alliance politics without due consideration of the economic dimension, Hubert Zimmermann sets out to redress this imbalance by reintegrating economic and monetary policy into the historiography of the period. Zimmermann's study of British, American, and German security politics in the 1950s and 1960s examines the interaction between the political-military sphere and the economic-monetary sphere. His detailed study of the reccurring negotiations that linked British and American troop levels in the Federal Republic to German "offset payments" clearly demonstrates the interdependence of security and economic issues, with concerns about balance of payments, currency stability, and the viability of the Bretton Woods system jostling against military commitments and security obligations.

Zimmermann sets the stage for his study by summarizing the motivations that drove West Germany's admission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the foundation of the Bundeswehr. Konrad Adenauer and the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) overcame considerable domestic opposition to their security policies by highlighting the benefits of greater sovereignty, increased security, and an end to occupation costs. Britain and the United States, for their part, anticipated that West German rearmament would increase NATO's viability while lessening the financial burden on their taxpayers. Yet the slow process of building up the Bundeswehr meant that the British and American troop presence in Germany remained essential, disappointing expectations for a rapid shifting of the financial burden of defense. Britain and the United States argued that the Federal Republic should therefore help "offset" the cost of maintaining troops in Germany, a demand the West German government resisted as a veiled continuation of occupation costs. The reoccurring negotiations about these "offset costs" proved an enduring source of frustration and tension among Germany, Britain, and the United States until the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in 1971, and they constitute the heart of Zimmermann's study.

Zimmermann's central argument and major accomplishment is a clear analysis of how, when, and why monetary policies influenced security policies and vice versa. First Britain and later the United States recognized that their growing balance of payment deficits

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had to be addressed in order to avoid devaluing their currencies. Given that payments to troops in Germany contributed to this deficit, Britain and the United States eventually faced the same dilemma: should they assign more relative value to their economic objectives or vital security considerations?

The first third of the book examines the interaction between British and German monetary and security policies during the 1950s. During this period, Britain remained committed to maintaining the pound as a reserve currency for the sterling area and prioritized its foreign policy in the order: Commonwealth, United States, Europe. Given these priorities, Zimmermann argues that British monetary goals adversely affected its security policies toward Germany. By constantly threatening to disengage from Germany if not provided with offset payments, Britain undermined the political capital that its commitment to European collective security had initially generated.

For much of the 1950s, the American trade surplus enabled the U.S. to pursue its security policies in Europe with little concern about balance of payment issues. Yet by the end of the decade, a growing American deficit elevated burden sharing and the reduction in U.S. overseas commitments into important considerations. Zimmermann traces the painful and recurring German-American negotiations concerning offset payments in the final two-thirds of his book. Among the valuable insights he offers is a detailed analysis of how balance of payment concerns drove German purchases of American military hardware, and how joint research and development projects were designed to create long term purchases. Zimmermann lends detail and depth to what Wolfram Hanrieder (*Germany, America, Europe: Forty Years of German Foreign Policy* [1989]) has termed a German-American relationship of mutual dependence during the 1960s: in exchange for American troops and security guarantees, the German government purchased military equipment, provided offset payments, and, most importantly, supported the dollar despite an ever-growing dollar surplus in the Bundesbank's coffers.

This book is based on a thorough use of the archival and published sources, reflecting research in the appropriate German, British, and American archives. It will be challenging for those unfamiliar with the political-diplomatic-military dimensions of the Anglo-German and American-German dialogue of the period, as it provides only brief summaries of developments in these fields before delving into the monetary aspects of their security relationships. Yet for those familiar with the traditional narrative, this monograph provides a superb case study of the interaction between the economic sphere and the diplomatic and military domains.

DOUGLAS PEIFER
Air Command and Staff College

EDMUND RUSSELL. *War and Nature: Fighting Humans and Insects with Chemicals from World War I to* Silent Spring. (Studies in Environment and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 315. Cloth $54.95, paper $19.95.

Chemical weapons and pesticides: most readers would not recognize the sinister historical and contemporary connection between the two, except perhaps for those who know that Germany's vaunted G-nerve gases (tabun, sarin, soman) were inadvertently discovered by I. G. Farben chemist Gerhard Schrader during the late 1930s while he was searching for a more potent insect spray. Later, other members of the organophosphates family, VX and the carbamates, were developed under similar circumstances by Western and Soviet chemists during the 1950s, joining the G-gases as fearsome weapons that could be used against unsuspecting soldiers and civilians. Despite the 1997 Chemical Weapons Convention this threat continues.

But Edmund Russell's definition of chemical weapons goes far beyond poison gas. During World War II, for instance, Allied incendiary bombs virtually obliterated Hamburg, Dresden, and Tokyo, exceeding fatalities caused by the two atomic bomb attacks—a fact that scholars have rarely acknowledged, given their obsession with nuclear weapons. Russell also briefly traces the emergence of chemical herbicides, originally planned for use against Japanese targets but which gained particular notoriety during the 1960s, when U.S. Forces drenched Vietnam with Agent Orange. At the time, many scientists and environmentalists criticized the Pentagon's failure to clarify the "essential difference between something poisonous and something highly toxic" (p. 227), an omission that Rachel Carson pursued in her seminal study *Silent Spring* (1963) which "helped make pesticides into powerful symbols of dangerous modern technologies" (p. 222). High on Carson's list of problem substances was DDT (dichlorodiphenyl-trichloroethane), regarded by some as World War II's "greatest contribution to the future health of the world" (p. 155).

DDT's potential as the premier insecticide was initially assessed by U.S. military and health officials in October 1942, at a time when malaria was causing ten times as many casualties among American troops in the Pacific theater as Japanese military action. DDT was quickly approved for massive and indiscriminate application, despite concerns over its toxicity. Short-term results were spectacular, not only against malaria, whose incidence "dropped 95 percent" (p. 117) in the combat zones, but also against typhus and other insect-borne diseases. In addition, Russell shows how American wartime propaganda often fused the battle against pests, insects, and the war against the Axis powers, citing the memorable 1944 comment by General William Porter, head of the U.S. Chemical Warfare Service: "The fundamental biological principles of poisoning Japanese, insects, rats, bacteria and cancer are essentially the same" (p. 137).

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After 1945, when DDT became widely available for civilian use, the prevailing view was that it could "perform miracles under all circumstances" and possibly bring about the complete extermination of "man's insect enemies" (p. 155). In 1954, for example, the World Health Organization relied upon DDT when it launched its comprehensive, costly, and ultimately unsuccessful malaria eradication campaign, despite growing evidence that many insects had, through natural selection, gradually acquired DDT immunity. Indeed, by 1986 it was estimated that 447 species of insects/mites had developed resistance to existing pesticides, along with a host of bacteria that had triumphed over penicillin, that other medical marvel of World War II.

Yet for corporate America, pesticides generated immense profits, and they jealously guarded their domestic and international markets through clever advertising and robust attacks against their critics, who, they claimed, failed to appreciate the important role chemical companies assumed in national defense, particularly in assisting research and development activities of the Chemical Warfare Corps. Throughout the early Cold War, U.S. military, corporate, and scientific leaders often used insect metaphors, such as termites and locusts, when describing their Communist adversaries. A May 1950 editorial in *Time* took this comparison to a frightening level when it outlined a possible battle scenario: "Presumably (nerve gas) would be sprayed over enemy cities by planes in the same way that whole areas are sprayed with mosquito killing DDT, paralysing the whole population. Then the attacking army, equipped with protective masks, would march in and take over" (p. 196).

While this apocalyptic image wrongfully assumed that nerve gas was merely incapacitating, not lethal, nevertheless it demonstrates the author's thesis about the symbiotic relationship between "the American way of war and the American way of pest control" (p. 36). In general, the book demonstrates this linkage very clearly—except for a few important points. First, a somewhat more systematic analysis of why gas warfare did not occur either during World War II or the Korean War would have been welcome, as well as some reference to the 1952–1953 Communist allegations that U.S. forces had used germ warfare in Korea. Second, the analysis of how pest control analogies were used to justify American firebombing of Japanese cities invites comparison with similar tactics used by Nazi Germany during the 1930s to dehumanize Jewish citizens.

These points aside, this fine study is a welcome addition to American environmental, military, and scientific historical scholarship and deserves a wide readership.

DONALD H. AVERY
University of Western Ontario

ANGUS MCLAREN. *Sexual Blackmail: A Modern History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 332. $35.00.

Angus McLaren's book is the type that makes you want to hit the archives and follow up his numerous hints and examples. In a profession that can often leave behind the flogged corpse of a topic, this is no small accomplishment.

This comparative work provides a systematic examination of the manner in which the expansion of "morals" legislation during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created a thriving industry in blackmail, or the exchange of money for silence, in Britain and America. Well into the twentieth century, sexual deviants—whether homosexuals, adulterers, abortionists, or unmarried, sexually active women—were victimized both by the law and by the outlaws that legislation helped foster.

According to McLaren, blackmail emerged in Britain and America as reputation became a bankable asset and as laws increasingly regulated morality. British courts protected well-off victims by allowing them to remain silent about sexual interactions, particularly same-sex relations, resulting in far more convictions of blackmailers. In contrast, American courts were unwilling to support victims, making it just as dangerous to go to the police as to pay hush money. McLaren shows the police themselves (as well as criminals masquerading as rogue cops) were implicated in blackmail attempts. In both countries, the courts tended to protect the wealthy and privileged. In both countries as well, men generally blackmailed and men were the targets of blackmail. Men remained privy to dangerous sexual secrets like sodomy even as the law cut down on women's abilities to garner payments for sexual irregularities like bastardy; women owned less property, and their sexuality became subject to greater (and more successful) surveillance. In a curious way, women's underrepresentation as criminals and victims once again demonstrates their disadvantaged state.

Although blackmailers first focused on homosexuals, the passage and enforcement of new legislation opened room for novel criminal opportunities like threatening to cite an adulterer in divorce proceedings, obtaining or committing abortions, or transporting women across state lines. Inevitably, as more individuals crossed the law in the twentieth century, more people became subject to blackmail. Thousands of women who received abortions paid relatively small amounts, making blackmail a mass crime rather than a class crime, for example.

Finally, McLaren takes on the issue of the press and the ways that attempts to maintain ideals of sexual purity created particular types of press reports that informed and misinformed the population. Cautionary tales raised an awareness of sexual nonconformity even as they vilified the working-class thug, the loose woman, and the indiscreet doctor. Only when the

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importance of reputation began to diminish after World War II did Britons and Americans begin to confront the legal consequences of blackmail. Activists "outed" themselves to undercut the blackmailer's currency in silence; sex crimes became medical rather than moral failings, and new Cold War priorities made morals legislation a government liability, as happened in Britain during the Profumo scandal. As a result, both governments changed the law in order to undercut the ability of blackmailers to operate.

McLaren recognizes the class politics of blackmailing but does not address them as thoroughly as he might. While well-organized gangs operated in both Britain and America, blackmailers could also be lovers trying to equalize relationships exacerbated by differences in class, age, race, or education. Furthermore, McLaren only focuses on blackmail as a financial act. Blackmail may take a variety of forms, from emotional blackmail to informal blackmail, as when sexual favors are demanded in exchange for work. McLaren's book focuses on the legal and financial problems that influential Britons and Americans faced even as courts sided with the sanctity of property and sought to disentangle the sexual realm from the remunerative. Once opened, however, the topic of blackmail ramifies along the contours of vulnerability and privilege in the modern age.

McLaren deserves to be commended for the originality of his topic and his overall approach to the history of sexuality. He has augmented Foucauldian analysis, with its emphasis on discipline and discourse, with an approach that examines state policy, explains people's reactions and desires, explores the formation of sexual stereotypes, and historicizes new sexual identities. McLaren has proven the importance of blackmail, but there is still much to do to explain the ways that state policy fostered criminal activity and to explore the torturous relationships between blackmailer and victim.

Lisa Z. Sigel
DePaul University

ASIA

Melissa Macauley. *Social Power and Legal Culture: Litigation Masters in Late Imperial China*. (Law, Society, and Culture in China.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 416. $55.00.

At a time when the media questions whether China is or can be governed by the rule of law, the evidence from history, carefully culled, is both welcome and timely. Melissa Macauley's book is a study of the development of legal, or perhaps one should say paralegal, professionals over the last three centuries in China. The subject is a challenging one, for although litigation masters in China probably engaged "primarily in fairly benign forms of legal facilitation" (p. 196), the portraits of their activities in Qing dynasty sources were almost universally negative, for at least three reasons. First was the long-standing Confucian preference for harmony over disputation, particularly legalistic dispute. As important, the activities of litigation masters were counter-hegemonic: that is, they often served to defend the interests of the weaker powers in disputes, widows confronting their husband's families, or the poor seeking redress against their creditors. Finally, litigation masters were blamed for the lengthening backlog of legal cases that afflicted territorial administrators, and fulminations against "litigation tricksters" became part of a long- standing discourse of administrative despair in imperial China.

This book rises masterfully to the challenge of finding meaning in overwhelmingly negative and often stereotypical accounts by dint of an extremely careful and nuanced reading of archival sources. One of its great merits is that it does not simply reproduce condemnations of litigation masters; it provides an informed and fruitful reading of the social contexts in which they acted. Widows, whose treatment here is well informed by use of recent scholarship on women in late imperial China, appear in this volume not as passive, somewhat manipulative victims but as actors trying to survive in a social context of which they were only too well aware. The southeast coast, which produced much litigation, becomes a land where the Qing dynasty's "reliance on military means to maintain peace . . . scapegoating of the local property regime . . . and casual use of the courts for the vindication of private ends, bespoke the colonial nature of Qing rule in important aspects of quotidian administration" (p. 229). Macauley is at pains to rescue litigation masters from the historical calumny that they sought corpses in order to fabricate cases; stories of the "disputation of the body snatchers" are treated as that—stories rather than realities. She does show, however, that legal dispute did often turn on the examination of human remains, which constituted an important source of evidence in pre-twentieth-century China. Finally, she shows how literary sources have used the stories of litigation masters to portray a male ideal alternative to that of the moral scholar official, the cunning trickster who formulates legal strategies in the way the Three Kingdoms heroes formulated military strategies.

More broadly, the book suggests an interesting contrast between China and Europe. In Europe, as Macauley notes, drawing nicely on the literature on early modern legal practice, private individuals with expertise in the law emerged at roughly the same time as the litigation tricksters she studies in China. The difference was that in Europe, developing states used these legal specialists to draw litigants into the expanding sphere of state authority (p. 8). In China, by contrast, imperial subjects employed legal specialists to draw the state, kicking and screaming, into their private conflicts. Common to both situations were the reality of private conflicts, the emergence of specialists to handle them, and the common hatred of those specialists. The difference was that state recognition of private legal expertise, although not absent in Qing

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China, was far more developed in early modern Europe, with important consequences for the development of the legal profession in the twentieth century.

There seems to me only one quibble that could be raised in an otherwise satisfying argument. Throughout the text, the book refers to numbers of cases of prosecutions of litigation tricksters that have been culled from the archives. The most frequent number cited seems to be 108, and often the importance of various phenomena is assessed in terms of the number of cases they represent. It would have been useful to know a bit about the rules by which these cases were identified; a list of cases, perhaps in an appendix, would have helped. But this is surely a minor matter. Macauley's book will be important reading for those who want to understand both the stereotypes and the realities of legal culture of imperial China. It is wonderfully rich in archival material, and its treatment of case materials constitutes document reading at its very best.

R. KENT GUY
University of Washington

MERLE GOLDMAN and ELIZABETH J. PERRY, editors. *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China.* (Harvard Contemporary China Series, number 13.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 462. Cloth $49.95, paper $24.95.

In this conference volume of fourteen chapters, several historians join a group of political scientists, legal professionals, and journalists to consider the changing meanings of citizenship in China's twentieth century. Editors Merle Goldman and Elizabeth J. Perry offer T. H. Marshall's studies of late modern European citizenship to help organize the Chinese discussion. The contributors present empirical studies on subjects that range from the political press, civic textbooks, public speech, civil associations, social protests, democracy movements, village elections, constitutional law, minority identities, and women's status to Taiwan's latest quest for international recognition of its independence as a nation. The Chinese scenario, the editors conclude, reverse the European experience in that "a commitment to social citizenship predated political citizenship by many centuries" (p. 6). Citizenship practices do exist in China, although Western-style democracy does not. The task of the collection is thus to describe that middle ground of the "neither-this-nor-that." It is both to show what can or cannot be found in modern Chinese political lives in terms of rights and participation and to consider their points of origin.

The chapters are grouped under three headings: "Imperial and Republican China," "The People's Republic of China," and (one chapter) "Taiwan." Chronologically they focus on two periods: the decades prior to 1927 and the years after 1978. Part one provides the historical background with instances of earlier Chinese citizenship. It shows that between the fall of the Qing (1911) and the establishment of the Nationalist government (1927) reformers, revolutionaries, entrepreneurs, and workers, women included, have found various ways in words and action to participate politically. These activities were evident in urban centers such as Shanghai, where there was also a heavy colonial presence. This Westernizing interlude, measured in decades, does not offer the depth of centuries to test the thesis of Chinese social citizenship. But it gives evidence of citizenship precedents from the perspectives of the present.

The middle part of the volume describes the flurry of activities in the post-Mao years toward the creation of a legislated system that involves the articulation and recognition of new rights. The National People's Congress busied itself with the drafting of new laws that, on paper, articulated a pluralistic conception of politics. Villagers voted to select their cadres, and rural women sued to redress injuries received from domestic violence. The Chinese Communist Party, despite its refusal to give up one-party rule and abandon Marxism-Leninism, has allowed significant moves both in law and in administration beyond the dictatorship of the proletariat and the unitary command of the party.

The authors are quick to remind us that these institutional and ideological shifts do not amount to a Chinese democracy. In important aspects, the volume reaffirms the long-established wisdom in the field of Chinese studies. The authors agree that, from late imperial times onward, the civic rights exercised by the Chinese people have been gifts granted by the state rather than inalienable rights of their own. Over the course of the past century, constitutions have been redrawn innumerable times, more to serve politics than to lay down basic principles. At the present there are many more high-sounding laws on the books than the necessary numbers of qualified judges or courthouses to uphold citizenship rights in case of their violation. Oppositional politics inspired by Western examples is practiced only to the detriment of the practitioners. And, thanks to the continental size of China, things vary enormously from region to region, and the effects of the recent reforms are unevenly experienced in Chinese society.

As some chapters chronicle the loosening up of the Communist system of control, others note the paradoxical effects of the retreat of the party-state and the rise of the market forces. Rural women gain mobility as they migrate for jobs. Those who do not emigrate paradoxically come under ever more authoritarian male dominance within their homes. Ethnic minorities receive state-sponsored education in the official Mandarin language and move up the social ladder in the modernizing economy. The greater such economic success, however, the less the political effectiveness of an ethnic community. Modernizing entrepreneurs form associations to represent their rights and revitalize an important "mass organization." The entrepreneurs' gain is the workers' loss, meanwhile, as the

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Communist Party pulls back from its mission as the champion of the working class.

It is apparent that the volume skips over the five mid-century decades between 1927 and 1977, years that spanned the founding of the Nationalist Government and the fall of the Gang of Four. During this half century, institutions of the party-state that defined modern Chinese political life were in full swing. This omission need not be much of a loss, except that so many of the issues raised hinge on certain assumptions about that state. It was the Maoist legacies in general, and the "four big freedoms" in Mao's constitution of 1975 in particular, that enabled the worker-intellectuals raised during the Cultural Revolution to demand human rights in the Democracy Movement of the late 1970s. These freedoms—the freedom to speak out, air views freely, hold great debates, and write big-character posters—were subsequently removed from the 1982 constitution, a foundational text of the post-Mao era that offers a comprehensive list of citizenship rights. The volume thus strikes an ambivalent note. It is dubious how the constitutional architecture of the 1980s, with all its new forms and procedures and its provisions for a market economy, might have granted or protected more rights than the Maoist political system offered, at least to its comrades. It is also but a tentative suggestion that instances of pre-1927 civic agitation may really have had much to do with the institutionalization of civic rights in post-1978 China.

Half a century ago, an earlier generation of China scholars debated the question whether Chinese communism was more Chinese or communist. In a sense, this volume revives the question and asks whether the post-Mao Chinese transition is more Chinese or post-communist. The many informative essays in the collection have laid a useful foundation. The field as a whole may wish to reflect whether this remains the most fruitful formulation.

WEN-HSIN YEH
University of California, Berkeley

LEE FEIGON. *Mao: A Reinterpretation*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2002. Pp. 229. $24.95.

Lee Feigon, the author of influential books on the early Chinese revolutionary Chen Duxiu and the 1989 protest movement in Beijing, is known for plain speaking and a readiness to stick his neck out. In this interpretative study of the life of Mao Zedong, he sets out to clear away two supposed myths: that Mao was an innovative and independent thinker up to 1949, and that he became a Stalinist tyrant thereafter. Instead, he argues the reverse: Mao followed and relied on Joseph Stalin in the early period but became increasingly original and creative in the late 1950s and the 1960s, when he set China on the road to fundamental change.

Feigon's assertion that it is still commonplace to see Mao as an inspired leader who went his own way before 1949 and persisted with his revolution in the teeth of Stalin's opposition is seemingly contradicted by his own extensive citation from recent scholarship, which suggests that this view is now widely discredited. Nevertheless, his battle to rehabilitate the older Mao can rightly claim to be contentious. Even radical scholars who hailed Mao as a liberationist in the 1960s and the early 1970s came to view him as a tyrant after his death in 1976. Feigon's real challenge to the consensus therefore lies not in downsizing the younger Mao but in upholding the legend of the older Mao as a genuine revolutionary who broke the mold of foreign dogmas.

The reassessment of Mao and Stalin's relationship in the 1930s and the 1940s Feigon subscribes to is true in broad design but has a degree of polemical lopsidedness, not surprising given the inveteracy of the distortions it confronted. It is now clear that Mao deferred to Stalin more often than once thought, but studies sometimes overlook or misconstrue occasions on which Mao upset Moscow by turning a blind eye. So they err in the opposite direction of the old pro-Mao accounts, a revisionist failing Feigon reproduces.

Feigon lists several ways in which the older Mao supposedly departed from Stalinist practice in the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. He promoted economic decentralization and "mass democracy," he liked (at times) to rule by consensus rather than by fiat, he conducted most of his purges from below rather than from on high, he preached the people's "right to rebel" against bureaucratic tyranny, and he encouraged cultural experimentation. By breaking with Stalinist centralism, he caused the economy to grow at rates bordering on the spectacular and paved the way to Deng Xiaoping's late-century reforms—an accomplishment downplayed by today's Mao-skeptics.

Given his focus on Stalinism, it is odd that Feigon gives no rigorous explanation of the term. By all the usual definitions, Mao can be said at bottom to have followed a regime of Stalinism under circumstantial variation. He showed little interest in international revolution, ruled by terrorist means, slammed millions into labor camps, imposed a state ideology, and basked in a personality cult; heirs apparent brutally predeceased him. That he bullied or toppled opponents by unleashing mass movements against them instead of sending in the political police can be explained by his supreme self-confidence and sense of invulnerability, qualities the paranoid Stalin lacked. The consensus he sought lasted only as long as it matched his aims. Although he created space in the late 1960s for anti-authoritarian political groups to emerge, he cracked down on those that overstepped the mark. Without irony Feigon gives as a main example of Mao's support for cultural diversity and spontaneity the Mao badge, "crafted . . . in an extraordinary number of varieties" (p. 152). In fact, compulsory badge wearing summed up the extreme personal alienation of the late Mao years. Feigon's enthusiasm for the badges does not stop him denouncing the *Little Red Book* as

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"silly propaganda," although it and the badge together were bell, book, and candle to the Mao cult.

In a study bound to provoke controversy, Feigon makes his arguments lucidly and from the shoulder. Readers with a general knowledge of communism and China will find his summary of the new research and scholarship helpful. Some will doubt conclusions he draws from it and question his claim, freighted with scary connotations, to reflect the "correct" views of the Chinese "masses." A positive judgment might be that by engaging difficult issues head on he has established an agenda for debate that will ensure his work a place for the next few years on student book lists.

GREGOR BENTON
University of Wales, Cardiff

H. T. HUANG. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Volume 6, *Biology and Biological Technology*; part 6, *Fermentations and Food Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xxviii, 741. $150.00.

This book by H. T. Huang is the result of fifty plus years of inquiry, observations, and research into the history, technology, and practice of processing food products in China. The "author's note" alone is worth reading for its power to bring the sights, sounds, and even flavors of the food-processing practices of a Chinese village in the 1940s vividly back to life. Nor does Huang disappoint in the following six hundred plus copiously illustrated, richly detailed, and densely researched pages on "fermentations and food science" in Chinese history.

The most recent contribution to Joseph Needham's *Science and Civilisation of China* series, this book brings the total number in the series to twenty-one monographs. It also marks the completion of part five of volume six on biology and biological technology. The book's eight subsections provide an introduction to food resources in ancient China and the Chinese culinary system, a literature review of primary and secondary sources, an analysis of Chinese fermentation processes and the evolution of wines, a study of soybean processing and fermentation, a discussion of food processing and preservation techniques, a succinct history of tea processing and use, a short review of nutritional deficiency diseases, and an epilogue with theoretical conclusions.

Huang approaches Chinese food science and technology with the training of a biochemist and the methods of a historian of science. He traces the origin and development of Chinese food products, explains the scientific basis of traditional Chinese processing technologies, and whenever possible, makes comparisons with similar processes in European and other cultures in the world. The two most significant Chinese technological discoveries were the mould ferments from grains (which the Chinese used to create the most diverse array of fermented foods and drinks of any culture in human history) and the rotary quern (which made it possible for the Chinese to convert wheat into gluten and pastas and soybeans into soy milk and tofu). The processes he covers range from fermented foods and tea (which may or may not be fermented) to processed foods that require only simple manipulations of the chemistry, environment, or substance of the product.

Are you interested in knowing when the basic Chinese methods of cooking—steaming, boiling, stir frying, clay backing, stepping, pickling—were first mentioned in the Chinese classics and how they were used? Would you like to see the steamers, boilers, and cauldrons of Chinese antiquity? Go immediately then to the subsection "Ancient Chinese Culinary System" (pp. 66–90). Perhaps the comparative history of making wine fascinates you? Have you wondered why Chinese make their wine from cereals rather than from grapes or honey as in the West? Look no further than the "Origin of Wine Fermentations in China" (pp. 150–68) and "Alcoholic Fermentations, East and West" (pp. 257–82). Alternatively, perhaps the protein-rich, highly malleable, and versatile soybean whets your appetite? You will be well satisfied with a feast of detail on soybean sprouts (pp. 295–98), bean curd and related products (pp. 299–332), and fermented soybeans, soy paste, and soy sauce (pp. 333–78). Those of you inclined more toward garden canning and preservation methods will enjoy learning about the technologies of fermented condiments, pickles, preserves, vegetables, meats, fish, and fruits (pp. 379–435). Perhaps you heard once that Marco Polo brought noodles back to Italy. First read "Noodles and Marco Polo" (pp. 493–97) to dispel this myth; then work through the section on "Processing of Wheat Flour" to learn about Chinese pasta, filamentous noodles, steamed buns, wontons, and finally, the significant vegetarian breakthrough, wheat gluten. Are you a tea connoisseur? Start with the refreshing section on tea etymology, literature, processing, drinking, and health benefits (pp. 503–70). Does the history of medicine interest you? You will find it intriguing that, despite the failure to understand the underlying cause, Chinese doctors were more or less successful in treating the diseases goiter, beriberi, and night blindness (pp. 571–87). Finally, the technological evolutionists among you may well want to first read the conclusion, "Reflections and Epilogue," before delving into the details of the technological innovations at the foundation of Chinese cuisine (pp. 592–608).

Huang argues from the perspective of biochemistry that the fermentation processes required for making products such as "rice wine, vinegar, soy paste, soy sauce and related fermented products" are "ancient prototypes of modern bio-technology" (p. 14). This argument fits well within the original intent of the SCC series: to show that Europe was never the sole participant in forming modern science. Considering the variety, complexity, and indisputable success of Chinese cuisine throughout the modern world in the last century, it should come as no surprise to readers that

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its history is as complex as that of Western cuisine and its science just as significant for modern-day food processing and nutrition.

If readers are looking for a thorough analysis of the archeological, classical, historical, medical, literary, scientific, and secondary literature on the processing side of Chinese cuisine, they will find all that they need related to Chinese fermentations and food science in this treatise to begin—and probably complete—their research. If however, they seek anthropological, sociological, cultural, literary, or even postmodern interpretations of food in Chinese culture, they must look elsewhere. Furthermore, the book's theoretical conclusion is best taken with a grain of salt. Despite the wealth of evidence on Chinese innovation, ingenuity, and modern-day influence in food technology, Huang nevertheless finds it necessary to address the timeworn question of why modern science did not arise in China. Fortunately, he waits to do this in the conclusion, letting the rich historical evidence he has expertly marshaled speak largely for itself.

MARTA E. HANSON
University of California, San Diego

SUZANNE GAY. *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2001. Pp. 301. $29.95.

The familiar portrait of medieval Japan leads to two widely held convictions: first, that it was wholly a time and place of warriors, warfare, and competing warlords; and, second, that its history is a quaintly antiquarian subject of minimal pertinence to modern scholars. Suzanne Gay's long-awaited new monograph adroitly exorcises both stereotypes.

Focusing on commerce in the imperial and shogunal capital city of Kyoto, Gay reveals a startlingly modern world of competing—and overlapping—authorities, negotiated economic relationships, and a commerce-spawned middle class emerging at the nexus of it all. Her moneylenders are a far cry from the usurious loan sharks preying on the impoverished and desperate of popular imagination. They are bankers and social leaders, whose clients included aristocrats, clerics, warriors, wealthy merchants, and craftsmen. "People of all classes," she observes, "borrowed money by custom, by necessity, or by a combination of both. Living on credit . . . was a way of life in medieval Kyoto" (p. 49).

Gay begins with a detailed description of the capital city itself—its history, its physical layout, its residents, and their living patterns and associations—followed by a meticulous reconstruction of the business of moneylending. She then moves on to a discussion of the political (and economic) overlords—the imperial court, the shogunate, and the Enryakuji monastic institution—that dominated medieval Kyoto and its immediate environs, before turning to her central topic: the relationships among these elite overlords, the commoners whose agricultural and/or commercial taxes sustained them, and the moneylenders of her title.

In Gay's analysis, the latter came to occupy a hazily defined middle ground between the various overlords and their ostensibly fellow commoners. Their position depended, first and foremost, on the privileged guild status as sake brewers and pawnbrokers they acquired from the Enryakuji. They also served the shogunate as tax collectors and warehouse keepers. At the same time, they were self-sufficient, tax-paying merchants and leaders of townsman society, particularly in cultural activities and neighborhood self-defense. While their ties to the Enryakuji and the shogunate were unequivocally vertical and subordinate, they were also tempered by a considerable degree of autonomy. Moneylenders, argues Gay, proved adept at simultaneously exploiting and distancing themselves from their connections to higher authority, depending on which was more helpful at any given moment. Nevertheless, in the end, their associations with the overlords proved too fundamental—too central—to their identity to be dispensed with; the moneylenders went down with the shogunate and the Enryakuji when the medieval power structure crumpled.

This is an exemplary study, in research methodology as well as clarity of presentation. Ferreting out the dealings and circumstances of medieval commoners from a historical record left almost entirely by those who ruled them is no easy task. Townsmen, even elite ones, produced few documents of their own, and fewer still survive. Theirs is, for the most part, a shadowy presence of fragmentary, often incidental, references in sources reflecting upper class interests. Gay has, however, risen to this challenge with admirable skill and caution. She has worked through a wide range of documents, diaries, chronicles, and pictorial evidence; centering her efforts on a judicious, and credulous, deconstruction of Muromachi shogunal laws and decrees.

The rich array of data she has managed to extract from these sources both broadens and deepens our understanding of the period. This book is, among other things, the most lucid account of commerce in medieval Japan to appear in English to date. I recommend it enthusiastically to those who, like me, have long struggled to make sense of this topic in undergraduate lectures, as well as to historians of any time or place interested in the development of socioeconomic patterns and commercial relationships.

KARL FRIDAY
University of Georgia

EMIKO OHNUKI-TIERNEY. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 411. Cloth $45.00, paper $20.00.

Images of the Japanese as a fanatical people are, sadly enough, still influential in American popular dis-

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course. Perhaps nowhere are these images promoted more than in reference to the World War II-era *kamikaze* pilots whose ostensible willingness to throw their lives away for the emperor is often cited as proof of a Japanese obsession with hierarchy, achievement, and suppression of the individual. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney's solidly researched study of nationalism as ideology and behavior goes a long way toward debunking many of these Orientalist stereotypes. That alone would make this book worth reading, but it deserves widespread attention for another reason. Ohnuki-Tierney's book intervenes in an important revision of the relationship of nationalism and liberalism that extends beyond the narrow confines of academic work and is, in fact, reshaping political ideas and values across a broad spectrum of Japanese society today.

Drawing on a wide range of primary and secondary materials, including diaries written by Special Attack Force pilots, Ohnuki-Tierney de-exoticizes these pilots by exploding the myth that they volunteered for these missions out of some suicidal mentality. Not surprisingly, their motives turn out to be no different from soldiers in other countries and other times: loyalty to their military units and a "patriotism" that willingly led them to defend their families and friends through military service. The most moving passages in the book capture the terrible struggle many of these young cosmopolitan pilots (most of the Special Attack Force were not career military men but students from Japan's elite universities) experienced between their desire to protect their country and a painful realization of the personal cost they would pay. Ohnuki-Tierney surveys five pilots in detail: the Marxist Sasaki Hachirō, the anarchistic Hayashi Tadao, the idealistic Nakao Taketoku, the Christian Hayashi Ichizō, and the liberal Wada Minoru, an exception whose vehicle of death was a submarine torpedo. As she peruses their diaries and letters, Ohnuki-Tierney emphasizes their intimate familiarity with Western texts and ideas (even arguing, provocatively, that the Japanese pilots were more cosmopolitan than their Western counterparts [p. 276]). She makes a persuasive case for seeing Western ideas—and liberalism in particular—not as alternatives to, but as deeply interwoven into, the complex of modern nationalism in Japan.

Ohnuki-Tierney also makes several other important contributions to our understanding of Japanese nationalism. She employs the concept of *pro rege et patria mori* only to decouple *rege* from *patria*: these pilots were willing to die for their country but not for their emperor. She illustrates the point evocatively through the symbolism of the cherry blossom which, mediated through what Ohnuki-Tierney calls *méconnaissance* (misreadings), allowed two variant nationalisms to wrap themselves around the same symbol for different purposes but to the same effect: death. In contrast, "patriotism," in Ohnuki-Tierney's hands, is more than a death ideology. She defines it as "the individual sentiment of love of one's country" and distinguishes it from "nationalism," which she sees as "predicated upon the presence of political boundaries and . . . upon the political presence of . . . the people(s) who press the boundary, culturally or . . . politically" (p. 191). She thus introduces a more pluralistic approach to nationalism that not only builds on the insights of some of the best theoretical scholarship (Benedict Anderson, Isaiah Berlin, Partha Chatterjee, Ernest Gellner) but also presents a powerful challenge to more reductive approaches that ultimately find all expressions of Japanese nationalism residing in a nebulous "emperor-system."

Yet this idiosyncratic distinction between "patriotism" (what the pilots felt) and "nationalism" (what the emperor wanted) leaves a number of questions unresolved. More common is the distinction between (republican) patriotism and (ethnic) nationalism (cf. Maurizio Viroli, Charles Taylor), in which the kinds of ethnic cultural forces Ohnuki-Tierney identifies in the pilots' motivations are aligned with an illiberal nationalism and opposed to a liberal patriotism which, in imperial Japan, encompassed a number of nonethnic Japanese as well. The dangers of this reversal of the meanings of patriotism and nationalism include the real risk that culture is restored to the kind of reductive (frequently ethnic) social identity that is precisely what nationalism often tries to effect. One way to avoid such dangers would be to give more attention to the distinctions among cultural, national, and ethnic forms of identity. Fortunately, however, these are only potential problems—another level of *méconnaissance*—as there is plenty in Ohnuki-Tierney's sophisticated approach to cultural practice and ideology to avoid such a romantic view of ethnic culture. Indeed, we should not forget Irokawa Daikichi's personal testimony as to what led him and his generation to support the war: "We would have been able to fight against militarism and the military government. But we had no weapon to fight against idealism and Romanticism" (p. 303).

KEVIN M. DOAK
Georgetown University

MICHAEL KATTEN. *Colonial Lists/Indian Power: Identity Formation in Nineteenth-Century Telugu-Speaking India*. Electronic book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Site access $195.00.

Michael Katten centers his book around two interrelated issues: the change in categories of identity in nineteenth-century Andhra and the power of these formulations of category. The particular changes he traces are the products of "certain technologies of expression" such as the printing press and colonial bureaucracy, and with the proclivity, not as clearly spelled out, to assert solidarities or groupings that use the technologies at hand. While this is interesting (and also somewhat problematical), what is more interesting is Katten's unequivocal insistence throughout his book that the power of these categories lies in the fact that they are produced at the margin and not at the

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center. In Indian history, the power of category construction lay with ordinary Indians all the time, not unilaterally with the British and not even with them in adjustment with the protests of the periphery. Categories of the self should be seen as going beyond the usual structures of colonialism, class, state, and nationalism to a group's own imagining of its needs and maneuvering of available technology.

Katten takes issue with historians who write within the rubric of colonial power or elite domination, and then with those who pursue the emancipatory project of documenting the resistance of the undergroups. This includes almost everyone writing Indian history: subalternist historians, Cambridge-school wallahs, older social-cultural Marxists, economic historians, and those, presumably, who write in a postmodernist mode to question subjectivity. Katten wants to reposition historical events as those that take place "between and beyond revolutions, revolts, and insurrections" and to expand subjectivity into something produced and existent all the time. Some of his most interesting questions concern the sources that can be used for such a project.

The topics in chapters two through five each revolve around one source to tell the story of category creation. In chapter two, we are told about the negotiation of land disputes, and how the very identity of a "village" and "villager" emerges. In chapter three, the technology of the petition is traced through its changing history of most of a century. The petition, according to Katten, exemplifies a site where Indians were producing categories about themselves, but one that, after a certain time in the mid-nineteenth century, served to freeze them within those hitherto negotiated categories. To the question that arises of whether this does not display the relative powerlessness of Indians to be in control of category construction, Katten's response would be that "epistemologies of the self were still being developed, they were being developed elsewhere" (pp. 21–26).

The fourth chapter rests on the *Bobbili Katha*, or the narrative of Bobbili (a fort besieged in 1757, upon which all the noncombatants martyred themselves). The history of this story, as traced over 150 years, illustrates the formation of the identity of a caste: the Velama. It demonstrates caste formation to be the work of Indians and not the colonial state. Caste is shown to be something different than what current debates suggest. The larger point is that communities began "essentializing" and objectifying themselves with the coming of print media and associated changes. Katten finds a commonality in this development of a new identity between Europe and India. Finally, in chapter five, perhaps the strongest in terms of its historical argument, Katten discusses the production of an identity for weavers in coastal Andhra. This moved between "weaver" as occupation, as caste(s), and as a description with several political nuances. Economic historians of the region and industry are taken to task for sidestepping any serious discussion of weavers' own sense of selfhood.

When put like this—"sense of selfhood"—some of the questions raised stand forth. What is the author's theory of identity that the book revolves around? Katten's problematization of caste is convincing, but the discussion of weavers eschews class without any serious discussion, and gender is a category mostly ignored. Is it enough to present people's own versions of themselves, and, if so, why not look at some impressive works of ethnosociology that theorize this procedure? What could it mean to use terms like "ongoing change in the makeup of society" and "wide-ranging subjectivity over time" (pp. 5, 18)? What could be the locus of subjectivity? I am afraid, as someone favorably inclined to Katten's agenda and delighted with his sources, that he is making an important point in a relatively unimportant way. The point made is that Indian history has been dominated by the role of the colonial state and that historians' imaginations need to break out of this impasse. To do justice to this agenda, what could be theoretically refined is how Indians themselves exercised a politics, poetics, and reflexivity in their production of subjectivity to keep all those ironical, deconstructive questions active that presently delight us when targeting the colonial state.

But in making this larger point, Katten gives us four stimulating historiographical-cum-historical essays that deserve reading and pondering over. He is to be congratulated for writing an ambitious and stimulating book.

NITA KUMAR
University of Michigan

ANSHU MALHOTRA. *Gender, Caste, and Religious Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 231. Rs. 825.00.

This book focuses on the restructuring of class in relation to caste and gender in nineteenth-century Punjab. Arguing that much of the scholarly literature about caste has a long and problematic history in which either gender or class is left out, or caste is seen as primordial, inherited, and unchanging, Anshu Malhotra shows how caste changed in relation to class mobility. She rewrites the history of caste in colonial Punjab, arguing that reform movements enabled certain kinds of class and caste mobility, and that such mobility is especially visible when one examines women's lives of this period. Malhotra claims that both the colonial state and the Indian reformists undertook projects of modernization with the goal of reforming women. They did so while maintaining patriarchal power, for example, by recasting the ideal of the *pativrata* wife. Thus both the Singh Sabha and Arya Samaj movements altered marriage practices, created educational institutions, and tried to address the "problem" of the "high-caste Hindu widow" without altering the subordinate status of women. Yet Malho-

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tra reveals that women were not without agency in this process; they were subject to these new ideologies but not always victimized by them.

In this book, the colonial state is understood as being neither the motor of everything that went on in colonial India, nor is it unconnected to the lives of women. Even if most women were not in direct contact with the colonial state, they were altered by its presence through the work of the reformists. Colonial campaigns against infanticide and Arya Samaj and Singh Sabha attempts to address widow remarriage and women's education were all examples of new ideologies and institutions so entangled in that they cannot be understood in isolation from each other.

This book is valuable for many reasons. First of all, few works have focused exclusively on gender in relation to colonial Punjab. Even more recent accounts of colonial Punjab, reformist movements, or the history of Sikhs or Hindus or Muslims in Punjab have neglected women. If attention has been paid to them, it has come through accounts of the Partition of 1947, in relation to the writings of Bhai Vir Singh, or as a peripheral topic within the accounts of colonial Punjab. What is also welcome in this work is that gender is not studied in isolation but in relation to caste and class and thus as a relational and changing formation within the making of modern India. Women here are not the subjects of a "tradition" but of a changing idea of modernity produced by reformers and their patriarchal ideas. Thus, Malhotra reveals how new forms of regulation accompanied class mobility while they rearticulated caste divisions, and that modernized class and caste practices in their turn had much to do with the changing gender relations within the process of modernization. Because women were seen as "hallmarks of caste status," their relationship to caste was thought to require careful regulation, and reform movements took this task very seriously. Here Malhotra could have pushed her analysis further by showing how gender itself, and not just women or femininity, was a changing formation in relation to both colonial rule and reform movements. Especially in relation to the ideology of the "martial" races of Punjab, more attention to masculinity would also have been important.

Malhotra points out that her attention to reform movements keeps the focus on middle and upper-class women, so that lower-class and caste women are often ignored. Yet we need more of these accounts of women of other classes and castes to understand not only patriarchy in relation to caste and class but also colonial practices of many kinds, from the forms of governmentality put in place by such undertakings as the census to missionary conversions. Furthermore, while Malhotra points out that reform movements lead one to speculate on the different kinds of sexual practices that might have existed at the time, she does not delve further into this area and thus misses the opportunity to further emphasize what the articulation of the *pativrata* wife puts into erasure.

Muslim reform movements are also not addressed here. Especially in nineteenth-century Punjab, when Muslim *anjumans* and Islamic high schools emerged in relation to and with movements in the Sikh and Hindu communities, the omission of Muslim reform is striking. Despite these problems, this is a long overdue and welcome work.

INDERPAL GREWAL
University of California, Irvine

ANNE HARDGROVE. *Community as Public Culture in the Modern India: The Marwaris of Calcutta, circa 1897–1997.* Electronic book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Site access $195.00.

The Marwaris are a group of business people, originating in the region of Rajasthan in northwestern India, who have achieved considerable success as traders and industrialists throughout much of South Asia. Marwari magnates such as G. D. Birla have been among the subcontinent's wealthiest and most influential commercial figures. Economic historians have done much interesting work in analyzing the networks of trade and migration that have made the economic prominence of the Marwaris possible, but these scholars have generally taken the Marwaris' existence as a primordial "community " as a given. The category of Marwari, however, is not indigenous to Rajasthan itself and has come into being only as traders from a range of mercantile subcastes have migrated out to other areas of the subcontinent.

In this study, Anne Hardgrove turns to an exploration of the processes of community formation among the Marwaris over the past century. She emphasizes the critical role of the social practices or "performances" in public life through which Marwaris have projected and contested the values of Marwari-ness, and by which they have constructed the group's symbolic boundaries. The book treats a wide range of very different kinds of performance contexts: the mapping of Marwari identity onto the South Asian landscape through such means as the writing of community histories, the fashioning of distinctive architectural styles in specific neighborhoods of Calcutta, and temple building over much of India; the construction (and later abandonment) of spectacular mansions in Rajasthan; the defense by early Marwari public associations of economic practices such as gambling and commercial speculation; debates over social reform (especially of women's roles); and *satipuja* (the worship of women who engaged in *sati*, or widow immolation). Hardgrove argues that these performances reflect a "familial cosmopolitanism," a discourse that reshapes the language of kinship and lineage in the context of an all-India and sometimes global public culture.

Hardgrove's work is truly multidisciplinary. While a number of scholars of South Asia (including myself) have represented themselves as "ethnohistorians," they often are either applying anthropological theory

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to material collected mainly from archives or stretching data gathered through ethnographic research in order to arrive at conclusions about change over time. In this book, Hardgrove develops a methodology that relies equally on historical documentation and anthropological fieldwork. Many of her chapters move back and forth between the two kinds of material. Her treatment of Marwari social reform, for instance, utilizes archival material on the development of voluntary associations in Calcutta during the early twentieth century alongside observations of very contemporary efforts to organize dowry-free community marriages (efforts in which the author found herself drafted as a somewhat reluctant participant). The result is a fascinating discussion of the ways in which debates over reform have been intrinsic to the creation of the Marwari community. Hardgrove's interest in architecture also adds a unique dimension to the study.

The results of this approach are not always seamless. The book might have included a more conventional historical chapter outlining patterns of Marwari migration, business developments, and the formation of political associations in order to provide essential background, especially for nonspecialist readers. Instead bits of context are scattered in chapters throughout a study organized on thematic rather than chronological lines. This structure also sometimes obscures the understanding of relationships between business or political developments and the shape of Marwari public culture at given points in time. Given the disparate nature of the individual chapters, a conclusion to tie together the various strands of argument in the book and to draw out its interesting wider implications would have been helpful.

The author's analyses throughout the study, however, are consistently stimulating and original. I suspect readers will find the discussion of *satipuja* especially intriguing. Marwaris often contest feminist and state perspectives on *sati* by holding in high reverence women who sacrificed themselves in the distant or mythological past, even as they condemn the practice in contemporary life as "inauthentic" and deplorable. Taken as a whole, the book develops an understanding of historical community formation that is critical for scholars working on other groups in South Asia to consider. At the very least, the book renders problematic the literature on Indian "business communities," which often assumes the importance of pre-existing social networks and values to the achievement of commercial success in new economic environments. Here those values and networks themselves seem to be constantly in the process of formation in the new contexts.

The electronic form of publication does have some drawbacks, and some technical problems need to be worked out to render it more friendly to scholars and general readers (the absence of self-evident page numbers and an index posed difficulties in my own reading). But Columbia University Press and the American Historical Association are to be commended for making this fine work available through this medium to a global audience.

DOUGLAS E. HAYNES
Dartmouth College

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

JONATHAN LAMB. *Preserving the Self in the South Seas 1680–1840*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 345. Cloth $52.00, paper $18.00.

Jonathan Lamb's work convincingly subverts heroic histories of Pacific voyaging. Divine providence, national glory, the expansion of empire, and the visionary spirit of the navigator all fail to explain adequately the character of European exploration from the late seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries. Lamb directs his readers instead to the ways in which these voyages served as theater for the law of self-preservation and the paradoxes and contradictions that swirled about that law. For Lamb, the European self is not a product of reflection or interpretation but a bundle of immediate, remembered impressions on which a sense of personal identity depends. Challenging this sense of self are the pressures of civil society, which require accommodation to a common good. Reviewing an extensive body of writing on social contract theory, Lamb first considers how self-preservation, "the most urgent of instincts and the most imperative of social duties" (p. 6), necessitated an often tense, sometimes rebellious relationship with the norms of society. Voyaging, with its distancing of the self from all that was familiar, revealed these tensions in marked relief.

Voyaging offered the opportunity for the self to engage in private pleasures free from social contracts, common sense, and utilitarian thinking. Narratives of these voyages often possessed a fundamentally utopian character that dwelled on the indescribable wonder emanating from the interaction between an unfettered ego and an indigenous people imaged as free, innocent, and noble. Lamb labels this common expression of singular, overwhelming, inexpressible wonderment the *je ne sais quoi*. More about appreciation than approval, these romantic narratives failed to advance the cause of science. Their popularity resulted not from their truths, which were suspect, but from their value as entertaining accounts of individual or self enterprise to which domestic audiences could readily relate. The most delicate and careful of editorial efforts could not link accuracy to adventure, as John Hawkesworth so painfully discovered. The imagined experiences of navigators in paradise also found expression in the extravagant landscaping of British gardens that served as tropes of political power and that advertized the botanical discoveries of empire in places as lush and as exotic as the Pacific Islands.

Distance brought a liberation of sorts. The dissolution of contracts and social ties resulted, textually at least, in the self's focus on excitement, pleasure, and

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itself. A heavy strain of pretense thus characterized the voyaging literature of this period. Histories of sympathy and navigation were also closely connected. George Keate attempted to universalize sympathy as the first and most instinctive of human responses in his 1788 account of the wreck of the *Antelope* in Palau. Keate's work elided the more complex, calculating, and violent aspects of this and other first contacts.

This volume is a bold, sophisticated, literary study that is well written, richly referenced, and persuasive in many of its arguments. Lamb's critical interrogation of the texts in question reveals not triumphal or celebratory explorations but endeavors affected by anxiety, ambivalence, fear, and uncertainty. The problems with the book lie in its reach, overgeneralizations, and sweeping summaries. Lamb extends his argument to the other side of the beach by arguing that, in its own efforts at preservation, the Polynesian self was also changed by contact with representatives from foreign worlds. In short, Lamb negates what he calls "the metaphysical distinction between the European 'I' and its so-called other" (p. 5). Cross-cultural engagements changed local understandings of person, power, and pleasure as chiefly dynasties rose at the expense of prophets, shamans, and sects.

In support of this argument, Lamb blurs the distinctions among different exchange practices in Melanesia and Polynesia in favor of a pan-Pacific theory that explains how the sociability of exchange dissolved as gifts became property. The terms "Polynesian" and "Pacific" are used interchangeably, and with little attention to the imperial histories and consequent exclusions their usage evokes. Lamb writes of scurvy as infecting European voyagers with a scorbutic nostalgia that altered perceptions and heightened sensations as the physical self changed and deteriorated. The many and varied histories of disease in the islands are neglected in favor of an all-too-brief treatment of leprosy in Hawai'i as a local metaphoric equivalent to scurvy that decomposed the Pacific self.

References to published ethnographies and histories are made to bolster the claim that Pacific cargo cults resembled European utopias. The term "cargo cults" obscures a diversity of responses to European intrusion and comes with its own troubled history. A summary account of resistance in New Zealand, for example, diminishes the particular features of the Pai Marire and Ringatu faiths by likening them to other millenarian movements in the region. There is also the representation of Te Kooti, prophet-general of the Ringatu that sought the return of Maori land and the restoration of ancestral ways, as a Polynesian parallel to the conflicted, uncertain, and changing European self. This claim rests largely on a single, unexamined quote attributed to the Maori leader and provided only in its English translation. The histories of Oceania are not so easily or quickly rendered. What is otherwise a very fine work of scholarship might have been more appropriately titled *Preserving the European Self in the South Seas*.

DAVID HANLON
University of Hawai'i, Manoa

JOHN GASCOIGNE. *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*. Assisted by PATRICIA CURTHOYS. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 233. $65.00.

In this book, John Gascoigne and Patricia Curthoys attempt an ambitious exercise in combining Western European intellectual history and the settlement history of colonial Australia. They engage in a survey of some of the key ideas that flowed from the European Enlightenment, especially the urge toward "improvement," and demonstrate the extent to which these influences can be discerned affecting the ways in which British settler communities imagined their new country and attempted to relate to it. It is the thesis of the book that ideas of improvement originally derived from the sphere of agriculture also contributed to attitudes and policies that were implemented in colonial Australia in areas such as penal theory, education, relationships with the Aborigines, and attitudes toward the land itself.

The first section of the book is a summary of the Enlightenment, especially in English-speaking lands and the ways in which attitudes and behaviors that were the product of ideas like improvement and progress played a largely unrecognized but formative role in Australian developments from 1788 to the mid-nineteenth century. Gascoigne points out that many Australian historians have given cursory acknowledgement to the importance of Enlightenment ideas in the Australian colonies without exploring their impact in depth. This book is therefore a useful study of a much-neglected area of Australia's intellectual history.

The remainder of the monograph is divided into chapters that present thematic, stand-alone studies of religion, politics, farming, education, penology, and race in colonial Australia. The authors make a determined effort to avoid the mistake of a great many Australian historians, who appear to think that a study of colonial Australia only involves the eastern seaboard of the continent. Gascoigne is to be congratulated for including the settlements of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), Western Australia, and South Australia in his survey, as well as the quasi-colony of Victoria before and after its separation from New South Wales. In so doing, he strengthens his argument for continental significance and also his case for the continuing influence of Enlightenment thinking on Australian developments.

Gascoigne is less authoritative or sure footed once he leaves Europe and focuses on Australia. One of the important distinctions he draws between the continental Enlightenment, with its stimulus to revolutionary

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destruction of the old regimes, and its English counterpart is that the English Enlightenment assumed that security lay in reform and revitalization of institutions rather than with their eradication. This belief in improvement and the idea of progress, when translated to the Australian colonies, meant that settlers acted as though the strange landscapes of Australia could be improved and altered into replicas of the familiar landscapes of their homeland. This was a false perception that caused decades of misapplied effort as settlers spent enormous amounts of capital, time, and blood, sweat, and tears in fruitless and doomed attempts to recreate in the world's driest inhabitable continent the small-scale agricultural land management systems of their own well-watered homelands. To this extent, the intellectual contribution of Enlightenment thinking in Australia was far from the positive legacy that Gascoigne asserts.

Moreover, it is a mistake to claim, as Gascoigne does, that the British Colonial Office "actively encouraged the growth of the wool industry" (p. 36) when the only evidence adduced in support of such a contention is the growing size of the colonial flocks. The fact is, as most Australian historians know, that the Colonial Office in 1831 became captive to the agricultural ideology of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and for the next two decades enacted policies that were deliberately designed to stifle the growth of pastoralism and to privilege cultivation in its place. This occurred despite Britain's growing reliance on supplies of Australian wool to supply the Lancashire mills. Colonial rams and ewes did not ask for Colonial Office permission in the mating season, and the wool industry prospered despite not because of official British policies. It is also incorrect to state that George Gipps was governor of New South Wales in 1834 (p. 91).

All in all, the book is a stimulating, enjoyable, and accessible contribution to the intellectual history of Australia. Both the author and the publisher are to be congratulated.

F. G. Clarke
Macquarie University

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Steve Martinot. *The Rule of Racialization: Class, Identity, Governance.* (Labor in Crisis.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 240. Cloth $79.50, paper $22.95.

This writer steps boldly forward with a comprehensive exploration of race and class in American history. Steve Martinot's model is racialization, by which he means the elite's institutionalization of racial hierarchy since the seventeenth century, in contrast to the various models of common prejudice. He continues the theoretical tradition of Frantz Fanon, Jean-Paul Sartre, and the more recent philosopher of race, Albert Memmi, a Tunisian Jew and Arab nationalist.(Martinot is the able translator and interpreter of Memmi's 1982 essay, *Racism.*) In four tightly organized chapters, Martinot synthesizes the works of several dozen major writers. The prose is dense but lucid, theoretically rigorous but oriented to the problems of achieving equality. More than a work of historical analysis, it suggests a positive, large plan of action.

The reader is first introduced to the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, where race and class were born together. Echoing Eric Williams, the writer attacks the idea that cultural bias caused racism—as argued, for example, by Winthrop Jordan. He shows that, as the Tidewater became a slave society, the planter class racialized whiteness in the law as a system of color allegiance, based on an idealized concept of purity and the fear that nonwhites would rebel. As for cultural influence, it would have been much the same if slaves had been green instead of black.

The next chapter outlines the mature stage in the alliance of planters and the common people, which was mediated by "a middleclass sense of belonging" (p. 76) epitomized by the slave patrols. Race was not merely an upper-class tactic to divide workers; planters made race an elixir to avoid class conflict among whites. In the nineteenth century, that racial project inexorably gave birth to the white laboring classes' populist free labor ideology.

Chapter three ("The Contemporary Control Stratum") explores how the white corporate state functions today in opposition to affirmative action. Since most white people are unconscious of the deep historical roots of color consciousness, they do not see their families as having benefited from a favorable "quota" system for over three centuries (a one-hundred-percent quota against nonwhite minorities). Instead, as individuals and as members of a pure white "imagined community," many whites oppose affirmative action for blacks. Martinot plumbs white racial psychology dispassionately, and many readers will benefit most from this chapter.

A difficult final chapter describes the chief practical problem: how can society correct the sins of the fathers fairly? Martinot calls for destruction of the entire racial structure by alternative politics operating outside the white corporate state. For the time being, however, affirmative action within the established framework remains the best available tool of reform, however divisive and gradualist it may be.

A synthetic tour de force, carefully sculpted over many years, this book is open to some criticisms. In making his case that slavery produced racism rather than vice versa, the writer ignores an important debate among specialists. Martinot should take account of Edmund S. Morgan's *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (1975), in which English colonists never doubted that Africans were slaves, as they had been commoditized in the Atlantic market by the Portuguese since the fifteenth century. "Negro" meant "slave" by long practice in the Americas before the foundation of Virginia, the point at which this book begins. As for Martinot's argument

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that the Virginians did not write their slave laws until the 1660s, it would appear that they had no immediate reason to reinvent the wheel, no reason to codify the law of black slavery as soon as Africans began arriving there in 1619. From the outset, colonists paid the high market prices slaves commanded and took their status for granted, until some now-obscure legal challenge prompted slave laws starting in the 1660s.

If Martinot proves to be wrong on that one issue, and slaves were slaves from the beginning, it would be a minor crime of theoretical zeal and would not affect his sound argument that slavery came first, rather than some amorphous cultural racial bias. Martinot's distaste for Jordan's cultural model of anti-blackness gets the upper hand over his own global historical sensibility. This book might have debated more directly David R. Roediger (*The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* [1991]) and others about the timing of racialization. Against their argument that the decisive moment in American anti-black racism came only in the nineteenth century, in white working-class populism, Martinot hints that the decisive moment had occurred by 1705: by then, the planter class had already constructed "a social consciousness on the part of all English of a commonality against the Africans" (p. 64). By this interpretation, nineteenth-century industrial workers' racism merely flowed from the planters' original act and their instrument, the slave patrol. Martinot's industrial workers have active agency, but more as refiners of a racialized society the planters had willed into its basic form much earlier.

Martinot's manuscript went to press before he could consult Sally Hadden's *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (2001). He discusses Alexander Saxton's book on anti-Chinese agitation, but that author's superb *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (1990) is not part of a sterling list of sources that does include works by Eric Foner, Eugene D. Genovese, Grace Elizabeth Hale, Charles Mills, and Larry E. Tise.

This work is theoretically innovative, architecturally elegant, stylistically disciplined, and, above all, humane. While many undergraduates will find its historical sweep difficult, the book should be embraced by anyone who wants to know just how deeply race is embedded in American life.

THOMAS N. INGERSOLL
Ohio State University, Lima

S. E. WILMER. *Theatre, Society and the Nation: Staging American Identities*. (Cambridge Studies in American Theatre and Drama, number 15.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. vii, 281. $60.00.

S. E. Wilmer's book details the role of theater in determining America's values and the concept of America as an idea. Employing a wide berth of examples from plays, productions, and rituals, the author maintains that American theater, from the late eighteenth century to the present, was an essential component in the diversification of American culture.

Chapter one focuses on early American dramas intended either to support British loyalties or to encourage those eager to escape colonialism. According to Wilmer, the plays of Mercy Otis Warren, a key figure during the American Revolution, were satiric attacks directed against British rule. In chapter two, he examines early American dramas that contributed to the formation of American political identity. According to Wilmer, late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century plays were integral to the emerging debates over federalism versus states rights. Although during the 1790s, American dramatists wrote plays that unidimensionally extolled the virtues of their compatriots during the Revolutionary War, some playwrights—in particular William Dunlap and John Burk—wrote partisan dramas that advanced a wide array of political viewpoints. Chapter three examines Native American traditions, especially the Lakota Ghost Dance. Wilmer observes that the Ghost Dance "reconfigured the nation, but from a Lakota perspective and in a Lakota idiom" (p. 81). By the late nineteenth century, the Lakota Ghost Dance had developed into a ritual designed to preserve Native traditions threatened by white settlers' westward expansion.

Wilmer next turns his attention to the Paterson Strike Pageant of 1913. This section, the most insightful chapter of the book, provides detailed accounts of the strike "that heralded the power of the theatre to promote the cause of workers' democracy in America" (p. 101). Actual strikers, rather than trained actors, assumed the roles of picketers, policemen, and families affected by walkouts. In this way, the reenactments of the strike and the ensuing violence called attention to the ideals of the workers. In rehearsals, strikers tried out scenes and episodes and then commented on the authenticity of their performances and those of others. The staging of the pageant reached an accuracy that sometimes confounded the police, who occasionally arrested the actors instead of the "real" communists and striking workers.

In chapters five, six, and seven, Wilmer sheds light on theater and drama primarily during the last forty years of the twentieth century. Chapter five covers the broad social ferment of the 1960s, such as the black nationalist theater movement, the Chicano theater movement (specifically El Theatro Campesino), and the antiwar plays emanating from the San Francisco Mime Troupe, the Living Theater, the Bread and Puppet Theater, and the Open Theater. Chapter six investigates feminist theater, from the rise of suffragette plays to the radical one-person shows of Karen Finlay, as well as feminist troupes such as Split Britches and Spiderwoman during the 1980s. In the final chapter, Wilmer considers several performing artists and playwrights who sought to revolutionize perceptions of race and gender, which "helped to question

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the dominant concept of a unified nation" (p. 176). The works of playwrights Anna Deavere Smith, Tony Kushner, Velina Hasu Houston, Brenda Wong Aoki, the Colorado Sisters, and Guillermo Gómez-Peña are scrutinized in light of the multiculturalism of the 1990s.

The success of the work lies in its broadness. The author has skillfully researched a wide range of theatrical productions, providing a wealth of documentation and copious resources. However, the book's broadness is also an undermining factor. Topics are sometimes superficially addressed—this is especially problematic in the last chapter, where too many subjects are shoehorned in—and the author's views are unabashedly left wing, resulting in monotonous predictability. Missing from the book are right-wing contributions to American identity, such as southern ideas of nationalism before and after the Civil War (as epitomized in plantation revues) and the popularity of fundamentalist religious ceremonies (tent and revival meetings, for instance), which had as much to do with the formation of American identity as labor parades, feminism, and multiculturalism. Also conspicuously absent is reference to Loren Kruger's *The National Stage: Theatre and Culture Legitimation in England, France, and America* (1992), which examines left-wing movements of the 1930s such as the Federal Theater Project, Living Newspaper, and the social drama, *One-Third of a Nation*. The reader might have been better served had the author narrowed his focus and provided greater detail to a limited range of subjects—rather than attempting to encompass American history from beginning to end, thereby avoiding the inevitable gaps and generalizations. Nevertheless, the book is an important reference guide and should be read by cultural studies researchers and theater scholars alike, with cautious regard for what is missing.

DAVID KRASNER
Yale University

REBECCA J. TANNENBAUM. *The Healer's Calling: Women and Medicine in Early New England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 179. $34.95.

Rebecca J. Tannenbaum takes as her principal theme women's practice of medicine in early New England households and communities. She posits that healing work created community networks and gave practitioners access to authority, both formal and informal. While this argument is not new, Tannenbaum provides interesting anecdotal material that reinforces previous studies by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Mary Beth Norton, and Gloria Main that have focused on the intersection of gender, healing, and community in early New England.

This book is divided into two sections: four chapters on "community" and two on "authority." In the first section, Tannenbaum explores medical theories in seventeenth-century England and New England, everyday medical care administered by Anglo-American women within their own New England households, community networks that formed around women's healing work, and the healing care expected of elite women. In the second, she describes women healers as court witnesses and enforcers of community standards, and the formal occupations of paid medical healers, especially female doctors who commanded considerable respect and influence in seventeenth-century Massachusetts towns. A final chapter focuses on changes in medical theory and practice between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The evidentiary basis consists of correspondence and diaries generated by elites in Massachusetts and Connecticut and court records from Middlesex, Essex, and Suffolk counties. Two rich anchoring texts—the Brigham family account books (1650–1730) and the diary of Ebenezer Parkman (1703–1782)—serve as referent points throughout. The evidence from these records might have been better cited; the dates of anecdotal material are frequently missing, both from the text and the notes, leaving "early New England" as a vaguely defined time and place. (An essay describing the parameters and limitations of the evidentiary base would have been most welcome.)

The strongest sections focus on the nature of "medical gatherings" (p. 46), how medical care helped build connections between families (pp. 53–54), how ministers' wives and other elites were expected to provide healing care (pp. 71–84), and how professional "doctoresses" functioned as community nursing centers (pp. 118–33). However, the work might have been more deeply theorized and situated in the historical literature. Especially helpful would have been extended analysis of female children's participation in household medical care and community healing networks, the economic networks occasioned by women's exchange of healing services, and the rise of particular women from household healers to community experts as midwives or nurses. A discussion of race would also have been helpful. There seems little question that English colonists profited from cross-cultural medical exchange in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a point made especially well by Colin Calloway in *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans and the Remaking of Early America* (1997), and by Bunny McBride and Harald Prins in "Walking the Medicine Line: Molly Ockett, a Pigwacket Doctor," in *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632–1816*, ed. Robert S. Grumet (1996). Finally, the author might also have provided a more sustained analysis of the connections between medical practice and accusations of witchcraft (pp. 55–60, 100–03, 125–33). Her conclusion that doctoresses were "most likely of all healers to be targeted for witchcraft accusations" (p. 133) is not persuasively supported from her sources and not linked solidly to the larger context of scholarly debates about witchcraft and community dynamics.

Periodization and vocabulary might also have been addressed more fully. The author establishes seventeenth-century Anglo-American medical theory and

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practice as the initial context for her study (pp. x, 46, 49, 119), but about half of her sources date to the eighteenth century, and it is not always clear what changed between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. The final chapter casts the seventeenth century against the late eighteenth century and zooms forward into the nineteenth century, without attention to the significant changes in medicine and community during the revolution. Nor is it clear who exactly the author means by "healer." In the first part of the book, one of her main points is that "ordinary housewives" were all "healers" (p. 22). In other sections, however, the author focuses on midwives, paid nurses, and professional "doctoresses." Thus, the referent is not always clear for such phrases as "medical practitioners other than midwives" (cover literature) or "women healers who were not midwives" (p. 107), nor is her logic apparent when she states that "female healers" were "more assertive than most women" (pp. 110–11).

Although this book is weakened by ambiguities in terminology, a diffused focus, and lack of engagement with scholarly issues, it should prove helpful to general audiences interested in the history of medicine, women, and New England in the colonial period. Further, while it does not "transform the image of early American medicine" (p. ix) for scholars, it offers interesting insights into the centrality of healing work and the shape of women's communities.

RUTH WALLIS HERNDON
University of Toledo

DEBRA MEYERS. *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives: Free Will Christian Women in Colonial Maryland*. (Religion in North America, number 31.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 249. $39.95.

The founding of Maryland as a Catholic refuge, characterized by a remarkable tolerance of diverse religious practices, makes it one of the more unusual seventeenth-century British American colonies. Nevertheless, the study of religious difference in early Maryland has not been a conspicuous feature of its historiography. Historians have usually attributed Maryland's particular character to social and economic factors. They have considered its relative gender egalitarianism and apparent liberalism toward female property ownership the result of the exigencies of building family farms in a demographically unstable regime. Men were prepared to trust women with familial and financial authority because they were accustomed to work closely with women when developing their estates, and because high mortality made widows important historical actors. Generally, historians have not considered religion to be significant in shaping early Maryland society and economy (although they have noted the importance of Catholicism, in particular, in early Maryland's political and intellectual life).

Debra Meyers believes that religion was also important in explaining social and economic change, especially as it relates to the position of white Maryland women. Her principal argument in this interesting study is that early Marylanders can, and should, be divided into two religious groups. The first, which she terms Free Will Christians, included Arminian Anglicans, Quakers, and Catholics. This group supported egalitarian gender structures, whereas another smaller group of Predestinarians, who adhered to a Calvinist theology of salvation, tended to be hierarchical and patriarchal in their family strategies. The soteriological divide between Free Will Christians and Predestinarians, she insists, explains why Maryland's gender relations developed as they did.

Meyers uses the large collection of wills of seventeenth-century Marylanders to good effect, demonstrating that two inheritance practices operated in the colony. Predestinarian testators favored sons when devising property and saw their wives as dependents, not unlike children. Free Will Christians, on the other hand, extended their willingness for women to exert various types of social and financial authority in the church to the family and even into the public sphere. A Free Will Christian union, she asserts, was not patriarchal in essence. Rather, it was a bond between two roughly equal partners who shared the risks and benefits of managing the family's estate and also power and authority in the household. Religion, therefore, was much more of a determinative influence than we have previously thought in shaping social and political behavior in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

Meyers is right to suggest that we should take religion more seriously in our studies of the early Chesapeake. The differences she discerns between the two religious groups she is studying are striking and show that ideological divides between various groups of Protestants were at least as deep as those dividing Protestants from Catholics. Her book should encourage us to rethink our customary religious categories and will discourage us from dismissing religious affiliation as epiphenomenal. Yet Meyer's insistence that Free Will Christian men were reluctant patriarchs and her belief that Maryland women exercised real power not only in the household but also in the public sphere will raise eyebrows. One does not have to see early America as being governed according to Filmerian doctrines to be convinced that patriarchal attitudes among seventeenth-century Arminian Anglicans (the largest and most powerful religious grouping in the southern and West Indian plantation colonies) were very strong. If Free Will Christian men were such committed egalitarians, it is hard to see how English aristocrats could devise inheritance practices such as the strict settlement that explicitly limited female power and authority. Moreover, if religious affiliation played such an important role in shaping gender relations, why were early Maryland's relatively egalitarian gender relations not mimicked in societies equally dominated by Arminian Anglicans, such as the

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British West Indies? More importantly, why did egalitarianism change into ever more dominant patriarchalism as Maryland became a slave society? Meyers's attempts to explain why a Free Will society adopted Predestinarian inheritance practices in the eighteenth century are unconvincing. She argues that new migrants may have challenged Anglo-American cultural norms, but it is difficult to see how, given the increasing hegemony of overwhelmingly native-born planter elites from the 1720s.

In short, Meyers offers penetrating insights into the mindset of Free Will Christians in seventeenth-century Maryland but is less convincing on wider contexts. She devotes little attention to what drove Predestinarians to act as they did, for example. Nevertheless, her well-written book is an important corrective to accounts that underestimate religious belief in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

TREVOR BURNARD
Brunel University

GREG O'BRIEN. *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750–1830*. (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Pp. xxvii, 158. $45.00.

The main concern of this nuanced ethnohistorical study is the evolution of elite power among the Choctaw from the close of the Seven Years' War to 1801. Greg O'Brien carefully contextualizes the internal dynamics of kinship and spiritual authority with the external forces of European settler encroachment and trade to analyze how the Choctaw accommodated, yet maintained, their traditional culture in an era of revolutionary change. O'Brien's focus is the political career of two long-time leaders—Taboca and Franchimastabé—who guided the Choctaw in relations with their Native neighbors, particularly the Creek and Chickasaw, as well as with the European/Euramerican powers: France, Spain, Great Britain, and the United States.

The authority possessed by Choctaw leaders arose not only from kin connections but also from one's proven ability as a hunter, warrior, and diplomat. Taboca primarily drew on these traditional sources of authority, but his younger contemporary, Franchimastabé, positioned himself more in the new capitalistic system of goods and trade and placed self-aggrandizement over community interests. Yet, as O'Brien shows, even in the pre-European contact era, controlling access to imported trade goods buttressed chiefly authority, so that the changes taking place in the late eighteenth century may have been more of degree than innovation.

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, access to trade goods played an ever greater role in Choctaw society and increasingly threatened chiefs' authority. Traders flocked to the Choctaw and distributed goods to individuals, not chiefs. Leaders like Franchimastabé arranged marriages between their female kin and traders to create a mutually beneficial relationship, whereby the chiefs hoped to remain the main conduit for trade and the traders received protection, patronage, and other privileges. Nevertheless, settler encroachment and the sheer number of traders—not to mention missionaries—steadily abraded the chiefs' authority.

O'Brien's book will give readers much to ponder. Two of his conclusions in particular must be noted. He effectively demonstrates that civil and military functions were not necessarily divided in Choctaw society, as has been argued for the Choctaw's neighbors; this beckons us to reconsider much of what we have assumed about the dualistic nature of southern Native societies. Second, scholars long have noted the holistic nature of Native American spirituality, which encompassed the seen and unseen, the material and the ethereal. O'Brien reveals this interconnectedness in new and dynamic ways. Women's spiritual power, he argues, inherently derived through their femininity, while men had to prove themselves through material success. By becoming expert hunters and warriors, males illustrated their "mastery of spiritual power" (p. 37) to the community and thus received more material rewards through positions of leadership and other tangible benefits. Conversely, poverty and defeat were clear indicators of spiritual shortcomings.

If the book has a fault, it is in leaving the reader wanting more of the larger historical story chronologically told. O'Brien provides fascinating vignettes about Taboca's and Franchimastabé's diplomacy, particularly with the United States. Although we get the contours of the story, and O'Brien's cogent analysis, it is difficult to assess the impact of this diplomacy on the Choctaw as a whole. The lack of maps hinders the telling of the story: the geographic divisions among the Choctaw, the importance of which O'Brien lays out at the beginning of the book, almost disappear in the second half, and we are left wondering what became of the internal relations of Choctaw towns with one another. Nevertheless, this book is an important starting point for reassessing the evolution of the Choctaw and their neighbors in the second half of the eighteenth century.

ALAN GALLAY
Western Washington University

SARAH J. PURCELL. *Sealed With Blood: War Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. 278. $35.00.

Sarah J. Purcell's thoughtful and engaging book explores the political history of American Revolutionary War memories in the early republic. Purcell is particularly interested in examining "how Revolutionary War bloodshed legitimized the American nation by providing a specific focus for Americans' self-fashioning" (p. 7). Her desire to show how the new nation was "sealed with blood" leads her to focus on debates over the meaning of heroes and heroism from the American

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Revolution while tracing the transformations in "public memory" about revolutionary soldiers and warfare. In terms of military remembrance, she argues that, by the Jacksonian period, a more "democratic" public memory largely, if not totally, displaced a "republican" memory of the war. Not only were common soldiers hailed as heroes, but their voices found increasing representation in the public sphere. As Purcell puts it, "Public memories of the Revolutionary War spread to ever widening socioeconomic groups, who adopted the language and style of commemorations to their own political uses—a process I refer to as the democratization of public memory" (pp. 2–3).

The political place of military remembrance was problematic from the very start of the American Revolution. On the one hand, Americans were keen to stress the importance of military valor for the new nation. On the other hand, they were deeply suspicious of the military institution itself. Americans escaped this bind by focusing less on the army than on individual soldiers. George Washington was, of course, the most famous example of this process, but he was by no means alone. Indeed, from the mid-1770s, other exemplary figures such as Joseph Warren and Richard Montgomery were put forth as martyrs to the cause, individuals whose death in battle marked them out as the true signs of America's devotion to liberty, and true models for the new nation. These earliest revolutionary heroes were all elite figures and, as Purcell tells the story, late eighteenth-century military memory was "republican." Republican memory, she argues, emphasized not the common soldier but the classical gentleman who sacrificed his property and even his life in leading the cause. These reluctant warriors not only anchored the revolution's self-image as a representation of the common good but also linked the successful outcome of the war to political virtue.

Yet republican exemplarity proved fundamentally unstable. From the 1790s onward, growing political conflicts within the early republic meant that the memory of the war itself increasingly became contested. Demonstrated most dramatically by political conflicts over the "prison-ship martyrs" (plebeian sailors held in British prison galleys) and debates over the wartime heroism (or lack thereof) of General Israel Putnam, struggles over the meaning of the wartime heroism and sacrifice pried open the structure of public memory and allowed for a greater, and more democratic, cacophony of voices. Especially after the War of 1812, common men (and even some women) began to assert their place within the public culture of the new nation. Their sacrifices, they insisted, were as meaningful and as important as those of gentleman officers.

At the heart of Purcell's story is the changing structure of political "gratitude" (p. 53). Indeed, in her hands, the questions of what gratitude was owed for military sacrifice and who was owed gratitude become a crucial template for understanding the political culture of the early republic. If gratitude traditionally, as Purcell puts it, "implied hierarchy and inequality" (p. 53), over the course of the nation's first half-century Americans transformed gratitude in a democratic and populist direction. By the time that the marquis de Lafayette returned to the United States in the mid-1820s, gratitude was owed not only to the common soldier but to the people at large. If republican exemplarity assumed that people would model themselves on the heroism of their betters, by the Jacksonian period, Purcell insists, the glory of the hero was that he reflected the people themselves.

Purcell's book effectively demonstrates the transformation in the political language and discourse surrounding wartime military sacrifice. Still, I was left to wonder about the overall persuasiveness of the democratization theme. Purcell presents the process as almost inexorable. To be sure, by the 1820s a wider variety of soldiers were acknowledged in public ceremony and their voices more apt to enter the literary public sphere. But given the increasing inequality and social hierarchy of the antebellum period, democratization—to me at least—seems much more intermittent and considerably more fragile than Purcell's account would suggest. But that her work raises such fundamental questions about the early Republic simply suggests why this is a provocative book.

MICHAEL MERANZE
University of California, San Diego

H. RICHARD UVILLER and WILLIAM G. MERKEL. *The Militia and the Right to Arms, or, How the Second Amendment Fell Silent.* (Constitutional Conflicts.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 338. $19.95.

Over the past decade, law professors regularly churned out essays dealing with the Second Amendment. Indeed, they have created a veritable cottage industry devoted to ever more obscure readings of that amendment. Consequently, law reviews ranging from the most prestigious to the least distinguished offer their readers any number of interpretations of the original meaning as well as the manner in which it should be read today. The result has been an abundance of sound and fury and a dearth of intellectual substance. All suffer from the same handicap: a lack of understanding of the historical context within which the Second Amendment was written.

By no stretch of the imagination can H. Richard Uviller and William C. Merkel be accused of such weakness. Their book's endnotes reveal intensive research into the best historical literature concerned with the revolutionary era as well as the essential primary sources. This is the single most sound and sophisticated study yet to appear dealing with the historical origins of the Second Amendment as well as the meaning it bears for our society today.

The authors develop three major themes throughout the course of their study. First, they contend that the

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framers left a clear record that the right to arms was indissolubly tied to a "well-regulated militia." Next, they assert that changing times may cause components of the Constitution—even those once zealously defended—to lose their vitality. Finally, they do not believe that amendments to the Constitution should be altered by radical reinterpretation. Consequently, since the operative language of the Second Amendment recognizing the right to bear arms was expressly predicated upon the presence of a citizen militia, the absence of such an institution in our society today divests that right of any meaning whatsoever. Like the Third Amendment, it stands now as a silent relic of the past.

Through a careful historical analysis of the ideological, political, and legal foundations of the militia in eighteenth-century America, the authors demonstrate the meaning of this institution for citizens of the new republic. It was, above all else, a bulwark against the appearance of a professional standing army. It was, however, the "well-regulated" aspect of the militia that the framers meant to perpetuate, not the spontaneous appearance of armed groups. Shays's rebellion had cured them of that. The belief that individual citizens had a private right to arms was certainly a firmly held cultural belief in late eighteenth-century America. The fact remains, however, that it was the Federalists who wrote the Constitution and the Second Amendment, and they meant for arms to be held only by members of a carefully regulated body of men. Further, they intended to be the authors of these regulations.

Next, Uviller and Merkel present a careful analysis of the manner in which the militia envisioned in the Second Amendment changed over time into an institution composed of volunteers armed by the federal government. Beginning with the Militia Act of 1792, they carefully trace the transformation of the militia into a federalized National Guard, an organization totally unlike the militia envisioned by the framers.

The authors close with an insightful discussion in which they ably rebut the theses of contemporary authors—David Williams, Sanford Levinson, Carl Bogus, William Van Alstyne, Akhil Reed Amar, and David Yassky—that offer radically different interpretations of the original intent and the current meaning of the Second Amendment. Their advantage over these authors emanates from their far superior understanding of the historical context within which the amendment arose. It is difficult to question their fundamental conclusion: the Second Amendment has no meaning for American society today. If American citizens are to have the right to own and use firearms for their own private purposes, this right must be established by federal or state legislation. It does not arise from the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Amidst the plethora of recent literature attempting to explicate the meaning of the Second Amendment, this book stands out as a voice of sanity and reason. Uviller and Merkel are to be commended for their dispassionate approach as well as for their careful scholarship. Theirs is certainly the most closely reasoned and deeply researched study of the subject. All thoughtful citizens are deeply indebted to them for their effort.

ROBERT E. SHALHOPE
University of Oklahoma

ANNE M. BOYLAN. *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797–1840*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 343. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Sometimes—rarely—you read a book like Anne M. Boylan's that is, quite simply, inspiring. It is beautifully written and cogently argued. The narrative draws you in with insight after insight. It leaves you with a vision of the topic that is three-dimensional and vivid. Moreover, because the book addresses a pivotal period in American women's history, its conclusions will influence our understanding of gender issues and women's public activism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Boylan organizes her book from the general to the specific. She begins with some broad conclusions about the nature and evolution of women's activism in the early republic and then she enlivens her arguments with a chapter focused on specific women. She concludes with two thematic chapters: one analyzes women activists' ability to garner political power and the other explores their success in the financial arena. Although on the surface this organization seems a bit inconsistent, Boylan manages to make it work. Ultimately the book is best at illuminating how and why women began to organize into benevolent groups and how they changed the American political landscape. Boylan, in focusing on the early republic, shows the initial layers of organizing that would eventually develop into an imposing and sturdy structure. Women deftly used their rather limited resources to challenge their communities as the world around them changed at a very fast pace. Groups like the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children demanded more attention to those who were left behind by the new industrialized order, especially women and children. In the process, they established a firm and unquestioned place for themselves within the political system. Although by the 1830s new groups of women would create different more controversial routes to political power, the foundation built by the early benevolent women would be used again and again well into the twentieth century.

One of the strengths of this book is its ability seamlessly to weave women's and gender history into larger trends in American history. Indeed, here women's history *becomes* American history. Boylan is especially successful at this in her chapter on politics. She connects the changes in the means women's groups garnered political power to changes in the nature of

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the American political system. In the pre-1820 period, women activists tended to rely on deferential politics to achieve their political goals. Using personal relationships with powerful men, women managed to gain funding and positive public relations without stepping outside the woman's sphere. "Reflecting the view that women sought 'influence,' not power, deferential politics wrapped its practitioners—and by extension, their organization—in the mantle of domesticity" (p. 152). However, increased democracy for white men in the 1820s and 1830s meant the decline of deferential politics for everyone. New styles of female politics emerged in response; women began openly attempting to influence votes through petitions and conventions. These new styles allowed for more nonprivileged women (who lacked access to influential men) to participate in benevolence and social reform.

Indeed, another of the book's strengths is its attention to differences among women. It avoids the "add on" approach of briefly mentioning "other women" in special separate sections. Black, working-class, and Catholic women all play central roles here. Boylan does more than analyze the ways in which these groups of women are excluded and stereotyped by Anglo Protestant middle-class women; she also pays attention to the unique ways that they organized into their own groups. In other words, these women are not just a foil to discuss the more important WASP women. Although Boylan discusses different groups of women in every chapter, she is most effective in giving voice to non-WASP women in her chapter on "portraits of women organizers." Here she introduces us to Elizabeth Bayley Seton, a wealthy young Protestant who, after the deaths of her closest relatives, converted to Catholicism. Seton, who would eventually become a nun, helps us to understand differences between Catholic and Protestant benevolence, particularly the role of nuns in organizing all Catholic charity work. We also meet Mary Morgan Mason, an Irish immigrant and Methodist minister's wife, and Henrietta Green Regulus Ray, a freeborn African-American seamstress and young widow. Unlike many Anglo middle-class women activists, Mason and Ray balanced life-long benevolent careers with domestic responsibilities and paid labor. Their charitable activism also proved more challenging because they lacked access to the powerful WASP men who had political clout. Mason and Ray nonetheless managed to garner some influence and financial aid for their benevolent institutions.

Anyone interested in antebellum politics, social reform, or women's activism will find this book an important addition to the literature. But because this book is superb history—especially in its enticing narrative and nuanced argument—it should attract a wide and enthusiastic audience well beyond historians of the early American republic.

STACEY ROBERTSON
Bradley University

BRUCE DAIN. *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 321. $29.95.

Beginning in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the major scientific issue confronting scholars and other intellectuals in the Western world increasingly became that of the "Negro's place in nature." Negroes were defined as a separate race from Europeans, but the meaning of race was diffuse and unclear. Bruce Dain looks at the earliest American writings on this topic, interrogating the meaning of race from Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) to the mid-nineteenth century writings of well-known scholar/scientists such as Samuel Morton and Louis Agassiz. Using mostly primary sources, Dain explores the intellectual, social, economic, political, and epistomological contexts in which increasingly negative characterizations of blacks as an inferior product of nature were constructed. He examines the diverse arguments of both antislavery and proslavery proponents and ultimately demonstrates, indirectly, that even antislavery advocates could not escape the growing power of the ideology of race.

Dain begins by comparing and contrasting the ideas about nature and blackness of Jefferson and his contemporary Phyllis Wheatley, a poet and former slave who might well be considered the first black American vindicationist writer. He also compares Jefferson's beliefs about the nature of human variations with those of various European naturalists and systematists (Carl Linnaeus, the comte de Buffon, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach). While he disagrees with the view that Jefferson was the "founding father" of scientific racism, he later implicates him as an early polygenist (pp. 46, 74).

Most importantly, Dain performs a valuable service by researching long-forgotten and unacknowledged works by black writers who had to grapple with the reality of the race identity imposed on them by proslavery forces. He examines the meaning of race, and of blackness, to men such as Jupiter Hammon, Olaudah Equiano, Benjamin Banneker, Ukiawsaw Gronniosaw, Absalom Jones, Prince Hall, James Forten, George Lawrence, Daniel Coker, Prince Saunders, David Walker, John B. Russwurm, Reverend Samuel Cornish, Robert A. Young, Hosea Easton, Henry Highland Garnet, Frederick Douglass, James McCune Smith, and other black writers from the late eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth century. How did the reality of racial slavery affect black writers, and what were their responses to the meaning of race and freedom? How did the Haitian Revolution influence their sense of black identity? What impact did the various views of colonizationists have on different black writers? How did black scholars and thinkers respond to the polygenist theories of Morton, Agassiz, and Josiah Nott, and to the great debates of the mid-nineteenth century over whether Negroes were of

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the same species as whites and products of the original Creation?

With penetrating insights, Dain demonstrates that within each school of thought about the Negro, white scholars had diverse and changeable views. We see the transformation of white scholarly thought from ideas about blackness as a disease, or as environmentally determined, to an essentialist view of race with species-level distinctions. We also see the invention of black physical and behavioral characteristics that became entrenched popular stereotypes in the postbellum period.

Educated black writers were familiar with the arguments and debates of white writers on both sides of the Atlantic, and, in numerous articles and pamphlets, they defended their humanity, often with impassioned pleading. Early on, they denied the allegations of black savagery, often pointing to the achievements of ancient Egyptians and Ethiopians, whom French writers such as Count Volney and Baron Denon had accepted as black. Some even argued, presciently, that race had no natural meaning. Some espoused the environmental arguments about human diversity derived from Enlightenment writers. Many black writers used biblical arguments, like their white counterparts, to advocate the unity of humankind. Others called upon the natural history knowledge of the day to counter popular white race science. For many, the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte by a black militia in Haiti bolstered their sense of humanity even as they accepted the idea of racial difference.

With few exceptions, these historical black writers have been ignored, and their arguments had little influence on the dominant racial paradigm of the twentieth century. Yet by revealing the contradictions and hypocrisy of racist white writers, they kept alive a vindicationist tradition that still flourishes today. Dain has brought together such outstanding writers as Easton and McClune Smith and restored them to history.

This book is not always easy reading. The themes that inform a few chapters sometimes produce unevenness in the narration, requiring the reader to move back and forth in the text. However, this is a valuable book that should be widely read by American historians, and by anyone who wants to know more about American history.

AUDREY SMEDLEY
Virginia Commonwealth University

STEVEN STOLL. *Larding the Lean Earth: Soil and Society in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2002. Pp. xii, 287. $30.00.

Broken into three lengthy chapters, this innovative and far-reaching study by Steven Stoll weaves together important strands of American agricultural, environmental, and conservation history from the 1820s to the late nineteenth century. It offers a series of stimulating arguments, forcing the reader to reconsider traditional interpretations of topics ranging from early national political economy and antebellum agricultural reform to the origins of the modern conservation principles.

The book's first section provides an overview of the antebellum movement to promote restorative husbandry. In the wake of the War of 1812, the Panic of 1819, and increased western migration, many prominent Americans championed a more careful, deliberate effort to sustain crop yields on existing, long-settled eastern farms. Their prescriptive advice centered around the labor-intensive use of cattle manure as a means of enriching soil fertility. This practice was hardly new—it simply called for the application of a longstanding British farm method—but took on a new urgency in the United States in light of American concerns with its economic independence and, especially, the economic dislocations of the early 1820s and beyond.

Over time, advocates of farm improvement developed a sophisticated, complex understanding of beliefs the author labels as "the dunghill doctrines" (p. 49). Rural reformers projected an alternative course for American farming, one that stressed sustainability, permanence, and responsibility to the natural world surrounding them. While never able to convince the vast majority of America's land-hungry, western-focused farmers to adapt their system, they succeeded nonetheless in prompting an active, ongoing dialogue among editors and readers of the nation's rural press that lasted for more than forty years. And, ultimately, their collective voice was heard in myriad ways.

In the book's second section, Stoll sheds new light on the antebellum chasm between the North and the South by comparing the soil improvement movement in Pennsylvania with that in South Carolina. Middling-to-prosperous farmers in long-settled areas of Pennsylvania were among the most eager to adapt manure-based methods. This type of farming was seen both as a way of discouraging the social instability associated with western emigration as well as a practical means of improving existing farmers' financial well-being. Yet ultimately even more was involved. Improvement, Stoll observes, came to propose "a hierarchy of land use in which rich sod represented the maturity of American civilization" (p. 85). This perspective gained wide acceptance among well-to-do farmers throughout much of the North, promoting a sense of obligation to both land conservation and local community.

The views of southern planters, in contrast, were constrained by their dependence on slavery. Planters generally favored unfettered access to western lands, both as a way of creating additional slave states and as a means of stimulating opportunity for whites of all statuses. Less favorable soil conditions and a variety of other factors tied to slavery also discouraged reform. An improvement movement developed, but in a more circumscribed and halting fashion. In South Carolina, reformers' goals ultimately centered on delaying the deterioration of their land rather than completely restoring their soil's original fertility. Symptomatic of this approach was Edmund Ruffin's vigorous but only

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marginally successful promotion of marl (crushed lime) as a restorative cure-all for the region's "old-field" soils. While balancing southern soil's pH levels, marl did little to address the general soil exhaustion resulting from years of exploitative cultivation.

The book's final chapter describes the splintering of the dunghill doctrine movement after 1840. Farm "improvement" came to be interpreted in a variety of divergent ways. Many, like Solon Robinson, came to embrace the increasing introduction of farm machinery and other technological advances after 1850. Progressive farming, as it came to be called, "made no fussy distinction between moral and material progress; it never wavered from [its primary] goal of larger harvests" (p. 187). Ultimately this led to the creation of the United States Department of Agriculture, "the Church of Information and Technology . . . for millions of modernizing farmers" (p. 212).

Others remained faithful to the larger vision of obligation and responsibility for land conservation. The seminal figure in this regard was George Perkins Marsh, who served as the bridge between dunghill doctrine advocates and the emerging conservationists of later generations. In *Man and Nature* (1864), Marsh argued in a pathbreaking fashion that changes in specific landscapes cumulatively led to permanent change *"on the scale of nature itself"* (p. 179; emphasis in original). Although few Progressive-era conservation reformers had rural backgrounds, virtually all had read Marsh, "the man who translated a farmer's creed into language that appealed to worried urban elites" (p. 180).

In sum, this book provides a well-crafted, far-ranging discussion that will appeal to scholars and students alike. Many specialists will wish that Stoll had further developed the sections most central to their own scholarship—each of the study's three sections could readily be expanded into a monograph—but this is a minor criticism given the book's ambitious agenda and broad appeal.

STEPHEN A. VINCENT
University of Wisconsin, Whitewater

GERALD LEONARD. *The Invention of Party Politics: Federalism, Popular Sovereignty, and Constitutional Development in Jacksonian Illinois*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. x, 328. $45.00.

In this book, Gerald Leonard asks why mass political parties arose in Jacksonian America and comes up with some exciting new answers. Party formation was not preordained by the U.S. Constitution, whose authors shunned direct popular governance. Nor was it propelled by divisive issues or socioeconomic cleavages, since these were around long before parties began to exploit them. Leonard argues that deep antipathy to parties did not die with the founding generation but remained strong through the 1830s, the very years of party building. Parties developed not because anyone wanted them but to fill the constitutional vacuum left by the collapse of elite government. By the 1820s, it was established that the people should rule—but how? Through what mechanism? The Constitution offered no procedure for selecting presidential candidates. Yet voters still identified standing political organizations with selfish and subversive faction. Hence they shunned such regimenting devices as conventions, platforms, formal nominations, and party patronage.

Like other historians, Leonard identifies Martin Van Buren as the key Jacksonian party innovator. But Leonard's Van Buren was no mere business politician. He was a Jeffersonian ideologue who saw politics as an unending struggle for supremacy between the real people, the democracy, and their oppressors, the aristocracy. Like Jefferson, Van Buren took it on faith that the people were the majority and in a fair electoral contest would always win. But American aristocrats, while lacking the class privilege they enjoyed in Europe, still used influence, deception, and corruption to defeat the people and get their way. In 1824, the House of Representatives thwarted the people's choice for president; in 1836, aristocrats again nearly sneaked to victory by splitting the popular vote. Unity was therefore imperative to counteract aristocratic wiles and maintain the people's rule. Rigid discipline and submission to the will of the party majority were the only way to defend democracy itself. Even as they fashioned tools of party control, then, Van Buren and his cohorts did not really conceive themselves as a mere party, nor accept their opponents' legitimacy. Democrats were the embodied people, mustered against the party of aristocracy.

Yet the very devices Democrats adopted to uphold popular rule opened them to charges of subverting it. Whig foes accused them of undermining democratic self-determination by substituting party dictation for voters' independent judgment. In self-defense, Whigs organized, too, yet they continued to resist discipline, treating their nominations and platforms as advisory rather than coercive. Whigs regarded party as an emergency expedient, not a permanent necessity. They saw the real threat to democracy in an overpowering executive backed by legions of officeholders and drilled party loyalists.

Paradoxical as it sounds, then, the party system formed around the very issue of party, with both sides mobilizing not to enthrone party but to defeat it. Leonard tells this story in Illinois but could have set it almost anywhere, as his focus is on the mechanisms and justifications of party building, which were broadly similar across the country, rather than on the personalities, policies, or constituencies distinctive to each state. Indeed, he insists that such matters were secondary. The defining difference between Whigs and Democrats was not their issue stances but their conceptions of democratic governance. Substantive controversies such as banking were merely vehicles through which

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Whigs and Democrats fought out their real contest over the legitimacy of party itself.

As Leonard acknowledges, this is a venturesome claim. For one thing, it risks mistaking political strategy for core conviction. No wonder Whigs decried the sway of party when they felt themselves outnumbered and outorganized; no wonder dissident Jacksonians denounced party dictation when it contravened their policy preferences; and no wonder regular Democrats stressed party fidelity when their candidate, Van Buren himself, proved personally unpopular. Some of these postures are political constants. Today the word "partisan" remains a common epithet, politicians charge opponents with putting party above country, and party activists claim their aspirations as those of "the American people" and blame electoral defeat on anything but popular rejection. Does this mean we still live in an antiparty universe?

In effect, Leonard rejects interest-group explanations of party development for a kind of ideological determinism. Attitudes toward party decided who would become a Whig and who a Democrat. Yet, as he concedes, partisan adherents were hardly distributed at random through the population. Exactly why voters who all shared a broad constellation of antiparty values should have landed on one side or another remains unclear. Still, the book is brilliantly reasoned and persuasively argued. It presents a strong challenge both to ethnocultural and socioeconomic accounts of party origins and to the party-system model of political history itself. It does not tell the whole story of party creation. But it does make that whole story look different.

DANIEL FELLER
University of Tennessee

PETER GIBIAN. *Oliver Wendell Holmes and the Culture of Conversation*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 398. $74.95.

Oliver Wendell Holmes (senior, not junior) has for some time now been relegated to the stale bin of the genteel tradition. The "Breakfast Table" series, his best-known works, now lie unread, dismissed as thin, ephemeral, and all-too-often cloying prose. His philosophy is seen as soggy idealism, sadly wanting some of his jurist son's tough mindedness. Holmes senior's light touch is perceived only to have hidden—and not very well at that—his patriarchal streak. In recent years, only his medical commentary has earned any respect.

Peter Gibian has written a quite interesting book, albeit at times overargued, that challenges these stereotypes. Holmes's essays and novels, according to Gibian, are not only interesting commentary; they are subversive stuff. Gibian is especially interested in the "Breakfast Table" books, most particularly *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* (1858), in which fictional conversations presided over by the first-person protagonist were supposedly held in a New York City boarding house. Unlike most recent readings, Gibian sees Holmes as having a deep antiauthoritarian streak. He satirized not only tough, masculine Jacksonian clichés but feminine Victorian pieties about the home as well. He attacked the honored Benjamin Rush's medical theories, and he made sport of Bronson Alcott's and Margaret Fuller's transcendental blather. No one was safe from Holmes's wit, including, Gibian observes smartly, the character of the Autocrat himself. Gibian is especially good pointing out the self-mocking strain running throughout the series, showing how often the Autocrat is interrupted and ignored by his conversational interlocutors, how caterwauling children manage to interrupt his "deep" thoughts, how often the pompously pontificating protagonist is exposed as, well, as a pompous pontificator. In short, the author, as opposed to the protagonist, was not a petty, self-satisfied conservative but a mocker of conventional wisdom.

Holmes did love conversation, and he was famous for excelling at it. The whole "Breakfast Table" series is an extended record of strangers in conversation. For Gibian, this commitment to conversation helps explain Holmes's subversiveness, for it implies a certain attitude toward truth. Conversation, unlike other kinds of discourse, leaves everything open ended, always open to revision. It allows for varying interpretations of the same events. Closing down talk in the name of settled "truth" is not the way conversations work. This, Gibian argues, is what Holmes knew and cherished. No dogmatics allowed; just keep talking. Holmes's conversational sense of truth, according to Gibian, has similarities to that of Richard Rorty.

Gibian's main point of reference, however, for his understanding of Holmes, is not Rorty but the Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin. Holmes's prose was carnivalesque, Gibian asserts, throwing all pieties up for grabs. The "Breakfast Table" books need to be understood in the tradition of Rabelais, Lawrence Sterne, or Fyodor Dostoyevsky.

And here lies the rub in this generally excellent book. At times, Gibian wants to argue that Holmes was subversive and carnivalesque; at other times, the claims are more modest, more drawing-room conversational. Certainly the conversations of the Autocrat were not the drunken, loutish revelry of carnival. They expressed wit, not vulgarity. It is true, as Gibian notes, that Bakhtin saw the carnivalesque as continuing in certain elite literature of the West even without popular carnivals actually taking place. Yet whether Holmes reaches this point is open to question. It is, to be sure, unclear even in Bakhtin himself how far we should accept his carnivalesque reading of Socrates. Yet at least Socrates and his buddies got loaded at times! Holmes's mid-century boarding house chats of New York City lack that dimension of revelry. Nor were they the brooding, violent, existential rumblings of Dostoyevsky's novels or the bawdy romp of Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. Holmes would say that conversation

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succeeded only when "certain *ultima* of belief" were not disturbed. Conversational success, in other words, depends on avoiding any questioning of fundamentals, quite unlike Socrates or Dostoyevsky. It is no surprise that Holmes would speak of the "terrible uncertainty of things" when the Civil War started. There were limits to what sort of uncertainty the author and his protagonist felt comfortable with.

This criticism aside, Gibian has written a fine and interesting book. He is very sophisticated on notions of truth, both in the mid-nineteenth century and the present. For those interested in this subject, this is a first-rate read. Gibian also has several very good chapters contrasting Holmes to other literary figures of his time. He closes with a spirited contrast of Holmes senior and his son, suggesting that the father—all too often ignored nowadays—actually had a more humane and progressive outlook than his now more famous offspring.

KENNETH CMIEL
University of Iowa

JONATHAN A. GLICKSTEIN. *American Exceptionalism, American Anxiety: Wages, Competition, and Degraded Labor in the Antebellum United States*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2002. Pp. x, 361. $39.50.

In this densely argued monograph, Jonathan A. Glickstein explores a series of contemporary debates over the material incentives that governed antebellum America's wage labor markets. Drawing eclectically on public sources such as newspapers, periodicals, political pamphlets, and economics treatises, Glickstein identifies a vigorously contested cultural terrain in which social commentators tussled over the fundamental impulses that drove wage laborers, as well as the greatest threats to the future prospects of skilled wage workers. Although the book occasionally considers the likely understandings of marginalized groups such as female wage earners and free blacks, Glickstein focuses on the viewpoints of politicians, reformers, and especially members of the skilled, urban, native-born working class. Throughout the author displays a wide-ranging command of nineteenth-century social and economic history, economic theory, and recent developments in cultural studies, frequently comparing antebellum intellectual currents to their counterparts in mid-nineteenth-century Europe and to those in our own time.

Glickstein shows that most antebellum commentators on the nature of American wage labor shared a premise of "American exceptionalism": they believed that labor scarcity and abundant natural resources translated into favorable economic conditions for native-born, skilled white men. According to most spokesmen for elites and the middle class, and at least some representatives of the working class, these favorable circumstances sustained relatively high wages and meaningful opportunities for social mobility. By contrast, a minority of observers, concentrated among labor reformers, utopianists, and proslavery southerners, insisted that by the 1840s and 1850s metropolitan America had already undergone a process of Europeanization. As a result of burgeoning urban populations and intensely competitive markets for many manufactured goods, these critics maintained, large numbers of ostensibly free Americans faced such dire economic straits that they had to accept wretched working conditions and subsistence wages: the lot of "wage slavery."

Even greater differences, Glickstein contends, characterized antebellum evaluations of the likely future for skilled wage workers. Those most confident about that future tended to be Democrats such as Mississippian Robert J. Walker, whose faith in the dynamics of comparative advantage and the productivity of white male craft workers undergirded support for both free trade and popular sovereignty as a means of settling the issue of slavery expansion. Whigs, later; Republicans, and labor leaders, evinced more pessimism, generally fretting about the operation of Gresham's Law in the labor markets. These defenders of the skilled white male worker worried that various forms of cheap and often servile labor might drive out America's exceptional opportunities for highly paid artisans and mechanics, either because manufacturing capitalists would forsake more expensive skilled employees to lighten their wage bills' or because the presence of degraded laborers, such as ex-convicts or slaves, would corrupt free artisans and lead them to forsake economic ambitions and habits of industry. Glickstein argues that these findings contradict a scholarly tendency to portray antebellum Democrats as fearful of a commercial future and Whigs/Republicans as self-assured champions for capitalist development.

For Glickstein, the debates over incentives in antebellum labor markets have important implications for our understanding of working-class ideology and the salience of race as a determinant of working-class identity. Spokesmen for the working class, he emphasizes, usually took pains to voice their commitment to private property and rarely missed the chance to "buy cheap" in their role as consumers; in some cases, they conceded a productive role for capitalists; and although they almost universally characterized the prevailing economic rules of the game as deeply flawed, their chief programs of action—such as land reform—primarily sought to give workers greater initial endowments and greater bargaining power within the marketplace rather than to transform the industrial economy completely. All of this, he concludes, adds up to significant, if still limited, working-class accommodation to capitalist culture, and is thus meaningful evidence of "bourgeois hegemony." While taking care to note the depth of northern working-class antipathy to African Americans, Glickstein additionally stresses that slaves and free blacks represented only two of many other dependent and marginal groups, including paupers, convicts, working women and children, immi-

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grants, and the European poor, against whom white male craft workers also defined themselves. Thus he cautions against ascribing race an excessively significant role in the formation of native-born white working-class worldviews.

The evidentiary support for these conclusions, as Glickstein readily concedes, comes from public commentary, which overwhelmingly reflected the views of working-class leaders. Whether these sentiments were representative of skilled workers more generally remains an open question. So, too, does the issue of how rural, native-born Americans made sense of the incentives offered by agricultural wage labor, an increasingly significant dimension of antebellum society that Glickstein largely skirts.

Glickstein's theoretically informed and discursive prose style frequently makes for heavy going; this is a book for specialists. At times, his extended analysis of fairly minor figures, like the Bostonian poor reformer Joseph Tuckerman, or the Republican politician George M. Weston, lacks a fully convincing argument about their representativeness or cultural salience. He might have looked more closely at perceptions of technological change, the ease of entry into so many antebellum industries, and their respective impacts on waged labor. Nonetheless, this book raises fascinating issues about intellectual responses to American industrialization and deserves careful attention from historians of American culture, race, politics, and the urban working class.

EDWARD J. BALLEISEN
Duke University

SHAWN JOHANSEN. *Family Men: Middle-Class Fatherhood in Early Industrializing America*. New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. xiii, 249. Cloth $80.00, paper $21.95.

Shawn Johansen offers a careful and compassionate portrait of the roles of middle-class fathers in mid-nineteenth-century United States families. Working from a rich documentary sample of one hundred men who became fathers sometime between 1800 and 1860, Johansen gently revises some prevailing historical ideas about the effects of industrialization on elaborating a new kind of middle-class family role distribution. Whereas earlier historians, including Barbara Welter and Mary P. Ryan, suggested that the industrial workplace marginalized the previously all-powerful father of the premodern patriarchy, leaving his wife at home to discipline and educate the children, Johansen paints a different family portrait of men and women negotiating to share power and authority.

It should be added that Johansen does not attempt to revise the feminist-inflected historiographical picture of a persistently patriarchal society. Instead his retouched portrait suggests a new explanation for the intractable dilemma of why, if women were training their children, the pattern of male dominance persisted through generations. We do not have to resort to concepts of hegemony alone, he writes, if we accept a picture of persistent paternal involvement in children's upbringing. Fathers could, and did, "teach children to respect and perpetuate gender divisions that benefited men" (p. 11). They also exerted significant control over women, and might through their paternal authority insist on a "certain kind of childrearing technique that women, who were the primary caregivers, would then be obligated to institute" (p. 12).

This reconception of family power dynamics leaves intact the narrative of the family's transition from the smallest unit of the larger fabric of society under God to its newer, industrial-age position as the center of the individual's emotional universe. "Middle-class families," he echoes earlier historians, "were increasingly the locus of strong emotional attachments, especially intense romantic love between husband and wife" (p. 48). Following his sample fathers through a family life cycle of getting established, childbirth, childrearing, supervising the children's education, and watching the next generation make its early adult decisions, Johansen carefully notes the colonial precedents of each important social and cultural phase.

One of the most common examples professors offer today's undergraduates to convey a sense of the world of colonial European Protestants is the practice of "breaking the will" of the small child in order to prepare it for a life of submission to God's and its parents' rule(s). Johansen revisits this important parental stage. He discovers it as a decision point for nineteenth-century parents and finds, not surprisingly, divergences in attitudes toward nineteenth-century manifestations of the "terrible twos." He perceives differences along theological lines and finds among "evangelical" parents a greater tendency to interpret the child's first signs of self-assertion as an opportunity to establish society's hold upon the youngster. He cites reports from several families who withheld food from and/or beat their toddlers—for periods up to several days in a single disciplinary episode—in order to force compliance with parental standards. "Such measures seem draconian and abusive to us today," he comments, "yet these parents thought of themselves as loving and responsible caregivers" (pp. 95–96).

Johansen also usefully revisits historians' quarrels with Philippe Ariès's suggestion in the 1960s that, in an age of high infant mortality, parents forced themselves to withhold full affection from their infants, for fear of the excruciating pain of loss. Like other historians working with the documents of family life (including Linda Pollack, whose work he cites), Johansen reasserts the devoted love of parents for their young children, despite its attendant risks of heartbreak and depression if the child succumbed to one of the numerous threats to life in that earlier age.

The chief advantage of Johansen's evidence base is of course that he comes much closer to capturing and describing nineteenth-century fathering *practices* than do treatments that rely on advice books and other prescriptive or idealized literature. The reader comes away with a sense of the dense complexity of these

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middle-class documents, and of middle-class family realities.

MINA CARSON
Oregon State University

ANNE C. ROSE. *Beloved Strangers: Interfaith Families in Nineteenth-Century America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 288. $39.95.

This is an important book. It helps to correct common lapses in American historiography: social histories in which religion is absent or an afterthought, and religious studies in which family life and the larger society seem irrelevant.

By 1800, American novelists were portraying interfaith marriages, which Baltimore's archbishop admitted in 1802 were performed by Catholic priests, which affected one-half of all Jews in antebellum New Orleans, which a Jewish periodical described as "epidemic" in 1866, and which involved one-third of Catholics in 1880s Detroit. Anne C. Rose portrays a variegated landscape of families with competing religious faiths, accommodations, and outcomes. Because the book follows the marriages of persons born in the late 1800s, it extends into the 1930s.

The book emphasizes elites. Among these are Philadelphia publisher Matthew Carey, authors Joel Chandler Harris and Ralph Barton Perry, U.S. senators David Yulee, Stephen Douglas, Zebulon Vance, and Judah Benjamin, Union general William Tecumseh Sherman, and millionaire James Stokes. It includes the unlikely marriage of a Catholic woman to a leader of the anti-Catholic Know-Nothing Party. There were different outcomes for the study's marriages. Few ended in divorce, but all involved careful negotiation of religious differences. Some spouses maintained their faith, others converted—sometimes on deathbeds. In some families, all children followed the faith of one parent; in others, children split religiously.

Rose provides an engaging analysis of several kinds of texts: family correspondence, memoirs, fiction, sermons, advice books, and official documents of church and synagogue. Well-chosen quotes convey the anxieties, humor, and irritations of family members through several generations of religious accommodations. Religious leaders, for the most part, come off positively. Rose offers excellent discussions of the relationships of interfaith families with politics, nineteenth-century liberalism, American racism, and twentieth-century secularism. These chapters have some of her most quotable assessments, including this one: "whether the terms of reconciliation were logical did not matter as long as the truce made sense to them" (p. 144). Editing should have caught the mistaken claim (p. 114) that twenty-six case studies included only one Catholic-Jewish couple; the appendix lists two. Then there is the confusing discussion of a Jewish divorcee's "infatuation" and "encounter" with poet-philosopher Kahlil Gibran. Had she quoted Gibran from the biography cited in the notes, Rose would have verified that he knew the woman. Instead, this section quotes letters to "beloved," "precious," and "dearest" between this woman and a female friend. It has the appearance of asserting a romance between these women, because neither the quotes nor endnotes verify that the divorcee had a relationship with Gibran.

More serious is Rose's assumption that these upper-to-middle-class families were typical of all American families, both then and now. Her introduction refers to these "twenty-six interfaith couples . . . Like most of us, they spent their time thinking about careers and childrearing, small pleasures and friends" (p. 11). This idyllic middle-class worldview did not apply to underclass parents who could not feed their children and sent them to work in sweatshops or coal mines. Although acknowledging that elite "social status might affect my conclusions" about religious lives, she nevertheless affirms that "nothing I have seen makes me doubt that well-placed families resembled interfaith homes overall" (pp. 12–13). The endnotes do not cite any studies in support of this assertion. Yet historical studies (as well as twentieth-century opinion polls) indicate that social class can correlate with significant differences in religious attitudes and participation.

There was one type of interfaith family in nineteenth-century America that Rose ignored completely: Christian men who married Native American women who had not yet converted or (more commonly) who practiced Christianity in syncretism with tribal beliefs. Aside from manuscripts, published memoirs sometimes described such interfaith families of fur trappers and frontiersmen. I suspect that this oversight was a function of the author's Judeo-Christian framework. Likewise, Will Herberg's *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (1955)—an intellectual touchstone for Rose—presented the American religious landscape of the 1950s as if it were (and always had been) devoid of Muslims, Confucianists, Buddhists, Hindus, Shintoists, and practitioners of Native American religions.

Rose's epilogue about twentieth-century trends did not refer to the marriages of assimilated Nisei Christians (and their children, born in relocation camps from 1942 to 1946) with Japanese-Americans who maintained Buddhism or Shintoism. Moreover, since the book includes in its "family" definition "the interfaith affairs" of three prominent men with women, Rose could have given a nod to the interfaith, long-term relationships of same-sex couples like poet Amy Lowell and Ada Dwyer Russell.

No book can be all things to all people, but it is odd that a study of such high quality did not even acknowledge the existence of its significant roads not traveled.

D. MICHAEL QUINN
Yale University

THOMAS E. BUCKLEY S.J. *The Great Catastrophe of My Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 346. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

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Although antebellum southern legal history has attracted much attention in recent years, divorce remains a surprisingly neglected area of study. Thomas E. Buckley's book thus comes as a welcome contribution to our understanding of this critical issue. Divorce, as Buckley points out, raised fundamental questions about the foundations of social order in the Old South, challenging the organic conception of "a close-knit, slaveholding society based on the hierarchy and solidarity of the household unit" (p. 7). The debate over divorce and changes in the laws regulating it disclosed the cultural values of southerners and the interplay of race, gender, and class.

This book focuses on the dynamics of legislative divorce in Virginia after the American Revolution. In the first section, Buckley examines the political, religious, and social contexts of legislative divorce. The next section explores some of the main causes of divorce in antebellum Virginia—interracial sex, physical abuse, adultery, and desertion—and the legal process within which women and men sought to end their marriages. Buckley turns to the consequences of divorce in the final portion of the book, providing a detailed case study of the social ostracism experienced by a southern woman following the breakup of her marriage.

Unfortunately, this nonchronological approach creates a rather static portrait of divorce and southern society. Buckley is clearly less interested in explaining and assessing the shift to the new regime of judicial divorce than in reconstructing the lost world of legislative divorce, which ended in 1851. He carries out the latter task in a solid, workmanlike manner, sensitive to the distinctiveness of this era and the complexity of the individuals who populated it. Analyzing 471 divorce petitions between 1786 and 1851, he recaptures the rhythm and texture of marriages and families caught in the turbulent cross currents of conflict, anger, betrayal, and disappointment. Supplementing these rich, first-hand accounts with census, tax, and property records as well as deeds, wills, private correspondence, and newspaper reports, Buckley produces one of the most detailed views to date of antebellum southern families under stress.

To say that it is not a pretty picture is to put it mildly. The petitions submitted by 204 women, 171 men, and four couples furnish grim insights into the violence, alcohol abuse, sexual exploitation, and cruelty that existed in antebellum Virginia. The petitioners included not only members of the wealthy and literate upper classes but also poor folk who drew on the assistance of friends and neighbors to put together the required documentation. In a society that placed such heavy emphasis on the preservation of marriage, only the worst cases of abuse and abandonment gained the sympathy of the Virginia legislators. Ann Edmonds, for example, managed to secure a divorce, but only after her husband whipped her into agreeing to give up her widow's dower, installed his mistress in the house, raped Ann's twelve-year-old niece, and escaped jail. As this case suggests, most legislators had to be convinced that "continuing a particular marriage after one party had flagrantly violated normative societal values might damage the common good more than the dissolution of the union" (p. 33). In all, only one-third of the petitioners persuaded the legislature that their marriages should be ended.

Buckley makes clear that the move to judicial divorce did not stem from the impulses of liberal reform or a desire to make divorce easier. Instead, the mounting workload of divorce cases convinced legislators to assign a limited jurisdiction to the courts in 1827. Alarmed that the General Assembly had become too lenient in the 1840s, conservatives backed judicial divorce as a way to make the process more formidable. As Buckley writes, the full adoption of court-monitored divorce in 1851 reflected "the commanding influence of nineteenth-century evangelical Christianity in southern legal culture and its outlook on marriage and divorce" (p. 78) rather than any sign that liberal reform was making headway in Virginia.

In the end, the efforts of conservatives to shore up the organic ideal of the household and society failed. With the defeat of the Confederacy and the collapse of slavery, a new social order emerged in Virginia and the rest of the South. This new order had its roots in the accelerating social and economic changes that took place in the 1850s. The major disappointment of Buckley's book is that it fails to push the story of divorce in Virginia beyond 1851. Although the book illuminates much of the antebellum experience, it overlooks the critical years between the end of legislative divorce and the beginning of the Civil War. As a result, we are left wondering about the impact of judicial divorce and its relationship to social change in the 1850s.

PETER W. BARDAGLIO
Ithaca College

SUSANNA DELFINO and MICHELE GILLESPIE, editors. *Neither Lady nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 324. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

This collection of essays self-consciously departs from the dominant trends in antebellum southern women's history by looking at southern women who were not plantation mistresses or slaves. Despite a few exceptions, it is somewhat troubling that a book on the working women of the Old South does not include slave women systematically in its content or analysis. Most of the essays look at unusual groups of southern women such as black and white nuns in the Old South, prostitutes, or other women such as teachers and children's nurses that have hitherto not been the subject of systematic historical inquiry. The rest of the collection, for the most part, contains essays on working-class white women whose history has been virtually hidden in the mainstream historical narratives of the pre-Civil War South.

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While editors Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie ought to be commended for bringing to light the presence of these disparate groups of southern women, their introduction purports to do much more. Delfino and Gillespie make the somewhat ambitious claim that their book will challenge the depiction of southern society as a "prebourgeois agricultural society" (p. 2). And they certainly overreach when they state that this work "establishes the existence of a viable industrial revolution under way in the Old South" (p. 5). Questionable and outdated arguments that an "uneasy alliance" (p. 1) existed between mistresses and slaves and that the Civil War was a confrontation between "slavery and industrial capitalism" (p. 4) also mar the introduction. The latter statement, in fact, contradicts the overall argument of the editors.

The essays are far more modest in their purview. The first two, by James Taylor Carson and Sarah P. Hill, on the women of the southeastern Indian nations, (the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws), skillfully trace their evolving economic and political roles in the context of growing market activity and trade with white settlers. Carson makes a case for the continuing significance of traditional cultures, but Hill concludes that the Cherokees increasingly imitated the institutions of the "dominant European American culture" (p. 49). These two essays seem to stand apart from the rest of the collection.

The most original essays are those that deal with women on the peripheries of the slave economy but that are also sensitive to the issues of slavery and race, which arguably defined southern society before the Civil War to a greater extent than the rise of the factory system and wage work. Stephanie Cole's article on children's nurses presents us with a well-documented account of slaveholders' changing preferences by race for child care in border slave state cities. In an interesting and complex argument, Cole writes that while border state slaveholders preferred white nurses as the antebellum period wore on, they were governed by the class assumptions of slave society. Timothy Lockley's article on black and white women in antebellum Savannah reveals that black women worked longer days than their white counterparts and were excluded from certain professions such as teaching. Like Cole, he shows slaveholders' growing preference for white women for domestic work. Nevertheless, Lockley argues that black and white women sometimes worked together as seamstresses, launderers, and domestics. He also uncovers the near monopoly that black and slave women had on market activity even though white women owned most of the stores in antebellum Savannah. Race, he concludes, was merely one of the markers of female work in antebellum Savannah. E. Susan Barber's provocative and well-researched article on prostitutes and sex workers in Richmond uncovers the existence of several houses of "ill repute" by an imaginative and thorough use of census and court records. Black prostitutes tended to suffer heavier punishments at the hands of the law, including whippings. During the Civil War, Barber shows that prostitution and brothels that serviced the Confederate and Union armies became more visible and posed an open challenge to southern notions of racial purity and sexuality.

The pervasive influence of racial slavery on female work in the Old South is also evident in the religious realm. The white New Orleans Ursuline nuns discussed by Emily Clark, for instance, owned and sold slaves even though they were guided by a stronger religious commitment to the maintenance of slave marriages and families than the average southern slaveholder. Clark presents us with a perhaps too uncritical discussion of these nuns, who, no matter how benevolent, were slaveholders. They also brought substantial dowries to their order and proved to be fairly astute financial managers. By contrast, Diane Batts Morrow's interesting article on the all-black order of the Oblate Sisters of Providence in Baltimore reveals that black nuns worked on a shoe-string budget, brought much smaller dowries, and received far less support from the Catholic Church, which was proslavery as well as slaveholding. They were closely tied to the black community, overseeing a school for black girls and maintaining themselves through sheer hard work, support from African-American Catholics, and a grudging recognition by white Catholics for their success.

The rest of the collection focuses on working white women in the Old South. Stephanie McCurry's essay on yeomen women is culled from her previously published book and argues that these women performed field work. Another essay by Emily Bingham and Penny Richards tells the stories of the three Mordecai sisters who were teachers. Articles by Barbara J. Howe, Bess Beatty, Gillespie, and Delfino look at wage-earning white women across the antebellum south. These essays show white women employed in a wide array of industries from cotton mills and textiles to iron and mining. In the case of Howe's discussion of women in four western Virginia cities, some of these women even owned their own dress making businesses. As she argues, however, wage work and business opportunities for women were most prevalent in cities "where free labor predominated" (p. 141). Beatty's examination of female textile workers reveals that southern mill owners were "guided more by northern advisors and example than they were by southern norms" (p. 251). She also highlights women workers' resistance, challenging the conventional historical picture of mill village paternalism and "docile" female workers in the South. Gillespie's article on Georgia mill workers also argues that while blacks and whites worked together in certain cotton mills and a number of advocates of manufacturing recommended the use of slaves, "the Georgia textile industry as a whole relied far more on white than slave labor" (p. 275).

In contrast, Delfino's look at iron manufacturing in four Upper South states shows it to have been "the

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most racially integrated of all southern industries" (p. 285). Women and hired slaves were employed in iron and mining industries in the Upper South but as Delfino admits, it is not clear how many of her female workers were slaves. Delfino's, Lockley's, Cole's, and Barber's articles reveal the intersections between slave and free, black and white labor in the Old South. If the editors had taken the discussion of an interracial female labor force divided by slavery and race as a point of departure instead of the allegedly industrial nature of the antebellum south, they would have presented us with a more coherent and analytically more persuasive volume. As it now stands, this collection of essays, as so many others, lacks unity by topic or theme.

MANISHA SINHA
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

JACQUELINE BACON. *The Humblest May Stand Forth: Rhetoric, Empowerment, and Abolition*. (Studies in Rhetoric/Communication.) Columbia: University of South Carolina press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 291. $39.95.

This book by Jacqueline Bacon studies the rhetoric of African-American men, African-American women, and white women abolitionists. It is an excellent and important contribution to studies of antebellum print discourse, abolitionist history, and the history and theory of rhetoric. Bacon assumes that a complete account of abolitionism requires more than an analysis of the dominant discourse produced by white men. In her view, this discourse does not merely reflect the circumstances of its privileged authors; it also gives white men undue credit and furthers the misapprehension that women and African Americans were passive recipients of abolitionist aims. Historians have followed suit, attributing the inception of militant abolitionism, for example, to William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* in 1831 rather than to the African-American *Freedom's Journal* launched almost four years earlier.

But the marginalized, convinced that they had to speak out on issues of such importance to their lives, were vocal throughout the course of the movement, although they had to maneuver around the reality of white male dominance. Their rhetoric cannot be studied with tools devised for dominant discourse. The marginalized had to practice various forms of subterfuge; they often addressed different audiences from those of mainstream abolitionism. Exhorting other African Americans, for example, or white women, they frequently incorporated such concerns as self-development and self-improvement, which seemed irrelevant to white male abolitionists but were crucially empowering for African Americans. Bacon's analysis develops a nuanced methodology drawing on the ideas of Kenneth Burke, Sacvan Bercovitch, Cheris Kramarae, Jean Fagan Yellin, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Houston A. Baker, Jr., among others.

The first chapter positions the study amid ongoing work on marginalized abolitionists, describes the social constraints endured by the marginalized, and justifies the book's organization along race and gender lines such that African-American men, African-American women, and white women comprise distinct abolitionist subgroups. The next three chapters study writings by members of the three groups. Some are well known today: Frederick Douglass, David Walker, Lydia Maria Child, Angelina Grimké, Sarah Grimké, Lucretia Mott, Maria Steward, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Jacobs, and Frances Ellen Watkins (later Harper). Others are less familiar. Limiting herself to recorded speeches and nonfiction prose and working through a huge archive of primary sources, Bacon discusses the agency-producing strategies of people struggling to enunciate abolitionist sentiments from the subordinate positions to which they had been consigned. Each group developed its own strategies. African-American men, for example, were more militant than either white or African-American women because manhood was at issue for them as it was not for females. But all groups shared the devices of indirection, mockery, false apologetics, and irony. The book concludes with a quick look at four later examplars of African-American rhetorical agency: Ida B. Wells, Archibald Grimké, Malcolm X, and Audre Lorde.

The texts Bacon uses can be problematic, as she forthrightly concedes. Speeches were often recorded by biased or negligent journalists; some slave narratives were jointly written or even wholly ghost written by white amanuenses. Print representations of first-person utterance were untrustworthy at every social stratum in the nineteenth century; editorial censorship and shaping were commonplace. This was perhaps especially true for African Americans, for whom, at the same time, the significance of sole authorship was especially crucial for claiming dignity and selfhood. Where one might gleefully uncover the signs of Sophia Hawthorne's meddling with Nathaniel's prose, one hesitates to identify multiple hands at work on African-American prose. Still, historians recognize that white women abolitionists put works by Sojourner Truth and Harriet Jacobs into print. The authentic residue of Truth's or Jacobs's words cannot be sifted from the contribution of these white editors. Child said she arranged Jacobs's manuscript chronologically, divided it into titled chapters, solicited additional material about slave mistreatment, eliminated repetition, and changed the ending. She denied having added even fifty words to the manuscript overall. In this confusing situation, the search for the true voice of an individual, a search with an underlying ethos of romantic individualism, does not wholly fit Bacon's own analytic procedures.

White abolitionist women also do not wholly fit into the logic of this study. True, white women were subordinate figures in mainstream American culture (although I think less so and differently than Bacon supposes), but their relation to abolitionism was constitutively unlike that of African Americans. Non-

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abolitionist women like Catharine Beecher and Sarah Josepha Hale did, as Bacon points out, object to the unfeminine aggressiveness of white women abolitionists, but their active support of aggressive women in other domains (for example, women physicians) suggests that abolitionism rather than feminine decorum was their true target. Still, Bacon's discussion of white women's rhetorical abolitionist strategies is probing and useful, as is her book overall.

NINA BAYM
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

ROBERT F. ENGS and RANDALL M. MILLER, editors. *The Birth of the Grand Old Party: The Republicans' First Generation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. x, 202. $46.50.

Illuminating the Republican Party's origins and transformation over twenty years of sectional rancor, bloody civil war, and national reconstruction is a daunting agenda for any single book, let alone a collection of essays. This slim volume on the Republican Party's first generation succeeds because editors Robert F. Engs and Randall M. Miller have enlisted a cast of master historians who are at the top of their craft. The result is an edited volume unusual for its thematic coherence, overall consistency, and accessibility to nonspecialists and students.

In the book's lead essay, Eric Foner traces the evolution of the Republican Party's free-labor ideology from its early emphasis on propertied independence to one of economic self-ownership. By the late 1850s, a majority of northerners had concluded that their free-labor vision of America was threatened by the unchecked spread of slavery and its associated social ethics into the West. The free-labor ideology unified Republicans behind Abraham Lincoln in 1860, Foner argues, and at the same time served as the basis for Reconstruction's greatest accomplishments: equal protection before the law regardless of color (the Fourteenth Amendment) and voting rights for African-American males (the Fifteenth Amendment). With these and other Reconstruction acts, the meaning of freedom in America became inextricably linked to a newly empowered federal state. However, the failure of the party to enact land confiscation clarified the meaning of free labor. The Republicans' concept of free labor came to mean only fair and free competition in the labor market, thereby dooming most former slaves to a lifetime of wage dependency and various forms of tenancy in the rural South. Focusing on the six year lead-up to Lincoln's election, Michael F. Holt presents an alternative interpretation of the Republican Party's early appeal. Emphasizing the plasticity of American politics in these years, Holt sees the Republican Party as a highly fissiparous movement held together by the fear of a tyrannical and grasping class of southern planters. While this interpretation is not necessarily incompatible with Foner's, it does stress what the party of Lincoln stood against rather than what it stood for and may well capture better the dynamic and uneven character of the party's early drawing power.

Turning to the war years, Philip Shaw Paludan argues that in fighting the Civil War, the Republicans enlarged the scale and scope of federal responsibility in the areas of civil rights and national economic development, ultimately drawing the nation's industrial and financial interests closer to the federal government and the party apparatus that controlled it. It was the Civil War, Paludan writes, that moved the Republican Party "from its small-producer, middle-class origins toward becoming the party of big business" (p. 66). Meanwhile, the unprecedented growth of the federal wartime bureaucracy gave the Republicans new sources of patronage to solidify the party's diverse constituency. Mark Neely, Jr., in what is clearly the volume's most provocative essay, claims that a generation of historians have misinterpreted the influence of northern Protestants on the tenor and direction of Republican war aims. Neely finds scant evidence of a conservative shift among northern religious intellectuals and churches. Instead, he argues that the North's Protestant community mobilized behind radical goals and helped to define the war's most noble purposes and outcomes.

In the final chapters, Jean Baker and Brooks Simpson consider the Republican Party's evolution during Reconstruction. Baker examines the definition of citizenship that emerged among congressional Republicans as they grappled with slavery's end. With the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the federal government gave concrete meaning to American citizenship and significantly extended its boundaries. The party's brief commitment to the Freedmen's Bureau, moreover, signaled the early dawn of a modern expansion of citizenship to include federal welfare. However, Baker also emphasizes the limits of the Republican concept of citizenship. Black and white women, despite their increasing activism and close connections to the party, found most Republicans indifferent or hostile toward the suffrage movement. Despite these limitations, Baker contends that Republican Reconstruction marked the genesis of a long-term reorientation in national policy away from individual citizens and toward groups; Americans now started to think in pluralistic rather than individualistic terms about their society and the role of government within it.

Simpson's closing essay recounts the Republicans' abandonment of federal intervention in the South. He describes a fitful and complex process, largely because Republicans continued to rely on the symbolic potency of waving the bloody shirt. Nevertheless, although some erstwhile Republicans remained committed to a federal role in the South, by the early 1870s many more were looking for new directions. Some in the party, known as Liberal Republicans, would lead an ill-fated bolt in 1872, hoping to move the party away from

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Reconstruction issues and toward free trade and civil service reform. Most others came to believe that the key to a long-term Republican majority lay in propitiating the white South and offering a race-neutral program of economic prosperity, particularly pro-creditor monetary policies and economic development projects in the South and West. The panic and subsequent depression of 1873 solidified the dominance of these hard money, big business elements in the party, while the nomination and controversial election of Republican President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876 foreshadowed the end of further federal involvement in the South.

While specialists in this field will recognize most of the arguments presented here, collectively the essays cogently summarize the latest scholarship and suggest new scholarly directions. The book includes a fine narrative overview by the editors as well as a brief afterword by James McPherson that highlights the major historiographical faultlines underlying this complex—and, in years past, frequently heated—subject. The publishers are to be highly commended, moreover, for including nearly fifty illustrations and lithographic reproductions that vividly recapture the politics of this crucial period. Handsome, thoughtful, and accessible, this book deserves a place on everyone's bookshelf.

MARK VOSS-HUBBARD
Eastern Illinois University

PAUL A. CIMBALA and RANDALL M. MILLER, editors. *An Uncommon Time: The Civil War and the Northern Home Front.* (The North's Civil War Series, number 18.) New York: Fordham University Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 362. $45.00.

The essays that Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller have assembled here form a book much stronger than the average collection on the Civil War. The reason for the book's superiority is that many of the essays derive from unpublished dissertations rather than from conference papers and therefore represent the fruits of substantial research and long reflection. Some of the better contributions are now available in full-length books by the authors. This is true, for example, of Melinda Lawson's "Let the Nation Be Your Bank: The Civil War Bond Drives and the Construction of National Patriotism," now published in substance in *Patriot Fires: Forging a New American Nationalism in the Civil War North* (2002). Wherever you can read Lawson's work on this question, do so. Lawson provides an eye-opening appreciation of Jay Cooke's famous Civil War government bond selling drive, which offered a self-interested version of patriotism in contrast with the traditional version emphasizing self-sacrifice. Another good essay, Alice Fahs's "A Thrilling Northern War: Gender, Race, and Sensational Popular War Literature," finds in the pulp writing rather than in the distinguished fiction of the era unconventional roles for African Americans and women. The same territory is now covered in Fahs's *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865* (2001).

Besides war finance, nationalism, and literature, the politics of the era is well served. Five of the twelve essays can best be described as political history. A deeply researched essay by Lex Renda, "'A White Man's State in New England': Race, Party, and Suffrage in Civil War Connecticut," depicts the question of African-American suffrage as a political football in the party contests of Civil War-era Connecticut, a New England state with unusually close party competition for the region. Party leaders therefore had to pay close attention even to tiny dissident movements. Adam I. P. Smith's "Beyond Politics: Patriotism and Partisanship on the Northern Home Front" subtly challenges the conventional wisdom that political party competition in the North aided the war effort. The essay contains many interesting insights. For example, Smith shows that voting carried meanings for personal identity beyond the power to choose government: Union prisoners of war confined in Confederate camps held mock presidential elections to coincide with the one they were prevented from voting in at home. John Syrett's essay on the passage of the Confiscation Acts by Congress is the longest in the book. It is a clearheaded piece of political history, offering a solid description of important legislation that has generally been poorly understood.

Religion is the focus of two essays, one of which, Bryon C. Andreasen's "Civil War Church Trials: Repressing Dissent on the Northern Home Front," describes the heretofore unknown efforts of religious denominations in the Old Northwest to discipline and expel outspoken Democratic preachers from their churches during the war.

There is room in this review only to inform readers of the brightest spots (above) and to consider briefly the overall questions posed by the volume. Oddly, the book includes what might be called a self-review, an afterword by J. Matthew Gallman, who aptly notes the lack of reliance on quantification in most of the articles assembled. In regard to substance rather than method, I would add that not all of the essays exactly fit the theme of the "uncommonness" of the times. For example, Michael F. Conlin's "Joseph Henry's Smithsonian during the Civil War" gives readers a well-written description of Henry's efforts to keep the times at the Smithsonian more like those common before the war, with the institution dedicated to scientific research and not lending itself to invasive and upsetting prowar, abolitionist lecture series. Henry's efforts netted mixed results, but he was trying to maintain the normal routine. In other words, the extent to which life in the North remained unchanged by the Civil War is inadequately considered in the volume as a whole.

The first sentence of the book announces the editors' intention to put together essays that respond to historian Maris Vinovskis's call "to write the social history of the war, especially to discover the ways the

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war affected, and was affected by, the home front" (p. ix). I am not sure that the essays in this book are exactly what social historians have in mind when they make such calls, as they do repeatedly these days. But what *is* present generally makes very good and stimulating reading.

MARK E. NEELY, JR.
Pennsylvania State University

MARK E. NEELY, JR. *The Union Divided: Party Conflict in the Civil War North*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 257. $24.95.

In this insightful and thought-provoking book, Mark E. Neely, Jr., challenges the widely held belief that the persistence of a two-party political system in the North during the Civil War helped bring about the Union victory. The argument that party competition invigorated the North, while a lack of partisan rivalry hurt the South, was made famous by Eric L. McKitrick in 1967. The many historians who have subsequently propounded this "two-party thesis" argue that party competition aided the Union by helping to draw talented men into government, giving state political leaders an incentive to cooperate with the federal government due to their mutual desire to promote party success, and keeping the opposition responsible and manageable by forcing it to present an alternative set of policies to those pursued by the party in power. Neely finds none of these arguments persuasive. He contends instead that political parties did real harm to the Union cause. "The party system itself," he concludes, "made no marked contribution to Union victory" (p. 201).

Several facets of this book are especially impressive. It is full of erudite insights into both the military and political history of the Civil War, insights that even experts on the subject will find new and stimulating. Chapter one, for example, contains a nuanced reading of customhouse politics in New York City. Neely provides the best and clearest explanation yet of why the New York customs collector, Hiram Barney, was so universally hated, and why Abraham Lincoln nonetheless maintained him in office for so long. Chapter three likewise provides a fascinating glimpse into wartime debates concerning the merits of "strategy" versus blind valor and overwhelming force. Union General George B. McClellan justified his slow prosecution of the war on the grounds that he was developing an overall strategy that would ultimately succeed. Once McClellan was relieved of his command and had become the Democratic presidential nominee, the Republican press launched an all-out offensive against both McClellan and strategy. Neely's analysis of the attacks on strategy leave the reader with a much better understanding of how politics can influence military thinking.

Neely concludes that partisan competition, rather than helping the Union, nearly cost it the war by fomenting discontent, provoking wasteful and disruptive partisan quarrels, and undermining morale. He argues that the only political factors that helped the North were the manner in which the Constitution empowered the president during times of war, the Republican Party's domination of the North (which gave opponents of the war little power to prevent its vigorous prosecution), and the radicalization of the Republican Party that resulted from the unexpectedly fierce resistance mustered by the Confederacy.

Although Neely's argument is refreshingly original, it does have some liabilities. One could compile a list of patronage squabbles in the Confederacy just as long as that which Neely presents for the North, suggesting that parties themselves are not necessarily the cause of distracting battles over spoils. Furthermore, comtemporaries' statements do not make compelling evidence that partisan competition is of no value. Republican claims made during the Civil War that partisanship hurt the northern cause are no more credible than nearly identical statements made by John Ashcroft and Donald Rumsfeld during the recent Iraq War.

There are other instances in which Neely's choice of evidence is problematic. His section on how patronage politics hurt the war effort, for example, focuses on a single case, the New York customhouse. Yet as Neely himself admits, the New York case was atypical. Its customs collector was reviled because he pursued a *nonpartisan* appointment policy and thus refused to replace most of the incumbent Democratic placeholders. Perhaps the customhouses were better operated (and therefore did not hinder the war effort) in other major cities where Lincoln's more partisan collectors removed most Democrats from office. In any event, a more thorough look at customhouse politics across the North would have allowed Neely to make a more compelling case for his thesis.

Another small qualm about Neely's book involves the manner in which it is organized. Most of the book is devoted to tearing down McKitrick's two-party thesis; each chapter presents a different flaw in his interpretation, and some readers may find this overwhelmingly negative approach a bit tiresome. Only at the very end does Neely present his alternative point of view. Others will find it hard to believe that there is no value in providing opponents of war a political forum through which to voice their dissent. The effort that some northerners expended organizing antiwar political demonstrations and writing antiwar propaganda might have been devoted instead to blowing up bridges or spying for the enemy had the political system not offered an outlet for dissent. Neely's argument would be more convincing if he at least acknowledged and discussed such possibilities.

These are small quibbles when contrasted with the impressive insights that abound in Neely's book. It is one of the most important works on Civil War politics to appear in many years, and no one who reads it will

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be able to think about the connections between war and politics in quite the same way again.

TYLER ANBINDER
George Washington University

HEATHER COX RICHARDSON. *The Death of Reconstruction: Race, Labor, and Politics in the Post-Civil War North, 1865–1901*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 312. $39.95.

Why did northerners abandon Reconstruction? After years of pursuing a rough equality for the newly freed slaves, why did they walk away and watch in silence as Jim Crow descended on the South? Historians have offered a number of explanations for this abandonment: partisan politics, racism, war weariness, corruption, class needs of planters. But Heather Cox Richardson argues that these explanations, while compelling, are "disparate aspects" (p. xi) of the northern experience. How, she asks, did they fit together? The answer can be found in northerners' adherence to free labor ideology.

This is a big topic, and to make the job manageable, Richardson focuses almost entirely on northern newspapers and opinion makers: she follows the trajectory of the northern discourse about the nation's political economy between 1865 and 1901. Having fought a war for free labor, Republicans were committed to the South's transformation into a free labor society and were drawn to the newly emancipated slaves as ideal free laborers: workmen who "worked hard and skillfully, lived frugally, saved their money, and planned to rise as individuals through their own efforts" (pp. 7–8). These "good" workers, who believed in the harmony of interests between employees and employers, stood in sharp contrast to bad workers: those who allied with the Democratic Party, believed that "polarizing wealth meant the creation of economic classes locked in inevitable conflict" (p. 8), and looked to the federal government for help in solving their problems.

When recalcitrant southern whites interfered with the South's transition to a free labor society, Republicans concluded that the federal government would have to assume an active role in the process. Republicans passed civil rights legislation and the Fourteenth Amendment and then fought for universal male suffrage, all to ensure the protection of the freedmen's economic rights. But Republicans' commitment to black male suffrage evoked Democratic complaints of corruption and empire building, and the freedmen's political activism, viewed in the context of increasing labor unrest in the North, engendered Republican worries that enfranchising black men would "harness the government to the service of disaffected workers, who hoped to confiscate the wealth of others rather than to work their own way to economic success" (p. 82). In South Carolina, a convention attended by ex-Confederates protested new taxes and accused black legislators of plundering property holders, fueling northern concerns. In 1871, Horace Greeley chided "lazy" blacks (p. 99) who were unwilling to work, drawing a parallel between the Paris Commune and the South Carolina freedmen.

Though not all blacks fit this category—Republicans praised those blacks who achieved success in an individualistic fashion—an image of "an uneducated mass of African-American voters pillaging society was one of the most powerful ones of the postwar years" (p. 118). Increasingly, Republicans "read the Northern struggle over political economy into the racial struggles of the South" (p. 94)—including the campaign for a civil rights bill and the 1879 black exodus—and the debate over Reconstruction was recast as a debate over state action, individualism, and the American way of life. By the 1890s, it was clear to northerners that their faith in the freedmen as free laborers had been misplaced, and virtually all black activism had come to symbolize the threat that European-style class conflict posed to American individualism. Thus northerners who hoped to preserve traditional American values accepted black disenfranchisement and came to believe that blacks were "bound by race into permanent semi-barbarism" (p. 224).

On one level, the story that Richardson tells is original and insightful. Setting out to explain how race and class worked together to undermine the northern commitment to Reconstruction, at times—especially in the chapter on South Carolina—she succeeds admirably. The book identifies an important tendency among northerners—the conflation of southern blacks' political activism with northern working-class activism. But in focusing on the Northern discourse about free labor—or, more accurately, the liberal individualism that evolved from that discourse (other strands of free labor followed different trajectories—one strand, for example, informed the labor movement)—this book too often examines that debate independent of its social and political setting. Richardson decontextualizes her subject, and the result is a sometimes skewed or incomplete picture of Reconstruction.

Richardson focuses almost entirely on northern moderates—for whom free labor was the driving force behind Reconstruction—and pays little attention to the radicals, whose vision centered on a national citizenship devoted to equal rights. The reader is left with the impression that Reconstruction was a moderate affair throughout. Racism and southern class interests, which so clearly shaped the dynamic she examines, are also slighted. For example, by the end of the Civil War, a racism informed by economic need had convinced planters in the South that blacks were born servants. During Reconstruction, planters needed the freedmen to work their plantations or the plantation economy would collapse. In fact, along with politically active blacks, the main targets of the Ku Klux Klan were those blacks who achieved even moderate amounts of success. Thus a central component of free labor ideology—social mobility—was largely absent for blacks in the South, and the accusations of indolence that Richardson cites applied to any black

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who resisted work on a plantation in favor of working his own land, however he obtained it. Recurring outbreaks of racial violence in the South also wearied the North and informed the readiness with which northerners abandoned blacks as free laborers—more so than Richardson acknowledges. As Ulysses S. Grant argued in 1874," the whole public are tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South, and . . . the great majority are ready now to condemn any interference on the part of the Government."

Although Richardson acknowledges that the North was racist, she suggests that it was the Republicans' faith in blacks as free laborers, not their racial beliefs, that dictated their actions. Hence Republican acquiescence in black disenfranchisement was driven primarily by the betrayal of this faith. But Richardson overestimates the Republicans' ability to view the freedmen as "abstract figures in a free labor society" (p. 241). As early as 1870, liberal Republicans were invoking racist images of blacks to oppose the annexation of the Dominican Republic, and new theories of scientific racism emerged during this same period. The racism of the prewar years was reinvigorated *before* blacks had time to fail as free laborers, and such racism informed northerners' increasing reluctance to support the egalitarian hopes of the freedmen. All of these factors are important context for a discussion of how northerners understood the failure of blacks as free laborers in the South.

Richardson depicts the actions of the black community largely as northern newspapers presented them; what blacks were actually doing is neglected or misrepresented. For example, Richardson writes that "even some members of the black 'better classes' accepted lynching" (p. 219). It may be that the blacks Richardson cites did not object to lynching, but they are anomalies, at odds with what scholarship in this area suggests: blacks from all classes—Booker T. Washington included—condemned lynching.

Richardson follows the trajectory of northern free-labor ideology and finds in that ideology a compelling explanation for the death of Reconstruction. But her book does not come to terms with the complexities of the period: it elevates the agency of liberal individualism and slights the influence of radicals, racism, southern class interests, and the black community.

MELINDA LAWSON
Union College

DAVID M. SCOBEY. *Empire City: The Making and Meaning of the New York City Landscape*. (Critical Perspectives on the Past.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 340. $40.00.

The most important achievement of David M. Scobey's study of New York city building and city planning in the 1860s and 1870s lies its combination of serious attention to political economy and culture. Equally comfortable with both modes of analysis, the author offers a history of planning in New York that is deeply embedded in the concrete dynamics of the city's growth and in representations of the idea that New York was the "Empire City." Scobey builds on the work of historians who have moved the origins of city planning back from the Progressive era to the third quarter of the nineteenth century, focusing on the group of "bourgeois urbanists" who coalesced around the construction of Central Park. These genteel reformers, downtown elites, and real estate boosters had different specific agendas, Scobey argues, but forged a shared vision of planning that combined "genteel environmental reform with a booster erotics of growth" in the pursuit of "a cityscape that could embody both commerce and civilization, market energy and moral uplift" (p. 10). Thus, the origin of American city planning did not depend on "Progressive ideals of efficiency and expertise" but on "the bourgeois touchstones" of economic boosterism, moral environmentalism, and the civilizing mission of moral stewardship embedded in the idea of the "Empire City" (p. 256). It was a fundamentally Victorian project.

The "imperial" part of Scobey's story rests on repeated identifications of the New York City landscape with the destiny of the United States, even in such parochial efforts as a remonstrance against horse cars on Broadway and Fifth Avenue in 1863: "The appearance of a metropolis will always be accepted as an index of the national character" (p. 33). Ten years later, New York's real estate journal urged its constituency to "prepare the city for its imperial destiny" (p. 161), and Scobey adds many other examples of this rhetoric as well as architectural examples such as Second Empire commercial palaces (particularly the *Herald* and Western Union buildings) and Cornelius Vanderbilt's Grand Central Depot. " 'Elevated' railroads and 'central' parks," Scobey explains, "were props in a world-historical drama" (p. 160). These aspirations reflected several realities of New York's development. It had become "the organizing center of American capitalism" (p. 23) and the center of the nation's print culture. Its elite, which included half of the millionaires in the United States, considered itself the nation's upper class and projected this image through the cultural capital centered in the city. The streets were filthy and clogged with traffic, the docks were rotting, two-thirds of the population lived in squalid tenements, and class conflict erupted in major riots. To these contradictions, reformers, civic elites, and real estate boosters responded by dreaming that an American Haussmann would be able to mobilize enough power to replace boom-town squalor with a more appropriately imperial order and grandeur.

Booster rhetoric and booster projects were common in many American cities in this era. Scobey locates New York's uniqueness in its concentrated power over the nation's commerce and communication, but his wonderful chapter on the consolidation of its real estate industry notices another peculiar characteristic of New York. Only two percent of its population, or

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one-tenth of households, owned any real estate. This was not a city of working-class homeowners, as other American cities were. Scobey emphasizes the fragmentation of New York's real estate market—"for those who could afford to play, the real-estate economy diffused the rights, powers, and rewards of city building across a grid of small projects and divided interests" (p. 129)—but this market was not a cross-class arena. Perhaps New York's real estate owners could be mobilized under the banner of "imperial" boosterism in part because they were so similar to one another.

In the end, of course, Victorian bourgeois urbanism was a failure. Grand plans for upper Manhattan and the outer boroughs collapsed with the fall of the Tweed Ring and the onset of the depression of the mid-1870s. The confidence of the imperial planning vision was replaced by an elite politics of retrenchment and "muscular laissez-faire liberalism" (p. 260). Tweed had been one candidate for the Haussman role. Others left New York (Frederick Law Olmsted), faded into obscurity (real estate promoter William R. Martin), or switched to the retrenchment side of city-building debates (Andrew Haswell Green, famous as the "reform" comptroller).

Scobey makes many striking observations. Upper Manhattan was filled with "tenement rows broken off in midblock, villas rising up amid vacant lots with the apparent randomness of chess pieces in an endgame" (p. 119). The elevated railway used Pullman-style cars with plush seats and "sumptuous appointments" to offer riders "a workaday version of the fantasy of luxury and adventure associated with high-class travel" (p. 168). The book is also lavishly illustrated with images that Scobey analyzes in consistently interesting ways. Temple University Press might be faulted for making complicated images too small, but this is generally a handsome book as well as a very illuminating one.

ROBIN L. EINHORN
University of California, Berkeley

THOMAS BENDER. *The Unfinished City: New York and the Metropolitan Idea*. New York: New Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 287. $30.00.

"The metropolitan idea," as Thomas Bender views it, is challenging, subtle, malleable, diffuse. What, he asks in this flowing, conversational collection of fourteen revised essays, "is the character of metropolitan culture in this city, and how has it changed over two hundred years?" (p. vii). The term "metropolitan," he points out, can imply setting a definitive national standard. Yet New York "resist[s] . . . metropolitan completion"; it "will not be Paris" (p. xi). He sees it as one of New York's characteristics to change, yet a changing city cannot easily define a standard. Bender's book uses these big questions about New York to provide a distinctive perspective on some of the city's notable places, and on some of its most notable artists and writers.

Bender divides his essays into three groups: on the "icons" of Washington Square, Brooklyn Bridge, and the New York skyline; on "art, intellect, and public culture"; and on "politics." This book is most striking for its artfully interwoven commentaries on painters Thomas Cole, Samuel F. B. Morse, George Bellows, Georgia O'Keefe, Joseph Stella, Joseph Cornell, John Sloan, Marcel Duchamp, Florine Stettheimer, John Marin, and Andy Warhol; on photographers Alfred Steiglitz, Berenice Abbott, Charles Sheeler, and Paul Strand; on city planners and critics Frederick Law Olmsted, Montgomery Schuyler, Lewis Mumford, and Jane Jacobs, and on the Beaux Arts tradition in New York; on writers Walt Whitman, Henry James, Edith Wharton, and Theodore Dreiser; and on dance pioneers George Balanchine and Lincoln Kirstein. It is also striking for the way Bender relates the figures in this canon to notions of cities and politics that he finds in writings of Thomas Jefferson, Alexis de Tocqueville, Charles Beard, John Dewey, Frederick C. Howe, Woodrow Wilson, and Herbert Croly.

Bender's essays are deeply engaged and committed to his project of reasserting a general public role for historians. How, he asks, can New York and its artists reconcile wealth and dissent, change and authority, market and democracy, democracy and expertise, hospitality to the avant-garde and national leadership? To what extent can New York play an authoritative national culture-defining role in a federal republic whose capital is located elsewhere and whose political and social cultures resist centralization? How did New York's changing physical form reflect and shape notions of class, of community, of identity, or support its national aspirations?

These are large questions. Many of the most arresting observations in this book derive, however, from close reading of particulars, notably the physical particulars and artistic representations of selected bits of New York City streetscape and architecture. Bender notes that crowded tenement districts and leafy residential neighborhoods appeared at the same time, in response to the same forces—and those forces included newly gendered ideas about home life as well as economic and population pressures. He vividly describes how, at key dates, Union Square, Central Park, and Forty-Second Street presented spectacles more complex and more comprehensive than most contemporaries allowed themselves to acknowledge. He argues that the architects of New York's skyscrapers deserve praise for their attention to urbanistic context, not blame for backward-looking design ideas. He shows how changing notions of identity and the body long relegated the paintings of Cornell and Stettheimer to marginality, then made them important.

In many passages of this book, Bender uses language that ascribes to New York City unity, a mind, and a will. This language emphasizes moral values and the city's people as a whole. But on occasion it leaves an

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argument obscure: who, exactly, held which aspirations? A different book might have considered the roles of New York City's great religious and human rights institutions, foundations, research hospitals, and investment houses in seeking a metropolitan and national culture; another book might have taken political priority setting as relevant to political culture. This one offers instead an urbane reading of some of the city's most interesting and provocative art, architecture, and literature.

DAVID C. HAMMACK
Case Western Reserve University

MAUREEN A. FLANAGAN. *Seeing With Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871–1933*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 319. $35.00.

Maureen A. Flanagan argues that, for six decades, activist women of Chicago consistently advanced ideas for their city's development that differed radically from plans pushed by Chicago's men. Properly wary of writing in generalizations about "women," Flanagan limits her thesis instead to "activist women," whom she defines as active members, often leaders, of women's organizations. She insists that, despite differences of race, class, and ethnicity, the bonds of womanhood generally triumphed, meaning that women activists frequently shared a common female vision of what their city should be. Women's goals for Chicago went largely unrealized, she says, because Chicago men dismissed them out of hand. Even during the heyday of the Progressive era, men of Progressive bent, often seen as women's "natural allies," failed to share the female vision for the City Livable, according to Flanagan. Holding out for the City Profitable instead, masculine individualism carried the day.

Flanagan begins with the unremarkable response of a few women's groups to the Chicago fire. She intuits a causal relationship between the women's frustrating post-fire experiences and the proliferation of women's organizations. Each subsequent chapter depicts activist women growing bolder in their efforts to confront municipal problems. Female teachers' blatantly unfair treatment particularly energized activist women, who reacted against ideology that held women teachers unfit to influence financial or administrative policies that routinely underpaid them. Activists joined teachers in a campaign to place women on school boards and enact needed school reforms, but although ninety-eight percent of the teachers were women, this proposal ran headlong into "men's hostility and determination to retain control over the schools" (p. 63). Skirmishes over public schools predictably led women into other avenues of urban reform.

Problems besetting late nineteenth-century Chicago were enormous. Accordingly, an early women's group took as its motto "Nothing human is alien to me" and pursued a broad agenda. Women's organizations (which Flanagan introduces in a sometimes overwhelming welter of acronyms) tackled issues of housing, garbage collection, fire prevention, school reform, development of the lake front, labor unrest, and more. Meticulous attention to detail allows Flanagan to demonstrate that, in case after case, women had a different but equally valid vision of urban reform from that of male progressives. Although men urged better housing because it would ease labor tensions and make more contented workers, they rejected municipal building inspectors because this reform violated private property rights. Women not only pushed for better housing but also believed in government regulation via inspections. Men favored the franchise system of garbage collection, whereby the city awarded a contract to a company which then charged fees for service. Women wanted the city to assume the duty of garbage collection, but the premier male Progressive organization vigorously opposed this. Women wanted compulsory fire drills in factories, while men again cited private property rights. As Chicago sought to develop lake front acreage, men wanted parking lots for private automobiles while women pressed for extension of public transit lines to insure democratic access to the beaches.

In a familiar pattern, Chicago women discovered the sad limits of their well-meaning efforts. Their careful fact gathering, mass meetings to educate citizens about problems, and pressure on officials to act led nowhere. Finding their recommendations ignored prompted Chicago women to work for the ballot, the tool with which they could apply direct influence to the political process. When the legislature approved partial woman suffrage (for municipal and federal but not state elections) in 1913, women hoped to elect officials who shared their vision of urban reform. But staunch male resistance to admitting women into the inner circles of political parties where slates of candidates were determined meant that women often saw only Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee on their ballots. Flanagan notes that the experience of another group of new voters differed markedly. Black men, although not embraced fully as political equals, nevertheless were slated by their parties for offices in Cook County and did win election. They became part of the system early on. Women's experience was entirely different because men's reaction to their enfranchisement was different and more hostile.

Flanagan faults urban historians for taking male ideas about city development in Chicago as the norm, and she faults women's historians for devaluing the work of white, middle-class women because of their presumed biases. Where, for example, one women's historian decries an elite woman for referring to striking women as "girls," Flanagan strikes a refreshing note by pointing out that "striking female workers at this time were in fact very young women, and using the word 'girls' may signify nothing more than age difference" (p. 150). She stresses the originality of activist women's proposals and maintains that their occasional cross-class and cross-race contacts must be acknowl-

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edged for what they were, which was far ahead of the times. While careful not to claim more cooperation than she can prove, she demonstrates that women's coalitions and intermittent efforts across lines of ethnicity, class, and race stood in stark distinction to male Progressives' approach.

The index is well made. Photographs included are small and not terribly enlightening; maps are also too small to be read easily. Tables illustrating voter registration and electoral behavior would have been useful, since too many numbers in the text rapidly turn the prose turgid in sections. Flanagan's readiness to accept a view of the South as unrelievedly racist and devoid of interracial contact and cooperation among women's groups is disappointing, since the works of Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore and others challenge such assumptions. Appendixes contain a terse prosopography of 128 women activists, valuable information that surely was difficult to unearth. However, a few humanizing details in the text, taken from the primary sources Flanagan consulted, could have illustrated the quotidian realities of these women's struggles and would have made for entertaining reading. In researching the story of the competing visions of urban Chicago, Flanagan surely encountered some captivating personalities. One wishes she had given her readers a glimpse of them in this otherwise solid, deeply researched, and rewarding book.

PAMELA TYLER
North Carolina State University

THOMAS WINTER. *Making Men, Making Class: The YMCA and Workingmen, 1877–1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 208. Cloth $40.00, paper $17.00.

Thomas Winter's focused analysis of the interactions between the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the railroad and industrial workers to whom it ministered makes a significant contribution to the literature on gender and identity formation in Gilded Age and Progressive-era America. This meticulously researched, beautifully written, theoretically informed, and intelligently argued case study of the YMCA and workingmen reveals, as few have before, that cultural constructions of middle-class manhood relied on articulations of class. By introducing the concept of class, Winter makes an important contribution to the growing literature on the redefinition of masculinity at the turn of the century that has, until now, focused on gender and race.

The mission and structure of the YMCA make it an ideal lens through which to view the intersection of gender and class. Not only did this national organization systematically develop and distribute prescriptive models for manhood to members, but it also reified societal divisions by providing segregated programs for white and blue-collar workers. Founded in London in 1844 as an evangelical voluntary association for young men, the organization took root in the United States in the 1850s, serving clerks and white-collar mercantile employees. In the years after the Civil War, under the leadership of a newly professionalized staff of "secretaries" and with the support of local and national businessmen, the YMCA undertook separate programming for railroad workers. By the turn of the century, it had begun to work with industrial employees in both rural and urban settings. This shift in attention from clerks to manual workers was as much a response to growing conflict between labor and capital as a broadening of the original evangelical mission. The goal, according to Winter, was to create "a society in which pious, moral men, regardless of social standing, would self-sacrificingly cooperate in the production of industrial wealth, while bringing about the Kingdom of God on Earth" (p. 14).

This vision required a redefinition of manhood for all parties concerned: employers, workers, and YMCA officials. Winter argues that the YMCA adapted the antebellum concepts of the patriarchal household and separate spheres to help manage the corporate "family," creating a dynamic in which the employer, assisted by the YMCA secretary, helped the worker build manhood in return for his loyalty and labor. In this system, the established crafts-based masculine model of independence and self-sufficiency was replaced with one of deference and self-sacrifice. Owners were required to temper an individualistic entrepreneurial ethic with a patrician noblesse oblige. As intermediaries, YMCA secretaries defined a new type of middle-class masculinity that brought reform out of the private feminine world of the home and into a male, public arena. In the process of uplifting workingmen, YMCA leaders fused service, self-assertion, and the control of other men into a socially conscious alternative to the better-known "strenuous life" model of masculinity championed by Theodore Roosevelt. This complex strategy bound workers and managers together as men but perpetuated class difference. Unlike the older model of patriarchal supervision, apprenticeship, this new "workplace domesticity," as Winter terms it, did not offer laborers the hope of eventual autonomy. They, like those who managed them, occupied fixed roles in the social processes of the production and reproduction of labor.

Winter constructs his narrative with excellent archival work, historiographical rigor, and theoretical sophistication. Pulling together many types of sources, he carefully delineates the actions and motivations of corporate officials, their employees, and YMCA leaders on both the national and local levels. His chapter on the reception of the YMCA's programs by workingmen is especially impressive in this regard, citing incidents that suggest the complexity of the responses to the YMCA's prescriptions, from resistance to cooption to compliance. He very carefully situates his work in relation to his predecessors and forces us to rethink established ideas about gender and class. One of the more significant contributions he makes in this regard is the analysis of the vocabulary used to describe the

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qualities of manhood. Critiquing the interpretations of Jackson Lears, Joan Shelley Rubin, and others, Winter suggests that the antebellum terms character and personality be viewed in dynamic relationship rather than in chronological relation to the shift between a producer and consumer society. Influenced by Pierre Bordieu, he argues that YMCA secretaries redefined these terms to "construct meaning, organize cultural practices, and establish a collective identity" as middle-class men (p. 146).

This assignment of terms on the basis of class is compelling based on the evidence provided, but it needs to be compared to the language applied by the YMCA to its white-collar members in urban centers to be truly convincing. There is evidence that the term character was used by the YMCA to describe aspiring businessmen as well as factory workers, suggesting that the discourse on manhood was not as clearly defined along class lines as Winter claims. Another area that requires further exploration is the role of space in the construction of identity. Winter, citing Jürgen Habermas, stresses the importance of space to the new, professional managerial class in defining itself and its social purpose, but with the exception of an excellent discussion of the ways in which working-class members asserted autonomy through the appropriation and even destruction of YMCA buildings, he does not suggest how class and gender identity was enacted through the design, and more importantly, use, of space. Such an interpretation would be an especially appropriate complement to his linguistic analysis, helping him to achieve his goal of findingowHow "methodological balance between concerns with language and discourse . . . and more concrete historical materialist "structures of determination" (p. 154). These are, however, merely suggestions that would enrich an excellent piece of scholarship that deserves a wide readership in the field of American history.

PAULA LUPKIN
Washington University

JANE H. HUNTER. *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 478. $40.00.

Jane H. Hunter's comprehensive analysis of the changing experiences and outlooks of young, middle-class American women in the decades following the Civil War could be viewed as a prequel to the existing literature on the so-called New Woman, whose lifestyle challenged the conventions of gender and elicited widespread cultural criticism in late nineteenth-century America. Based on her meticulous examination of a range of rich, evocative sources primarily representative of the urban Northeast—diaries, letters, high school newspapers, novels, and prescriptive literature—Hunter discerns the emergence of a "new girl" whose activities and ideas define her as a precursor to the New Woman.

Unlike their earlier counterparts, who were expected to devote themselves to the domestic duties assigned to proper young ladies, late Victorian adolescent girls were essentially freed from housework. They read extensively, kept detailed, reflective diaries, and played the piano. These pursuits fostered the expression of selfhood and individuality and the development of a sense of personal taste, but they did not disrupt the equilibrium of the middle-class family. At the same time, growing numbers of middle-class girls were enrolled in coeducational secondary schools, where they consistently outnumbered boys and typically overshadowed them academically. Throughout the nineteenth century, academies and boarding schools had exposed young women to influences beyond those of home and family and fostered intense female friendships that could threaten the supremacy of maternal authority. However, Hunter argues that exposure to the more rigorous educational experiences and the distinctively new peer culture that characterized late nineteenth-century coeducational high schools challenged traditional female culture and gender roles in different and more fundamental ways.

One of the book's most interesting chapters explores the peer culture and the gender politics of such institutions through the analysis of student newspapers. While these publications document the continuing existence of traditional gender relations, they also reveal that girls participated actively in "gender sparring" (pp. 226–28) and that they pursued and gained acceptance in extracurricular activities (including editorial positions on school newspapers) and recognition for superior academic performance. Coeducational high schools were definitely not gender free, but they offered more gender equality than any other institution of the period. Hunter argues that they provided an environment in which young women discovered "their brains," and thus "their full humanity" (p. 260). In this environment, female students developed a generational sense of identity with their male peers. Previous studies have located the rise of a powerful peer culture at the high school level in the 1920s, but Hunter's evidence indicates that such a culture influenced both female and male students considerably earlier.

A subsequent chapter demonstrates that secondary education influenced girls' experiences in the larger world as well. Walking to and from school with friends brought them out in the public space where they might stop at a bakery or a soda fountain, flirt with male classmates, or shop just for fun. Thus, like their peers who worked in factories or stores, "schoolgirls" participated fully in the growing consumer culture of the late nineteenth century. While the frequent presence of middle-class young women in the streets of towns and cities no longer compromised their reputations as it might have earlier, it was duly noted by social commentators who voiced concerns about their conduct and about the apparent loss of parental control over daughters.

High school graduation ceremonies recognized girls' academic achievements, but they also marked a diffi-

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cult transition from near equality with boys to a more passive status of eligibility for marriage. Young women might experience a "crisis of suspended agency" (p. 342) and feelings of intense ambivalence as they confronted the contrast between their school years and the dominant cultural expectations for the next stage of their lives. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, many "new girls" articulated vocational aspirations as well as plans for marriage and family and structured their lives accordingly. Hunter concludes that the prevalent historical image of the New Woman as a college-educated, single, professional individual is incomplete and should be revised to incorporate women who exercised personal agency to make different, but equally autonomous, choices.

This volume is densely written, and occasionally the detail and complexity of its presentation almost overwhelm the reader. At the same time, the author offers a plethora of interesting insights into the lives of late nineteenth-century young women. Her prodigious research has produced a multifaceted picture of the interior and exterior experiences that replaced the "young lady" of the Victorian era with a "new girl." The diverse array of examples, which includes extended excerpts from unusually complete diaries, offers persuasive evidence of the impact of these experiences on adolescent girls' constructions of selfhood and individuality. Numerous well-chosen illustrations also enhance this thorough, nuanced treatment of an important aspect of nineteenth-century women's history that has not been adequately addressed before.

LINDA W. ROSENZWEIG
Chatham College

SUZANNE SINKE. *Dutch Immigrant Women in the United States, 1880–1920.* (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 295. $39.95.

"The history of immigrant women was a stepchild of both immigration history and women's history for many years" (p. 221). In her study of Dutch immigrant women, Suzanne Sinke makes this observation and, more importantly, contributes to changing that scholarly situation. This book both expands our knowledge about a particular group of women and enhances our ability to think well about the interaction of ethnicity and race, class, age, and religion in the experience of female immigrants. Drawing on an array of sources that includes published materials, collections of personal letters, and interviews recorded in the 1960s, Sinke describes her subjects' lives in a series of concentric circles beginning with family ties. In each arena of life, her portrayal is shaped by her conceptualization of the women's activities as social reproduction.

As Sinke employs this sociological term, it combines "kinship work, housework, status enhancement, and the work of caring and integration" (p. 3). In short, social reproduction is the work that produces and sustains social life from the family, to the neighborhood, to the congregation, and beyond. The radical physical and cultural disruptions of immigration rendered social reproduction an urgent task. Those doing the work had both to determine what to do and to do it in new circumstances, in which traditional patterns were not embedded and familiar resources, especially those of extended family, were not available. Although men were not excluded from this work, in the period under study and among the Dutch and Dutch Americans, women had greater responsibility for "making a home."

Chronology (1880–1920) and Protestant affiliation determine which Dutch-American women are included in this study. Their residences spread across the United States. Sinke includes women from several communities, notably Dutch settlements in Patterson, New Jersey; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; Iowa; California; and the Pacific Northwest. Some attention is given to variations between urban and rural areas. Particularly in the brief chapter focused on religion, differences between the Reformed Church and the Christian Reformed Church are discussed. These are not the variables of greatest interest here, however; Sinke's analysis directs the reader's attention to other factors in Dutch women's experience, including age and proximity to family members.

For example, she demonstrates that a woman's age at the time of her immigration played a key role in determining her contact with American life and her response to the opportunities it offered for change. Young, unmarried women had the broadest access to American life—more than other women and more than men. In contrast married women, especially those with dependent children, were least likely to encounter the full range of "newness" in the new world. Confronted by American standards of dress and diet, all women had to make physical adjustments. Because younger women were more likely than older women to learn English well, they were also more likely to make adjustments in world view. In her chapter on language and world view, Sinke explores the correspondence between the more fluid social structure women encountered in the United States and American English's absence of grammatical gender and status distinctions. Vignettes about specific women, both typical and more unusual ones, illustrate the differences among women's experiences.

Dutch-American women's homemaking is instructively compared to the situation in the Netherlands and with the experience of other European-American immigrant women. Sinke notes several times that similarities between the Netherlands and the United States combined with generally positive American perceptions of the Dutch as "white" to give Dutch-American women an advantage in their adjustments to their new home. Her rich portrayal of life in the Netherlands allows valuable transatlantic comparisons. In the chapter on sickness and death, she identifies differences between the Netherlands and the United States at both ends of the life cycle: child

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bearing and care for the elderly. The insights this chapter offers into an arena of life seldom discussed in similar studies suggests that further investigations of health and illness would enrich our understanding of immigrant experience and ethnic communities.

This fine book is especially valuable to students of Dutch-American history, of women's history, and of immigration. Sinke's comparative interests and attention to class and the interplay of ethnicity and race make her study useful to others with similar concerns. Those interested primarily in religion will find its treatment somewhat superficial. Finally, Sinke's description of changes taking place in the Netherlands during this period can contribute to our understanding of the ways in which immigration and Americanization intertwined with modernization.

L. DeAne Lagerquist
St. Olaf College

Gregory J. Downey. *Telegraph Messenger Boys: Labor, Technology, and Geography, 1850–1950*. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xiv, 242. Cloth $85.00, paper $23.95.

Gregory J. Downey illuminates a major component of American telegraphy hitherto neglected by historians of technology and geographers alike: the thousands of boys who delivered millions of telegrams in these hundred years of peak traffic. As Downey notes, historians of technology have traditionally concentrated on those who invented wire communications technologies, developed them into corporate communications systems, managed telegraph operators and clerks, and operated telegraphs. More recently, historians have examined class, ethnic, and gender dimensions of American telegraphy. Meanwhile geographers have focused on the effects of telegraph networks on the size of cities and the speed of business.

Applying the familiar concept of the "social construction" of the world. Downey studies messenger boys as overlooked but key players in the evolution of these material technologies: senders and receivers, printers and repeaters, lines and poles, typewriters and pneumatic tubes. He simultaneously analyzes the urban spaces that partly shaped those machines' uses. Yet messengers enjoyed unique working spaces: separate from closely supervised production floors and, except while awaiting their next assignments, literally outside of telegraph offices. Messengers commonly interacted with customers as sole representatives of their entire companies.

Downey successfully integrates two separate scholarly fields. Like other historians of technology who now follow many labor and business historians, he recognizes that studying telegraphy "from the bottom up" reveals much unobtainable from studying it from only the corporate suite down. Downey utilizes diverse sources like employment records, work regulations, union contracts, management minutes, employee interviews, memoirs, advertisements, newspaper stories, and dime novels.

Where in most other industrialized countries of this period the telegraph was nationalized within the government-run post office, the United States allowed for private telegraph companies. For intercity telegrams, this invariably meant Western Union (WU). For intracity telegrams, there was no such national monopoly, but within the nation's most populated area—New York City—and several other big cities, this usually meant the American District Telegraph Company (ADT) after 1872. A year earlier, Edward Calahan had invented "call-boxes," small mechanical units that ADT installed in its subscribers' residences and wired to their closest district office. Yet these respective virtual monopolies still required operators, clerks, and, not least, messengers. Because of their youth, inexperience, low pay, and harsh treatment, messengers' high employee turnover created an "uneven geography" (p. 9) of telegraph service.

Although, as Downey observes, telegraph companies characteristically bragged about "annihilating space through time," in truth the physical entrapment of all company employees save the messengers inside city and town office buildings simultaneously annihilated "time through space" (p. 10). Despite messengers' relative freedom, however, WU imposed numbers, not names, for identifying them, while ADT adopted military drills, ranks, and uniforms to instill discipline.

Because boys were at once cheaper and more subservient than men, and because girls would be unsafe in many urban areas, boys constituted the vast majority of messengers. Yet some girls *were* hired, especially in safer rural areas and when, due to strikes or wars, boys were unavailable. Eventually all messengers' identity as workers merged with the identity of their messages: labor and product became one. In turn, the original "yellow blank" telegram, used in the nineteenth century as an all-purpose "information commodity" (p. 10) for general audiences, became in the twentieth century a specialized means used either to target business and advertising or to inform individuals of important events—but no longer necessarily bad tidings.

Gradually, Progressive labor reforms and compulsory education requirements vastly diminished the ranks of messenger boys. Ironically, as Downey concludes, there is a new generation of messenger boys in many American and other cities that, despite instantaneous high-tech communications systems, handles items that cannot he faxed or e-mailed or sent by other electronic means. There are some interesting parallels between these two information networks and two information labor forces. Ironically, too, where WU finally went bankrupt in the early 1990s—and had already changed its corporate name to avoid embarrassment—ADT has become a very profitable international security organization.

Downey writes clearly but makes some surprising errors: using "between" instead of "among" for three

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or more items (pp. 11, 127); "centered around" rather than "on" and "upon" (p. 59); and "it's" in place of "it" (p. 205). In addition, Downer cites (p. 83) an 1887 statement by Western Union president William Orton, who (p. 135) is later said to have died in 1878! Nevertheless, this is a pioneering and insightful study—and a model of interdisciplinary scholarship—that deserves a wide readership.

HOWARD P. SEGAL
University of Maine

SUSAN J. MATT. *Keeping Up with the Joneses: Envy in American Consumer Society, 1890–1930*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. 233. $35.00.

Whether in celebration or lament, consumerism is usually associated with the gratification of material desires at the expense of other goals and goods. Yet consumer capitalism, as Susan J. Matt's provocative study of envy reminds us, depends not just on the popular pursuit of commodified happiness but also on the equally widespread experience of relative deprivation. It feeds on frustrated ambitions and unmet expectations, on the pervasive feeling of falling short. Such abiding dissatisfaction, as Matt describes it, created the basic psychic bond uniting the mass consumer society that came of age in the early decades of the twentieth century. Much as the labor market reduced the infinite variety of occupations to the common denominator of money wages, so the burgeoning consumer market converted the jumble of alienation, insecurity, and self-doubt besetting modern Americans into the common coin of envy, the emotional basis of what Thorstein Veblen called "pecuniary emulation."

Drawing on memoirs, magazine articles, and sociological studies as well as reading between the lines of advertising copy, Matt gracefully evokes the pathos of consumerism in its formative years: office workers stalled in dead-end jobs, housewives ashamed of plain homes and homely clothes, farm families watching the train of urban progress pass them by. While mass production brought the luxuries of the rich (or at least cheap facsimiles) within reach of the middle class, Matt explains, retailers, advertisers, and moviemakers ensured that Americans' ends rose faster than their means, creating an ever-growing reserve army of the unfulfilled. Like competition among businesses, competition among consumers was liable to spiral out of control, imperiling the stability of the system it increasingly sustained. Without careful management, Matt notes, envy could undermine the hierarchical structure and corporate spirit of modern business.

Apart from a revealing consideration of what might be called white-collar blues, however, this book is less concerned with the domestication or socialization of envy than with the changing moral status of the emotion itself. In the years between the great depression of the 1890s and the greater depression of the 1930s, according to Matt, envy gradually gained newfound acceptance and approval as the basis of economic prosperity, but only after overcoming spirited resistance from traditional detractors in the pulpit and the press. Matt situates the hard-won triumph of envy within the devaluation of labor and self-sacrifice in favor of leisure and self-fulfillment familiar to historians of consumer culture. But she describes that broader transformation simplistically as a movement from a moralistic, religiously rooted defense of fixed caste and class lines to a materialistic, secular belief in social mobility and equal opportunity.

Matt thus elides the deeply materialistic and egalitarian dimensions of earlier American social thought, with its ideal of a single-class society of self-employed freeholders. Conversely, she slights the ways in which consumerism rested on an essentially spiritual legitimation of economic inequality, or of what a fashion-conscious consumer whom she quotes called the "feeling of equality" (p. 21) rather than the substance of it. In a related vein, Matt argues that the cornucopia of consumer goods, by providing more than enough for all to share, rendered individuals' desire for them less and less inherently divisive and therefore more and more socially acceptable. But this comforting analysis overlooks both the vastly unequal distribution of wealth and income in the new economy and the alternative, more incendiary forms of envy against which consumerism came to be defined.

"Envy," Matt aptly writes, "was a response to the unrealized promise of equality" (p. 6), or "the feeling that an individual experiences when another possesses what he or she desires" (p. 188). Yet like the early twentieth-century journalists and academics on whom she draws, Matt largely sets aside the broad spectrum of contemporary collective, political responses to social inequality and the envy it inspired. Populism, socialism, and trade unionism are quickly dismissed as expressions of "resentful envy" (p. 67) that supposedly found relatively scant support within the middle class, which is her exclusive subject. Feminism and civil rights are left out entirely along with the role of mass consumption no less than mass envy in such Progressive-era movements.

If egalitarian aspirations came to be commonly identified with a purely individual pursuit of consumer goods in this period, Matt does not attempt to explain how such an apolitical ideal eclipsed rival visions of economic democracy. Nevertheless, in highlighting the significance of envy as both the raw mental material and the ultimate product of consumer capitalism, this boldly argued book creatively extends the history of emotions pioneered by Peter N. Stearns and other scholars.

JEFFREY SKLANSKY
Oregon State University

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN. *Hearts of Darkness: Wellsprings of a Southern Literary Tradition*. (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.) Ba-

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ton Rouge: Louisiana State Lectures in Southern History.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2003. Pp. xxvi, 235. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

In recent years, Bertram Wyatt-Brown has turned increasingly to southern literature (especially works by the Percy family but those of other writers as well), and he has focused in particular on depression and melancholy in southern writers. Here he continues that pursuit, dealing largely with nineteenth-century writers (although Ellen Glasgow and Willa Cather bring the discussion into the twentieth). He is interested in the psychological states of individual writers, the manner in which art and melancholy are linked as well as in the larger condition of a culture.

Wyatt-Brown acknowledges that a predisposition to depression is probably characteristic of writers in any time and place, but he also believes that "some nations or regions may be more intensely affected by a pervasive sense of fatalism, nostalgia, and dread of change" (p. xxii)—all of which he ties to depression—than others, and the U.S. South has been one of those regions. Depression, of course, is in part a matter of genetics and internal factors, but it was also, Wyatt-Brown contends, something of a culturally conditioned affliction in the antebellum South, a slave society fostering fear and guilt, a culture of honor giving rise to feelings of shame and personal inadequacy, an unhealthful semitropical region ravaged by disease, early death ("at a much greater rate than elsewhere on the continent" [p. xxii]), and resulting feelings of loss and abandonment among surviving family members. Add to these factors, after 1865, a society of defeat and failure and a continual inward turning, and one has further ingredients in a formula for despair and depression. The propensity for depression within certain cultures can be overstated, of course, but I believe Wyatt-Brown is on to something. All of the writers he treats—Edgar Allan Poe, William Gilmore Simms, Kate Chopin, Glasgow, and Cather (born and bred in Virginia before moving to Nebraska), as well as an astounding number of minor but culturally significant writers—fought depression and, in certain cases, succumbed to it. For some (Poe, Chopin) more than others, gloom and melancholy ("the hypos," as Ishmael says in *Moby Dick*) play a major part in their literary production as well.

Although his chapters on the "manic-depressive" Poe and the snake-bit Simms (his mother, three of his brothers, and eight of his own children died early, and his father half abandoned him) are sound, Wyatt-Brown's most original treatments are perhaps those of minor, now nearly forgotten writers. In a chapter on antebellum firebrands Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, James Hammond, and Edmund Ruffin and their "death-haunted southern past" (p. 48), he observes that "One of the most curious aspects of southern literary history is the frequency with which a reactionary temperament was paired with depression during the pre-Civil War era" (p. 35–36).

An even more fascinating chapter is that on "The English Malady in Southern Poetry, 1830–1880," in which Wyatt-Brown treats a half-dozen minor poets who (and whose poetry) were "enveloped in the misery of heavy depression" (p. 96), melancholia in poetry being the "English malady" of the late eighteenth century. Of course, in the nineteenth-century United States, mournful, morbid poetry belonged not solely to the South: Mark Twain's Emmaline Grangerford, author of the immortal "Ode to Stephen Dowling Bots, Dec'd," may have resided in Kentucky, but in her poem Twain satirized general American and not just southern taste. Wyatt-Brown may be right, however, that southern poets had a particularly virulent case of the English malady. He discusses, among other figures, Mirabeau Lamar of Texas, who "took sorrow as his subject" (p. 98); Thomas Holley Chivers of Georgia, author of "threnodies on unrequited or betrayed love, loss of children, and other sorrows" (p. 114); Father Ryan of Alabama, lachrymose Civil War poet; and Theodore O'Hara of Kentucky, author of the once-famous "Bivouac of the Dead." But his most interesting discussion is perhaps that of half-southern, half-poet Abraham Lincoln, whose deep fits of depression are well known and whose Gettysburg Address, Wyatt-Brown contends, "could be" seen as "a poem that came from the greatest nineteenth century exemplar of southern melancholy" (p. 107).

After a chapter on O. Henry and another on Joel Chandler Harris and Twain (whose dark side is well known), Wyatt-Brown concludes with treatments of Chopin and Constance Fenimore Woolson, who he argues, on the whole successfully, were "the first 'moderns' of southern literature" (p. 181), as well as Cather and Glasgow, who carried the modernist project even further. All four were, in some measure, exiles who were no strangers to the dark night of the soul: Cather and Glasgow were afflicted by frequent depressions, Chopin was given to melancholy, and Woolson (whose inclusion as a southern writer is somewhat questionable) was a suicide. Following the lead of Carol Manning and Anne Goodwyn Jones, among other scholars, Wyatt-Brown sees these writers as constituting a "Female Southern Renaissance."

Wyatt-Brown's book is a greatly expanded version of the Fleming Lectures, given at Louisiana State University, a series notable for bold and original scholarship. His work follows admirably in that tradition. Some of his assumptions or conclusions (Woolson as southerner, the Gettysburg Address as great melancholy poem) are arguable, but the book as a whole makes for stimulating reading and opens up areas of inquiry that deserve further examination.

FRED HOBSON
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

CLIFFORD M. KUHN. *Contesting the New South Order: The 1914–1915 Strike at Atlanta's Fulton Mills*. Chapel

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Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 302. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Only a minority of Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills employees joined the strike that erupted in its Atlanta, Georgia, complex on May 20, 1914. Yet that strike garnered enormous attention, both from contemporaries and from recent labor historians. During its time, it attracted federal investigators and national newspaper coverage, and, in the past decade, the strike has been the subject of not one but two detailed histories. Clifford M. Kuhn's effort to situate the Fulton Mills' strike "within the larger milieu of the urban South during the Progressive Era" (p. 5) follows hard on the heels of a book on the same subject by Gary M. Fink, *The Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills Strike of 1914–1915: Espionage, Labor Conflict, and New South Industrial Relations* (1993). One might understandably wonder whether a small strike that resulted in such a clear defeat for textile workers' union efforts merits such close scrutiny. Yet most readers of Kuhn's meticulously researched volume will easily understand why the Fulton strike continues to attract attention today as it did in its time.

As Kuhn's account makes abundantly clear, the context in which this strike unfolded guaranteed its importance. The Fulton Mills strike was the most significant uprising in the southern textile industry at a time when labor agitation was erupting in northern centers such as Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Paterson, New Jersey. Moreover, the Atlanta strike followed shortly after a bitter miners' strike garnered national attention when militiamen fired on and torched their tent encampment in Ludlow, Colorado, drawing an investigation by the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations (USCIR). The possibility that the USCIR might publicly investigate the Fulton Mills strike helped to place it in the national spotlight until divisions within the commission and opposition from powerful Georgia politicians thwarted a public inquiry.

As Kuhn also shows, strike passions were stirred by antisemitism and explosive gender issues. The strike erupted in mills run by a Jewish manufacturer, Oscar Elsas, during the very months when white Atlantans were being whipped into a frenzy by the infamous Leo Frank case, which resulted in the public lynching of a Jewish factory supervisor for allegedly raping and murdering a female employee. In this poisonous atmosphere, the Fulton Mills strikers turned for help to a Christian organization, the Men and Religion Forward Movement, whose members were not above indulging in antisemitic rhetoric. Meanwhile, an outspoken woman, O. Delight Smith, helped to lead the Fulton strikers, flouting the conventions of ladylike behavior during a time when considerable anxiety apparently existed about whether factory work was undermining traditional womanhood.

These factors help explain why the Fulton strike was so notorious, yet it is unlikely that it would have drawn so much attention from historians had the company not preserved an extraordinary cache of records that shed unusual light on its internal workings. These records, unearthed in 1985, include not only the memos and correspondence of Fulton Mills executives, but also voluminous reports from scores of labor spies employed during the period of the strike. Kuhn uses these sources effectively to shed light on the motivations of strikers and nonstrikers, detail divisions within the union's ranks, and illuminate the strategies pursued by managers to defeat the walkout and prevent its recurrence. These rich sources help Kuhn demonstrate how all parties in the Fulton strike "lied and exaggerated to advance their case" (p. 219).

This is a balanced and insightful account. Still, it fails to deliver on its grandest promises. Kuhn proposes to "explicitly link the Fulton situation to southern industrialization and labor-management relations more generally" (p. 6). Yet the volume says little about how mill managers and workers in the cotton mills of the piedmont region viewed the Fulton strike, if it concerned them at all. Nor does one get a sense of how the failed strike may have affected the subsequent strategy of the United Textile Workers union in the South. Kuhn also promises to "challenge, and perhaps reshape some of the generalizations about textile workers" (p. 5) that predominate in the scholarship. Yet, as rich as his sources are, they do not allow him to penetrate far enough into the nearly opaque world of the mill operatives to succeed in this task.

As a result, Kuhn's treatment does not revise our understanding of southern textile workers or supplant Fink's book on the Fulton strike. Yet Kuhn does usefully supplement Fink's account, deepening our understanding of an important moment in U.S. labor history. That he does so in an accessible and engaging narrative makes this book all the more welcome as a contribution to the literature of American workers' struggles.

JOSEPH A. MCCARTIN
Georgetown University

ROBERT F. MARTIN. *Hero of the Heartland: Billy Sunday and the Transformation of American Society, 1862–1935*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 163. $27.95.

Billy Sunday was the Billy Graham of his day, drawing large crowds to revival meetings, upholding a few clear moral ideals, and calling on sinners to repent and become converted Christians. This book presents the evangelist as an embodiment of some of the most important tensions of his times. Often sympathetic to his topic, Robert F. Martin's work gives us a detailed life story of an important character in American religious life.

The author speculates that Sunday's childhood left him with feelings of insecurity he could never overcome. Born in Iowa during the Civil War, Sunday never knew his soldier father, suffered through his mother's unfortunate marriages to men who drank

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heavily and failed economically, and had to spend time in orphanages. Martin argues that the maturing Sunday, who started earning his own living in his mid-teens, seemed to idealize a high standard for family life and personal behavior that his own family never met.

Sunday was famous, among other things, for being an evangelist who had once played professional baseball. Martin tells a short but effective story of Sunday's baseball career as a fast but light-hitting outfielder, and he offers an attractive discussion of Sunday's use of baseball for dramatic metaphors, stories, and warnings against immoral behavior. As importantly, Martin displays how being a baseball player helped Sunday gain the attention of people who might otherwise have seen him as just another evangelist.

The author argues that Sunday embodied American and especially midwestern ideals of hard work, individual responsibility, sobriety, and gender distinctions based on female moral superiority and male physicality. Sunday showed no problems benefiting materially from his success and seemed to take considerable pleasure in being a celebrity, as long as he furthered the cause of Christianity. Rather than faulting Sunday for being overly simplistic, Martin portrays him as someone who thought personal morality should be straightforward and decent, outside the complexity and supposed sophistication of urban life, and believed Christian theology should be clear, without the complications common to professional theologians.

One of Martin's clearest improvements on past scholarship is his discussion of Sunday's understanding of how to apply religion to questions of social life. He rejects notions that Sunday, as an evangelist trying to save souls, was only interested in personal religion. Instead, Sunday believed that in a Christian America, legislatures would pass prohibition laws, churches and preachers would call for moral regeneration, and everyone would look out for everyone else. Sunday offered the murky notion of "progressive orthodoxy" to suggest that he wanted to emphasize personal salvation but also to take note of society's potential to elevate people. Martin agrees with the conventional picture that Sunday did not challenge the emerging structure of corporate power.

The book has some weaknesses. First, the author stays away from the crucial issue of how Sunday, as an evangelist, tried to inspire new conversions and new commitments to moral living. Christian thinkers for centuries have been arguing about how the conversion experience takes place and what roles preaching and church life should play in it. Sunday was not an original thinker, but he was a successful evangelist, and a biography needs to show how he understood and tried to accomplish the most important thing in his life.

Second, some arguments work better than others. The emphasis on Sunday's concern for public morality and the general well being of society works better than the author's argument that Sunday felt driven by insecurities stemming from a troubled childhood. Martin never really proves that Sunday was, as he asserts, a complex individual. Finally, this book's subtitle probably claims too much for a short biography. Martin could have done more to discuss Sunday's occasional nativist sentiments and to deal with topics like labor and race that Sunday seems to have avoided.

Despite these issues, the book is an appealing short volume that helps explain an individual more often caricatured than understood.

TED OWNBY
University of Mississippi

DONALD J. PISANI. *Water and American Government: The Reclamation Bureau, National Water Policy, and the West, 1902–1935*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 394. $49.95.

This volume is the second in a series of three by Donald J. Pisani that began with *To Reclaim a Divided West: Water, Law, and Public Policy, 1848–1902* (1992); the author plans a concluding work taking the story from the New Deal to the 1980s. As the titles and dates suggest, Pisani has undertaken the most comprehensive survey to date of water policy in the United States. Focusing on the reclamation era, this volume is informative, painstaking, firmly rooted in archival sources, by turns both analytical and descriptive: in short, altogether reliable. It is a book for specialists in the field of water policy, yet copious detail is also relieved by engaging case study comparisons and cogent political interpretations. Underpinning the whole is a bold demonstration of how an ideologically inspired and politically constructed policy regime results in abject failure judged by standards of equity and efficiency.

Prevailing scholarship interprets federal reclamation and related programs for western development at the turn of the twentieth century as exemplars of a new and progressive era dedicated to administrative reform and personified in Teddy Roosevelt. Pisansi demurs. "The thesis of this book is simple. Historians have portrayed federal reclamation as a sharp break with the past—as a symbol of modernization . . . But it makes more sense to see the Reclamation Act of 1902 and the events that followed as evidence of the persistence of 'frontier America' . . . the nineteenth-century vision of an America built on the striving of autonomous individuals, the agricultural model of 1800 or 1850" (p. xi). Reclamation policy envisioned a set of infrastructure works that would help to resettle on small farms a growing urban immigrant population, convert the arid West into economically productive homesteads, civilize the Indians, and imbue settlers with imagined rural virtues. Reclamation was recommended as the solution to a variety of America's social problems (slums and tenements, wage slavery, political radicalism) by "Back to the Land" and "Homecroft" movements whose reform ideals were publicized in the official *Reclamation Record*. Behind such ideological justification, however, lurked another diverse set of political motivations that drove policy and administration: western competition for federal spending on

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water works to match eastern investment in ports and canals; Roosevelt's plan to capture the new and growing western states for the Republican Party; a professional movement of "new engineers" ready to bring technical solutions to the problems of government; and speculators intent on grabbing up improved government land to hold, lease to a growing class of tenants, and resell for a publicly subsidized profit. The Reclamation Service embodied a welter of conflicting agendas, a complex blend of planning idealism, political calculation, and profit motive.

How, then, did federal reclamation become simultaneously "the boldest public-works scheme ever undertaken in the United States [and] a failed dream" (p. xvi)? Pisani's book develops compelling answers to this question. The Reclamation Act itself was flawed. Political considerations written into the law required that fifty-one percent of the funds for reclamation works raised through the sale of public lands in a given state be spent in the same state, whether or not cost-effective projects existed there. Dams and canals were distributed as patronage. Government engineers were compromised in the ability to select projects on technical grounds. No soil analyses were performed, for example, to determine whether land that would be irrigated had the potential to support commercial crops. Once undertaken, projects proved far more costly than originally estimated, and the prescribed means for recovering costs (beneficiary payments, more land sales, taxes on improved lands) failed to meet expectations. Small farmers required material support in addition to regional irrigation systems: "laterals" to feed their fields, farm roads, market centers, and technical assistance. Few succeeded owing simply to their inclusion within the ambit of reclamation works. Indeed, ideological justifications aside, federal reclamation benefited very few of the landless and poor. It did stimulate land speculation, driving up prices where irrigation combined with fertile soil and market access and generally leading to greater concentration of ownership. When bestowed on Indian reservations, reclamation improved lands that were subsequently sold to whites while increasing the costs and reducing the size of Indian holdings. In the end, government works effectively reclaimed a relatively small amount of land by contrast to the efforts of private land, power, and canal companies. By the 1920s, costly reclamation projects moved ahead in the West despite a growing surplus of arable land in other regions. When the depression arrived, Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal administration recast the Reclamation Service as an unabashed jobs program and showcased projects like Boulder Dam as symbols of hope.

Pisani draws from this experience a number of lessons about the consequences of ill-considered efforts to dominate nature, promote social engineering, or maintain centralized control over public policies that rely on local conditions and collaboration. He ends by drawing a provocative parallel between his study and James C. Scott's *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (1998), quoting Scott to the effect that both are "making a case against an imperial or hegemonic planning mentality that excludes the necessary role of local knowledge and know-how" (p. 295). In abundant detail necessarily excluded from this short review, Pisani identifies a good deal of local knowledge among Indians, dirt farmers, canal diggers, dam builders, and the occasional clear-eyed legislator that might have informed an alternative history.

JOHN WALTON
University of California, Davis

THEODORE KORNWEIBEL, JR. *"Investigate Everything": Federal Efforts to Compel Black Loyalty during World War I*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 323. $39.95.

Contemporary events make Theodore Kornweibel, Jr.'s examination of the U.S. government's responses to concerns about domestic security during a time of external threat particularly important. Kornweibel focuses on how the government reacted to concerns about the possibility that African Americans would undermine the World War I mobilization against Germany because of their dissatisfaction with race relations at home—or, in the eyes of some government officials, because of the submissive nature of African Americans.

After an introduction to the bureaucratic structure of the government's investigatory apparatus, Kornweibel examines how the investigating agencies responded to fears and rumors of German infiltration of African-American communities, primarily in the South, and to failures by African-American men to register for the draft. The middle part of the book deals with investigations and prosecutions, mostly abortive, of prominent African-American publications and peace churches. Kornweibel then turns to investigations of aliens and potential spies who were somehow connected to the African-American community, concluding with a chapter on the army intelligence service and its role in promoting loyalty at training camps for African-American recruits.

Kornweibel organizes his narrative around themes of race and civil liberties, with an undercurrent of interest in bureaucracy. Along the way he tells numerous interesting stories. Some are simply paragraphs about what happened to African Americans who got caught up in the government's investigations. The most engaging seems rather tangential to the book's major concerns, but the story of the Dutch scientist—or pornographer—Herman Moens certainly keeps the reader's attention. Moens came under federal scrutiny because he hung out with prominent African Americans and seemed to be overly sympathetic to the German cause. The Moens inquiry rapidly shifted from subversion and espionage to pornography, however. In

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the end, Moens returned to the Netherlands with his reputation damaged but without having been convicted of anything.

Kornweibel summarizes his view on the government's actions: "Intent on curbing any dissent that might undermine national unity, it was willing to use the war as a pretext for blunting African-American militancy and for reinforcing white supremacy" (p. 36). The material he presents suggests that bureaucracy rather than race or civil liberties mattered most in structuring the government's actions, although the effects, perhaps unintended, of bureaucratic dynamics may have been to reinforce racial hierarchy.

Kornweibel recounts case after case in which African Americans were investigated and then let off with no more than the experience of having been investigated to take with them, or detained and then released. As Kornweibel occasionally notes, government officials had some responsibility to look into rumors of subversion and sabotage, and to determine whether white fears of African-American disloyalty were justified. Far more often than not, the investigators opened files, then closed them soon after concluding that the white fears were exaggerated. On Kornweibel's evidence, in many instances the subjects of the inquiries may not even have known that the government was looking into their activities.

Particularly in cases involving publications that had been questioned, government officials did interview the publishers or editors. Even here, adverse action rarely resulted. Kornweibel observes that someone visited by a government agent who threatened, even only implicitly, that prosecution might occur if the publication did not clean up its act might feel intimidated. Yet, it seems, the strongest characterization of what happened as a result of this government "intimidation" is that editorial policies sometimes shifted from mildly "not antiwar" to moderately prowar.

Probably the strongest impression Kornweibel leaves is how responsible government officials were. Particularly in Washington, D.C., the heads of the investigating bureaucracies understood that public fear was often exaggerated and that they had to be concerned about respecting the limits—at the time, relatively few—that the First Admendment placed on their activities. What Kornweibel describes are bureaucracies stumbling around trying to figure out what to do in conditions of real uncertainty, doing their best to resolve uncertainties without overly intruding on First Amendment values as then understood, with department heads trying, not always successfully, to keep agents in the field from going too far. With respect to both race and civil liberties, Kornweibel shows bureaucracies that were at worst indifferent to questions of racial justice and, perhaps surprisingly, actually reasonably sensitive to First Amendment values as then understood by the courts.

Yet Kornweibel properly concludes by noting that the institutions created to deal with national security concerns in World War I, which performed imperfectly but reasonably well, remained in place after the war ended and became the tools of the postwar Red Scare, when the conditions justifying investigations were quite different. We could do worse than reflect on the implications of Kornweibel's study for the development of national security policy today.

MARK TUSHNET
Georgetown University Law Center

CARRIE BROWN. *Rosie's Mom: Forgotten Women Workers of the First World War.* Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 240. $35.00.

Carrie Brown's illustrated narrative provides a close view of women industrial workers during the first great war of the twentieth century. Written more for a general audience than an academic one, it uses a large number of compelling pictures along with vivid descriptions of work processes, discussions of the hazards and rewards of nontraditional work for women, and some biographical vignettes to examine this significant chapter in American women's labor history. Brown worries that these women workers have been forgotten largely because they have never received the kind of iconic representation in popular culture associated with World War II's "Rosie the Riveter" and seeks to balance the scales with her book.

For academics this is a familiar tale well told. Brown describes the work lives of American women workers in the years before the Great War, focusing on the immigrant backgrounds of many, the labor struggles of this period, and the workers' relationships with Progressive-era women. She then offers a close examination of women employed in various defense industries and manufacturing centers, primarily located in the urban northeast. Finally, she documents the social and political dynamics that promoted women's expulsion from their steady and lucrative wartime jobs, including the hostility of male coworkers and their unions, employer decisions, and the actions of a federal government more concerned with fostering labor stability than with workplace equity.

Brown does an especially good job of describing workplace environments and the labor processes in which women engaged before and during the war. In a Pittsburgh food processing plant, for example, women stood at a conveyor belt for ten hours a day dropping one piece of pork into each can as it passed. In some wartime industries, black women "split open hogs' heads and removed the brains" (p. 87), while in others they pulled heavy wagons loaded with freight between railroad cars and freight houses. Brown's descriptions make the tedium, the physical processes, the hazards, and the costs to the workers clear and graphic.

The book also describes women workers' relationships to women reformers, thereby also illuminating the connections of each group to government policies and politics. Through much of the book, Brown's treatment of the reformers tends to be somewhat romanticized. She treats the women of the Women's

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Trade Union League (WTUL), for example, as unproblematic protectors of the interests of their working-class sisters. When she examines the interactions between women reformers working for the federal government and women workers during and after the war, however, she unearths tensions between the bureaucrats' assumptions and the workers' needs. In particular, middle-class women's desire to "protect" women from work they considered too arduous or dangerous, including night work, harmed women who needed those jobs and found them no harder than the "women's work" they had done before the war.

Women workers and reformers agreed, however, on women's need for wage equity. Together they confronted opposition from employers, some unions, and male officials in the federal government who did not share their view on the importance of basing pay on the job rather than on the gender of the worker doing the job. Although the Women in Industry Service, which was established as part of the Department of Labor during the war, tried to get the War Labor Board to incorporate equal pay into its agreements with industry, it did not generally succeed.

This book does offer some means for internationalizing U. S. women's labor history. Brown intersperses the narrative of women's work lives with brief discussions of the state of the world war, highlighting the international context of the workers' lives. A global phenomenon, immigration created an American workforce with perspectives and commitments that stretched beyond the borders of this nation. Many women workers were responsible for assisting in the support not only of dependents in this country but of relatives abroad as well. Once the war started, immigration virtually stopped, opening up industrial jobs for African Americans in the north. Brown notes that when Mary Anderson and Mary Van Kleeck took jobs with the Woman's Branch of the Ordnance Department of the U.S. Army, they "were the first women to do anything more than clerical or janitorial work in the War Department" (p. 112).

Because of its compelling stories, its strong visual appeal, and its analytical possibilities, Brown's study might work well with students. The book, however, does not attempt to address the historical scholarship related to its topic in a direct fashion and draws from a relatively limited part of that literature.

KAREN ANDERSON
University of Arizona

LU ANN JONES. *Mama Learned Us to Work: Farm Women in the New South*. (Studies in Rural Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. pp. xiv, 250. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Lu Ann Jones's book is a multifaceted portrayal of southern farm women, both black and white, during the first half of the twentieth century. Jones is motivated by the need to remedy the historical invisibility of twentieth-century southern farm women, who, in her words, have "remained hidden in plain sight" (p. 2), and by her more personal desire to understand better her late mother's experiences as a farm wife in rural North Carolina. The book succeeds at both levels, primarily because the texture of its oral histories and Jones's adroit use of other sources allow her to explore the interplay of broad social and economic forces of change with the more personal realities of life on the farm.

As her title suggests, Jones's primary focus is on rural women as producers and contributors to the household economy. Southern farm women produced for the market as well as for their families, but, in contrast to the big cash crops of the region, those efforts left less of a paper trail of historical evidence. Still, their more modest trade in eggs, butter, and chickens, as well as other domestically produced foodstuffs, often made a critical difference to the welfare of southern farm families, especially during the Great Depression or when the husband drank too much. In the aggregate, farm women in the Carolinas received over $33 million for their products in 1929, more than ten percent of the value of the grains, cotton, and tobacco raised by their men.

Southern farm women traded or sold their products to neighbors, local merchants, and itinerant peddlers and sales agents, and they proved to be quite astute in the ways of the market. Eggs were either sold or fed to the family, depending on the price, and rarer winter eggs, which commanded a premium, typically went to market. In the cash-poor rural South, farm women sometimes accepted payment in Octagon soap wrappers, which they then redeemed for dishes and other premiums at the store in town. This was particularly significant for black women, who accumulated these wrappers through their work as laundresses. Instead of the country store, which was a decidedly male preserve and often not accessible to women who did not have transportation, farm wives traded their products and skillfully bargained for many of their consumer goods with peddlers, or the slightly more upscale travelling salesmen of the W. T. Rawleigh Company and the J. R. Watkins Medical Company, who continued to be a feature of southern rural society well into the twentieth century.

Typically, farm women exercised control over the money that they made and were much more willing than their husbands to use it for small luxuries for their children. After Jessie Felkner's father said that he had no money for it, her mother sold some of her hens to buy Jessie's class ring for high school graduation. In the 1930s, Hatty Young sold eggs to buy a pair of baby shoes with tiny ribbons that she admired—shoes that were worn by a number of her children before being bronzed and consigned to a place of honor in the household. As Jones puts it, "commodities like tobacco and cotton were the bricks of the southern farm economy, but the products of women's labor were often the mortar that held it together" (p. 79).

Eventually, poultry ceased being part of southern

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farm women's domain as it became a more significant commodity and changes in technology and transportation led to more rationalized and centralized production. Although this defeminization of agriculture repeats earlier patterns for other crops in other regions, especially dairying in the northeast, Jones argues that such a telescoped view ignores the critical period of transition when women were the principal innovators in the development of the new industry. Southern women initially shaped these new modes of production because southern men continued to regard chickens as women's work and refused to enter the hen house until increased demand during World War II provided them with the ideological and economic wherewithal to change their minds.

In all of these endeavors, southern farm women were encouraged and assisted by home demonstration agents sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Jones devotes two chapters to the importance of such rural reform efforts and the experiences of both white and black home demonstration agents. The story of the black reformers is particularly telling, as they were caught between the indifference and even hostility of the white officials who controlled funds and supervised their programs and the suspicions and grinding poverty of their rural black clients. Their many small victories in the field and the cautious instances of interracial cooperation with white home demonstration agents faintly foreshadow a new social order that would emerge later in the century. With the exception of this separate chapter on black home agents, however, Jones typically discusses examples of black and white farm women's experiences side by side throughout her narrative, integrating their histories in her text in contrast to the segregated world they actually lived in.

One could quibble that the experiences recounted here are weighted more heavily toward the Upper South than the Delta, toward white farm families than black, and, perhaps, toward the kinds of middling folk who would take advantage of a home demonstration agent's offerings. These qualifications, however, are more than ameliorated by the richness and nuance of what Jones does offer.

HAL S. BARRON
Harvey Mudd College and *Claremont Graduate University*

MICHAEL JOHNSTON GRANT. *Down and Out on the Family Farm: Rural Rehabilitation in the Great Plains, 1929–1945*. (Our Sustainable Future, number 15.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Pp. x, 232. $39.95.

Michael Johnston Grant studies the New Deal's rural rehabilitation programs in the four Plains states of Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota. What, he asks, did these programs mean for the thousands of farmers eking out a living in the depression? Why did they fail to lift them out of a grim, near-subsistence life and into the ranks of middle-class farm owners?

Grant identifies two groups of vulnerable farmers. One was made up of the region's "borderline" farmers who, with small farms, depleted soils, heavy debts, and little equipment, grossed less than $1,000 a year. Tenant farmers were the second. For some renters, tenancy was a way to avoid mortgage burdens and maintain mobility, but in general it meant poverty and insecurity. Even before the 1930s, these farmers were struggling to stay in farming because of the competitive pressures to expand the scale of mechanized wheat and grain farming in the Great Plains. The brutal price declines and environmental disasters of the 1930s reduced them to a miserable struggle for survival.

New Deal assistance began with emergency relief and credit programs. As the number of recipients grew, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration initiated a rural rehabilitation program in 1934 in hopes of curbing rural dependency on direct relief. The Resettlement Administration (RA) absorbed these programs in 1935, and then the Farm Security Administration (FSA) followed in 1937. The programs supplied grants and low-interest loans supervised by farm and home management specialists who tried to change farming and domestic practices. A major emphasis was to shift small farmers away from the precarious cash grain markets to balanced or diversified farming that emphasized livestock production and home-produced food. Until 1938, the main focus of rural rehabilitation was simply keeping borderline farmers solvent and working on farms. The Resettlement Administration, Grant writes, operated as a "catch-all rural welfare office" (p. 109).

Rural rehabilitation was beset with conflicting aims. It sought to sustain low-income clients while also transforming them into farm entrepreneurs. When, in the late 1930s, the FSA focused on turning clients into successful farmers, limited funds and a small staff forced it to limit assistance to those farmers most likely to repay loans. This left, however, about 130,000 families dependent on either local relief or the Works Progress Administration. Its emphasis on diversified farming also conflicted with the realities of plains agriculture and the ambitions and values of plains farmers. Most farmers, even the borderline farmers, embraced the region's commercial values and yearned to increase the size of their farms in order to raise more wheat at lower costs. The FSA's strategy of diversified farming was at odds with these hopes.

Rural rehabilitation achieved a mixed record. Many FSA clients were simply substituting FSA loans for older debts. They were "farming in place" (p. 156), while more commercially oriented farmers were expanding their operations and able to profit from improved prices with the onset of World War II. Still, Grant believes that in the short run the programs were a "godsend" (p. 157) that kept farm families fed, housed, clothed, and their farms running. From a long-term perspective, their success was less clear

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because rural rehabilitation could not turn poor farmers into operators capable of keeping pace with agriculture's accelerating scale.

Grant tells the familiar story of how the conservative attack on the New Deal destroyed the FSA, but he does not see the rural poor of the Great Plains as victims of an oppressive capitalism or greedy interest groups. Instead, they were undercapitalized, unproductive, and relatively inefficient farmers trying to succeed in cash grain farming at a time when mechanization was forcing producers to increase the scale of their operations and render them dangerously dependent on unstable markets and a precarious environment. The "actual culprits," he argues, were the farmers, the environment, and the markets, "and the way they played off each other during the 1930s" (p. 8). Very likely, he argues, no government program or economic system could have made "small-scale agriculture viable on the plains" (p. 9).

This is a well-researched and carefully argued case study of New Deal efforts to come to terms with rural poverty. Grant suggests the formidable obstacles rural rehabilitation faced, and in doing so he provides an excellent contribution to the literature on rural America in the 1930s.

DAVID E. HAMILTON
University of Kentucky

JULIA L. FOULKES. *Modern Bodies: Dance and American Modernism from Martha Graham to Alvin Ailey*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 257. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

Julia L. Foulkes describes the efforts of modern American dancers in the 1920s and 1930s to break free from the classical ballet tradition. Foulkes illustrates the development of modern dance and analyzes political and social issues, particularly left-wing causes, taken up by a number of choreographers. Her interest is in creative decision making by pioneers of modern American dance, including Isadora Duncan, Edna Guy, Doris Humphrey, Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, Helen Tamiris, Asadata Dafora, Katherine Dunham, Martha Graham, and Alvin Ailey.

Foulkes maintains that during the early twentieth century, "White women, African American men and women, and gay men created in modern dance a malleable art form within which they might re-imagine conventional social roles" (p. 6). These three groups—white women, blacks, and gay men—used their bodies expressively in order to create a new aesthetic. Foulkes credits Duncan with the first major innovation, the rejection of ballet. Following Duncan's lead was Graham, who discarded many of the prevailing social norms that had weighed heavily upon women of talent who aspired "to embody abstract ideas of individualism, heritage, and collectivity" (p. 49). From Graham, Foulkes turns her attention to Dunham, who led the way for Pearl Primus and other black female modern dancers.

Dunham combined choreography with anthropological fieldwork dealing with the evolution of African dance. She confronted prejudices directed against African Americans with an infusion of deliberate attention to heritage and racial pride. She would become representative of her race, which, according to Foulkes "provoked some discomfort among black critics" because she "revealed that sexual allure was a component in measuring racial authenticity" (pp. 75–76). As Foulkes points out, Dunham's creativity was spawned not only in the ambience of racial prejudice but among other prejudices as well.

Among gay men, Foulkes takes note of Shawn, who contributed significantly to the development of modern choreography. In the 1920s and 1930s, Shawn promoted all-male dance companies that fostered an idealized depiction of homosexuality. Shawn's choreography asserted what Foulkes calls an "emboldened masculinity" (p. 88); limp wrists and other effeminize gestures were eschewed. Instead, his choreography emphasized athleticism and the virtues of physical labor. The focus of Shawn's dances challenged stereotypical assumptions about gay men. However, Foulkes hastens to point out that Shawn's visible identification with the bohemian lifestyle of New York City's Greenwich Village "further substantiated the coded association of the arts with male homosexuality" (p. 102). Still, Shawn's dancers stressed heightened virility, which became associated with an American style of dance symbolic of American "potency."

Foulkes next turns her attention to left-wing dancers who sought affiliation with the working class. Tamiris, for example, began to form dance companies during the 1920s and 1930s that explicitly focused on "working-class battles for better wages, conditions, and recognition" (pp. 106–17). Foulkes sometimes emphasizes the connection between Jewish women and modern radical dancers excessively, noting twice, for instance, that "Tamiris and other Jewish women from the Lower East Side" (pp. 106, 127) were the leading left-wing dancers of their era. However, Foulkes astutely links the rise of modern dance in the 1930s with the concomitant rise of Jewish intellectual centers such as New York's Henry Street Settlement and the Ninety-Second Street YMCA.

In the two chapters leading up to the conclusion, Foulkes examines, among others, choreographers Humphrey and Primus. She also returns to Tamiris, whose 1937 dance creation, *How Long Brethren*, expressed opposition to racism and would become the choreographer's greatest success. Foulkes praises Tamiris's work, albeit cautiously, emphasizing her commitment to radical social change, but she also notes that the production lacked African-American dancers. Tamiris's "leftist political stance" as well as her "background as a daughter of poor Jewish immigrants" supplied the requisite radical credibility, but Foulkes nonetheless alleges that *How Long Brethren*

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"perpetuated racial prejudice in its absence of black dancers and its use of white women to symbolize African Americans" (p. 145).

Foulkes raises important points about the decline of left-wing politics in American dance. During the early post-World War II era, the United States assimilated modern dance as a propaganda weapon against the Soviet Union. Modern American dancers began their return to ballet, creating a unique style that served as a cultural weapon in Cold War politics. American ballet, which stressed self-expression and individuality as opposed to Russia's ensemble-collective style, dominated the international ballet scene. The unfortunate consequence of this, Foulkes maintains, was the demise of the "disparate, experimental, and confrontational style of modern dance" (p. 179). This book is a compelling and significant contribution to the study of radical politics and modern American dance.

DAVID KRASNER
Yale University

ELIZABETH FRANCIS. *The Secret Treachery of Words: Feminism and Modernism in America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2002. Pp. xxx, 197. Cloth $52.95, paper $18.95.

Elizabeth Francis presents complex and nuanced portrayals of dancer Isadora Duncan and three American writers: Margaret Anderson, Floyd Dell, and Josephine Herbst. The title of the book implies that, despite their faith in the power of speech to enunciate new feminist visions of social change, each of these intellectuals' celebrated words "contained a hidden dimension that limited such transgressions" (p. xxi).

In the introduction, Francis challenges the reader as she darts between questions about how to name feminist modernists, modern feminism, the relationship between modernism and mass culture, and the debates on the nature, purpose, and implications of modernism. Still, the intellectual portraits she paints mostly achieve her main goal: to demonstrate that "efforts to change the representation and lived conditions of gender were embedded in the power dynamics of dominance and marginality. Feminist modernism was both marginalized in history and complicit with the dynamic itself" (p. xxiii). Francis provides a fascinating account on how "modernism" writ large betrayed and obscured both feminism and feminism's contributions to modernism. For decades the contributions of Duncan, Anderson, Dell, and Herbst have gone largely unrecognized. Because of the alternative lifestyles and socialist communities, Anderson, Dell, and Herbst remain overshadowed by authors considered more "acceptable," such as Theodore Dreiser, Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Edith Wharton.

On Duncan, Francis points out a striking contradiction between the dancer's seemingly limitless liberation of woman's body from all kinds of Victorian inhibitions and her contemptuous, startling racism and parochial outlook on jazz, which bespoke an incredible exclusivity. Francis's ability to include both faces of Duncan without becoming contemptuous herself serves as a model for scholars who struggle to show how multiple, opposing civic ideals such as the liberal and Americanist traditions shape American intellectual thought.

Anderson, Dell, and Herbst reveal more ambiguity than contradiction in their writings and attitudes. Anderson, who became openly lesbian, boldly initiated publication of *The Little Review* first as a means of self-expression—a defiant act in itself for a woman to take—and second as a vehicle for separation from the Victorian ideals of proper womanhood. Francis observes that Anderson effectively used words to provide "a usable discourse for lesbian sexuality in the early twentieth century" (p. 58). But the fashionable image she cultivated and her reliance on "the language of convention" to defend herself in the controversy over publication of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) sharply demarcated the limits of her feminist modernist self-expression.

In the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Floyd Dell is described as having had "a life-long interest in equal rights for women." Francis refines this description. In 1913, Dell authored *Women as World-Builders*, a book that promoted feminism as a liberating force for men and women alike. By 1930, however, Dell had divorced, remarried, and was "the settled father of two children" who had stopped celebrating women's independence and instead promoted "a kind of 'family values heterosexuality'" (p. 108). Moreover, Francis demonstrates that the early Dell reveled in the sexual availability of women in bohemia. The later Dell rhapsodized on the secure support provided by a dutiful mate and criticized feminist declarations of independence, particularly those that endorsed lesbian relationships. Dell's feminism ultimately extended only to support for equal wages and social insurance for the care of children.

As Dell's kind of simple equality gradually supplanted conceptions of fuller equality, radical feminists such as Herbst found themselves on the margins, where they encountered the profound challenge of sustaining a vision in the absence of supportive communities. From the end of the World War I until 1927, Herbst's response was the self-conscious adoption of a perspective of detachment. She rebelliously distanced herself from "her girlhood in the Midwest" as well as from consumer culture, sentimentality, the sexual revolution, and the "exalted idea of progress," including faith that the national political inclusion of women signaled by the Nineteenth Amendment would ever amount to much.

In 1927, however, just after the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Herbst renounced her pursuit of disconnected detachment and committed herself to radical politics. From then on, she developed and depended on the concept of a "usable past," the means of making history relevant, present, and useful through novels and short stories. Herbst

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also engaged in "reportage," an activity that "blended journalism and the storytelling devices of fiction, often making real events into inspiring examples for future political action" (p. 141). In so doing, Herbst went well beyond Duncan, Anderson, and Dell in the integration of feminism and modernism in ways that sustained the revolutionary hopes of both feminists and radicals. Still, as Francis consistently and astutely points out, Herbst repeatedly found herself in circumstances, conversations, and states of mind that demoralized her. Even the practiced self-critic could neither avoid nor transcend the stings of rejection and exclusion.

Francis deserves thanks and praise for resurrecting these four intellectuals. I hope that she will soon say much more about Herbst, because Francis demonstrates that she, much more than the other three authors—and perhaps more than most American intellectuals—designed a literary strategy that enabled her to recognize and protect herself from intellectual betrayals—by politics, ideologies, and fellow radicals.

SUZANNE M. MARILLEY
Capital University

GREG ROBINSON. *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. 322. $27.95.

In this book, Greg Robinson reexamines one of the most controversial incidents in American history: President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's decision to relocate more than 100,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were American citizens, to internment camps for the duration of World War II. This is a particularly timely study, given the on-going debate regarding the United States government's handling of suspected terrorists after the September 11, 2001, attacks. The Japanese internment has been the subject of a number of previous scholarly studies and remains a divisive topic today. In 1988, five years after a Congressionally sponsored commission issued a report questioning whether the internment had been justified, Congress and President Ronald Reagan agreed on legislation authorizing an official apology and monetary payment to those who had been interned. Despite the extensive scrutiny of this controversial period, however, Robinson argues that scholars have not sufficiently examined Roosevelt's role in formulating and implementing the internment policy. Previous studies sought to explain FDR's decision primarily as a pragmatic reaction to political pressure from military and political leaders on the West Coast who feared pro-Japanese fifth-column activities, as well as powerful nativist groups motivated by racial prejudice and economic self-interest. While acknowledging the importance of these factors, Robinson argues that standard accounts typically underplay two important factors underlying Roosevelt's decision: his own view of Japanese Americans as immutably foreign, and the weaknesses of his hands-on, competitive administrative management style.

Readers will find this a well-researched, highly readable account of the Japanese-American internment. After devoting two chapters assessing FDR's evolving attitude toward Japan, and Japanese Americans, during his pre-presidential years and his first two terms in office, the narrative focuses on the origin and implementation of internment policy, beginning with Roosevelt's decision to issue Executive Order 9066 in February 1942, authorizing the relocation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast; the subsequent decision to intern them in camps; the controversy over what to do with those internees deemed "loyal" to the United States; and concluding with the closing of the last camp in 1946. In the final chapter, Robinson tries to understand how Roosevelt, whom historians have justly lauded for his strong commitment to individual rights, could have supported the internment policy. Robinson argues that FDR's "past feelings toward the Japanese Americans must be considered to have significantly shaped his momentous decision to evacuate Japanese Americans from their homes" (p. 118).

Few readers today will disagree with Robinson's conclusion that Roosevelt's internment policy "violated the essential principle of democracy: that all citizens are entitled to the same rights and legal protection" (p. 6). But they may find Robinson's claim that FDR's choice was partly rooted in his "negative" attitude toward Japanese Americans less persuasive. This is not to say that Robinson is incorrect to argue that FDR viewed the Japanese as "innately incapable of adapting to American society" (p. 242). Rather, it is to recognize that Robinson uncovers little direct evidence regarding FDR's specific views toward the Japanese, and even less proof that his "worldview" drove his policy choices in the internment controversy. Because Roosevelt left almost no direct evidence regarding his beliefs or motivations, Robinson's efforts to describe why FDR acted as he did are invariably conjectural. Thus although Robinson claims that a young FDR gradually came to view Japanese immigrants and their offspring as "a foreign and racially 'unassimilable' population" (p. 242), he also notes "Roosevelt's attitude toward naturalization of Japanese immigrants is unclear" (p. 53). Regarding Roosevelt's support in the prewar years for treating Japanese Americans as a potential security risk, although there was no firm evidence to support this conclusion, he writes "These actions suggest that Roosevelt's concern for security was undergirded by an implacable belief that Japanese Americans—Issei and Nisei alike—were dangerous and foreign" (p. 72). Similarly, assessing FDR's decision to issue Executive Order 9066, he admits, "It is difficult to determine whether Roosevelt perceived that the removal of Japanese Americans would lead to mass incarceration" (p. 133). When discussing how, during 1943–1944, Roosevelt struggled to develop a policy to handle interned Japanese deemed loyal to the United States, Robinson writes, "Because of Roosevelt' s impersonal approach to the internment, the motivation behind his actions . . . is difficult to determine" (p. 234).

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Robinson's difficulty in documenting FDR's motives is a familiar problem to Roosevelt scholars. Equally familiar are the administrative tendencies Robinson attributes to FDR: his seeming vacillation in the face of contrary policy advice, his willingness to reverse policy direction for political reasons, and his general reluctance to signal his intentions to his subordinates. Whereas scholars often cite these as virtues, however, Robinson argues that when FDR became distracted or lost focus—something that apparently happened with increasing regularity near the end of his life—his administrative style contributed to less than optimal policy outcomes. Thus, Robinson argues that at several points during the internment process FDR failed to anticipate significant policy consequences, such as protecting internees' property, and none of his subordinates was in a position to compensate for FDR's oversight.

Robinson believes that FDR's behavior in the internment case warrants closer study because it "appear(s) so uncharacteristic" of a "President justly celebrated for his attachment to human rights" (p. 6). As he notes in the last chapter, this is not the only case for which FDR has been taken to task for elevating political pragmatism above a more principled policy stand; within the last two decades there has been a lively debate regarding whether FDR could have done more on behalf of Jews and other Holocaust victims. For the most part, revisionist scholars have proved more effective at asking whether FDR too willingly sacrificed ethical principles at the altar of political necessity than they have at providing conclusive answers. In this respect, Robinson's book is among good company. If he does not fully succeed in uncovering Roosevelt's motivations in pursuing what is now viewed as one of the most egregious violations of civil rights in the nation's history, he does remind us how easy it is for a government fighting a war on behalf of democratic principles to embrace patently undemocratic policies.

MATTHEW J. DICKINSON
Middlebury College

MARGARET PATON-WALSH. *Our War Too: American Women against the Axis*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. 238. $35.00.

Margaret Paton-Walsh's book is more limited in scope than its subtitle suggests; it is, in fact, an analysis of some American women's public interventionist stance during the years from 1935 to 1941. Paton-Walsh particularly focuses on journalists Dorothy Thompson and Freda Kirchwey, Elizabeth Cutter Morrow (the president of Smith College who publicly challenged the isolationist stance of her son-in-law, Charles Lindbergh), and a handful of organizations such as the League of Women Voters, the National Council of Jewish Women, and the Committee to Defend America. The sources used are almost exclusively articles or organizational pronouncements, leaving the reader wondering about the internal lives of these women and organizations.

This book is a valuable corrective to any who thought that women were only isolationist, antiwar, or pacifist prior to American entry into World War II, but few if any historians harbor such misapprehensions. Paton-Walsh does provide some valuable new survey treatment of the evolution of interventionist thought by some of the women mentioned above, but she does not demonstrate any coherent thread among them, nor does she show how they exerted any meaningful influence on America's ultimate entry into the war. Indeed, on the penultimate page of the book, Paton-Walsh notes that "it is natural to wonder whether the activities of women in the interventionist committees and women's organizations had any impact on the formulation of American foreign policy in this period" (p. 193). The reader might wish that the author had asked that question more trenchantly far earlier in the book. On the last page, Paton-Walsh merely asserts that these women "were neither led nor manipulated into war. Rather, they understood and accepted the necessity of war" (p. 194). This is a far more timid conclusion than the body of the book seems to promise, and the book would have been improved had it been more explicitly focused around this limited claim.

Paton-Walsh provides some valuable overviews of the general evolution of interventionist thinking in the late 1930s, although the influence of the women she studies on American policy appears to have been negligible. Even the Committee to Defend America, Paton-Walsh notes, "tended to marginalize women's contribution at the national level" despite the fact that women constituted an important cadre of volunteers at the local level (p. 94). Paton-Walsh's work might have been enhanced had she explored precisely those limitations placed on the influence of women who advocated intervention during the years before Pearl Harbor. Paton-Walsh also misses a key opportunity when she notes but does little analytically with the use of maternal rhetoric by interventionist women such as Senator Hattie Caraway, who proclaimed "As an American mother ... I will cast my vote for the Lend-Lease Bill" (p. 149). An interesting study is suggested by Paton-Walsh's occasional juxtaposition of maternal interventionist rhetoric with maternal antiwar rhetoric, one that could portray a crucial battle that was waged between contesting claims to a female political nature in the first half of the twentieth century, but that book remains to be written.

This book consists of a stale presentation of the published writings of a few interventionist women interspersed with extensive treatments of the progress of war abroad or of the Roosevelt administration's policy decisions with no apparent heed of women's voices, a structure that implicitly highlights the powerlessness of Paton-Walsh's protagonists in the formal political realm. One aspect of the book that is undeniably rich is the obvious intellectual subtlety and passion of Paton-Walsh's central protagonists, partic-

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ularly Thompson and Kirchwey, both of whom exerted too little influence among their contemporaries and have enjoyed too little appreciation since.

JAMES TRACY
Boston University Academy

HELEN LAVILLE. *Cold War Women: The International Activities of American Women's Organisations*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 220. $64.95.

In this account of the activities of American women's organizations in the Cold War international arena, Helen Laville promises to challenge "the prevailing view of the 1950s as a period of inactivity and political apathy" for American women (p. 6) and to call into question "the idea of an international gender-based identity" (p. 7). Much work has already been done to restore a reinvigorated American woman to the postwar period, and Laville acknowledges the efforts in this area of historians such as Susan Ware, Susan Lynn, Joanne Meyerowitz, and others. What is most original about this book is Laville's delineation of the limits of a maternalist, international sisterhood during the Cold War era. Culling the records of women's organizations, specialist publications, letters, popular literature, and secondary works, Laville has done an admirable job in assembling this complex story.

Although American women's groups often proclaimed a gender-based universality, Laville convincingly demonstrates that what really drove these groups in their relations with foreign women was a nationalist rather than a maternalist ideology. Laville also detects a smug assumption of superiority that informed how American women approached their less fortunate sisters in other countries. This tendency was especially obvious in Germany, where American groups such as the Woman's Affairs Division and the League of Women Voters tried to rehabilitate German women by educating them in the ways of American democracy. As Laville puts it, "American women expected to be in a superior position to German women and were not receptive to any criticism of their own system by the Germans . . . In other words, German women travelled to the USA to learn, while American women travelled to Germany to teach" (p. 80). Curiously, even though German women were enfranchised before the rise of Nazism, American women's groups took them to task only for their supposed political "apathy," while absolving them of any suggestion that they might have supported Adolf Hitler (pp. 73, 72).

Laville argues that while most American women's groups began the postwar years by promoting internationalism and support of the United Nations, the pressures of the Cold War forced them to embrace a more anticommunist line. They became, in Laville's words, "hesitant Cold War warriors" (p. 111). Once committed to cooperating with the government in its campaign against the Soviet Union, the international activities of American women's groups "became an expression not of their sisterhood with women across the world, but of their commitment to the American Cold War agenda" (p. 118). Those groups that continued to cling to internationalism and the cause of peace, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, risked incurring the displeasure of the Federal Bureau of Investigations and red hunters. Indeed, it was peculiarly the case that the Soviet Union coopted the word "peace" during the Cold War—its "peace offensive" propaganda campaign is a prime example—with the consequence that any group employing a rhetoric of peace became suspect (p. 131).

The perils faced by groups that continued to insist on an internationalist/maternalist line is illustrated by Laville in the case of the World Organization for Mothers of All Nations (WOMAN). Founded in 1947 by Dorothy Thompson, who launched the organization in her weekly column in *Ladies' Home Journal*, WOMAN was premised on the notion that woman's "natural" orientation was to the lives of her children and to the organic life of the planet, rather than to a nation or class (pp. 145, 146). To this end, WOMAN advocated disarmament and coexistence with the Soviet Union. WOMAN immediately attracted the suspicions of powerful American women's groups and the U.S. government, especially when WOMAN announced its intentions of convening a congress in Berlin. While WOMAN always suffered from internal instability, Laville makes it clear that it was primarily the opposition of other women's groups that brought this organization down.

Laville also presents a case history of the Committee of Correspondence (CofC), which attempted to counter the Soviet Union's peace offensive and its claims of American militarism by emphasizing the favorable position of women in the free world. The anticommunism of the CofC dovetailed nicely with the aims of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which began funneling money into the CofC through various front organizations. A *Ramparts* magazine article revealed this fact in 1967, and Laville makes clear the discomfort created between what she calls the "witting" members of the CofC (those who knew about the CIA involvement) and the "unwitting" (those who did not).

Laville's writing is for the most part free of jargon, but it is unfortunately the case that this narrative frequently succumbs to the tedium inherent in organizational histories. It takes a skillful writer indeed to transform board meetings into gripping material, and in this regard her book is frequently short of the mark. Another problem is the malaise induced by the historigraphical chitchat that meanders through the early chapters. The reader is poorly served by a seemingly endless procession of quotes from historians asserting this, arguing that, or claiming the other, and the proper place for this sort of material is in the notes. There is also not a single photo or illustration in this book, and there are a number of places where such visuals could contribute. For instance, Laville has an

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excellent description of a Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) pamphlet encouraging American women to extend a helping hand to foreign women. Laville includes the photo captions in the pamphlet ("Girls learn good citizenship in the Prague YWCA. We must help them understand democracy" [p. 56]) but not the photos themselves.

Ample evidence is presented by Laville to support her claim that "American women abandoned the ideals of gendered internationalism in favour of a role in the national Cold War effort" (p. 203). But she misses an opportunity to dramatize this shift by not delving further back in history to explain why the maternalist argument, so effectively used by nineteenth and early twentieth-century women's organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, had seemingly lost much of its appeal after 1945. Certainly, the advent of nuclear weapons changed the domestic equation, but with the fate of the planet itself hanging in the balance it would be logical to assume that maternalism and internationalism would exert an even greater influence on women's organizations. That nationalist ideology trumped a maternalist universalism is one of Laville's surprising findings and helps make her book a valuable study that will be welcomed by specialists in women's history and by Cold War historians alike.

KENNETH D. ROSE
California State University, Chico

NIELS BJERRE-POULSEN. *Right Face: Organizing the American Conservative Movement 1945–65*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press. 2002. Pp. 333. $29.95.

Niels Bjerre-Poulsen's book is an easy-to-read overview of the political evolution of post-World War II conservatism. Explaining in his introduction that he is not concerned with the "social psychology" (p. 11) of conservatives, he instead wants to explore their "political mobilization." As a result, he concentrates on analyzing rightwing efforts to join the political mainstream, with particular attention to their efforts to win control of the Republican Party. In doing so, the author covers no new ground, but does provide a good breakdown of the key events and people leading to the conservative triumph within the GOP.

To accomplish his goal, Bjerre-Poulsen details the growth of the right wing from a small, disorganized collection of intellectuals and politicians into an organized, effective network of political operatives. Beginning with a discussion of the philosophical differences between traditionalists and libertarians, Bjerre-Poulsen traces the background of each viewpoint in terms of its intellectual underpinnings and political perspective. From there he describes the various attempts to create a national movement. Conservatives worked on this goal from two angles: trying to fuse their disparate parts into a united whole, and working to present their perspective to the American public through the media. They succeeded in forming a unified front less because of these efforts and more because they found common ground in their loathing of communism. Bjerre-Poulsen also credits William F. Buckley, Jr., and his magazine, *National Review*, with playing a key role in providing a voice to the newly emerging national conservative movement. (Throughout the book, in fact, the author pays homage to Buckley and his cohort for their role in transforming conservatism into a viable political movement.)

In addition to the *National Review* crowd, Bjerre-Poulsen also analyzes conservative growth on college campuses, third party efforts, and the expansion of the "Not-so respectable Right." All three served to increase participation in a growing conservative movement. Ironically, they also contained the potential to undermine the unity conservatives had worked so hard to achieve. Youth organizations faced internal struggles that threatened to damage the reputations of their adult sponsors; third parties such as the New York Conservative Party showed the rising power of the Right but caused problems for those trying to win control within the GOP; and radical groups like the John Birch Society caused dissention in the ranks and allowed moderates to smear all conservatives with the extremist label.

Finally, Bjerre-Poulsen turns to the Goldwater campaign and its effect on the movement. He relates the now familiar story of Barry Goldwater's rise as the conservative spokesman, his reluctance to run for president, and his weaknesses as a candidate. The author details some of the frustrations of the men and women who led the initial draft movement but were then exiled from the national campaign. In describing the convention, he hints at the efforts to stop Goldwater but glosses over the all-out moderate fight. In an epilogue, he then sums up the significance of the campaign and links it to the emerging power of conservatives within the Republican Party during the 1970s and 1980s.

Throughout his book, Bjerre-Poulsen does an excellent job of breaking down his arguments into their component parts. For example, he has separate sections discussing "Conservatism and Catholicism" (p. 66) and "Conservative Principles vs. Corporate Cosmology." This is the strength of the book. By separating out various questions, he is able to show the complications existing behind the simplicity of the term "conservative." This would be especially useful for newcomers to the study of conservatism.

At the same time, Bjerre-Poulsen adds nothing new to the historiography. He is going over now well-trodden ground. Ten years ago, this would have been an important new book. Now, as is evident from his notes and bibliography, he is able to draw on an extensive collection of secondary sources covering almost all aspects of postwar conservatism. The evolution of political conservatism has been the focus of much recent work. Perhaps this is the book's greatest contribution: it shows us just how far conservative

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historiography has come in the last decade and exposes the areas that need further study.

In conclusion, Bjerre-Poulsen's book is easy to follow and read and is well researched. The book would be a good introduction to the study of conservatism. It does, however, suffer from poor editing, particularly in the footnotes, which are inconsistent in format, contain numerous typographical and grammatical errors, and sometimes seem not to relate to the text.

MARY C. BRENNAN
Texas State University, San Marcos

JOANNE MEYEROWITZ. *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. 363. $29.95.

In this absorbing and meticulously researched study, Joanne Meyerowitz traces the emergence of transsexuality in the United States as a category of identity distinct from homosexuality and transvestism. Building on the work of such scholars and activists as Susan Stryker and Judith Halberstam, Meyerowitz shows how the phenomenon of transsexuality transformed understandings of the relationship among sex, gender, and sexuality, not only in the medical and legal professions but also in the popular consciousness. Especially after Christine Jorgensen's sex change made headlines in 1952, sex was no longer seen as the biological foundation of gender and sexuality but was thought to exist independently of them. Influenced by Magnus Hirschfeld, the pioneering homosexual rights activist who founded the Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin, European doctors tended to believe that human beings were innately "bisexual," that all men and women carried within them some aspects of the "opposite" sex. Jorgensen's Norwegian doctors used this understanding to justify her surgical and hormonal alteration, and she herself repeated it to reporters, thus providing a biological explanation for her cross-gender identification, one that distinguished it from homosexuality and cross-dressing. By contrast, American doctors remained committed to a dimorphic understanding of sex and increasingly used the concept of "gender identity" to justify sex reassignment surgery, a concept developed in the 1950s by the psychologists John Money and Robert Stoller to describe a person's subjective sense of self, which was not always in alignment with his or her sex. For doctors influenced by this concept, it was easier to alter a person's sex than it was his or her gender identity, which was thought to be fixed at a relatively early age.

In showing that, like gender and sexuality, biological sex has a history, Meyerowitz complicates our understanding of the history of sexuality in important ways. Queer studies scholarship has been deeply informed by Michel Foucault's work, and one of its assumptions is that the Western organization of sexuality changed dramatically in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when a new system of sexual clarification emerged. Sex of object choice began to displace gender as the organizing principle of sexuality, and sexual practices such as sodomy, which before were seen as sins or crimes in which anybody might engage, became the basis of identities. As Foucault famously put it in *The History of Sexuality: Volume I, Introduction* (1978), the sodomite was no longer a temporary aberration but had become a distinct type of person, one whose sexual practices were thought to shape his or her entire being. This book forces us to revisit this narrative and to question some of its basic assumptions. In tracing the shifting conceptions of sex, Meyerowitz makes clear that the reorganization of sexuality occurred unevenly and over a longer period of time than we thought, and that it was mediated by a complex of factors, including race, class, region, and nation. As late as the 1950s in the United States, the categories transsexuality, homosexuality, and intersexuality were not clearly distinguished from each other but were inextricably linked in many people's minds. Despite Jorgensen's claims that she was not homosexual, many people continued to believe that she was and that she had undergone a sex change because she could not accept her homosexuality. For these skeptics, the surgery and hormones had not only made her a woman but also a heterosexual. To add to the confusion, Jorgensen claimed that her cross-gendered identification resulted from a hormonal imbalance, which linked her transformation to intersexuality, a condition that for many people was related to homosexuality. Although from our vantage point, shaped as it is by the gay liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s, this skepticism reflected a conflation of categories we view as distinct, from the vantage point of Jorgensen's contemporaries, it was only natural to question her claims to be a woman. This suggests that sex of object choice had not wholly displaced gender as an organizing principle of sexuality but that a person's sexuality continued to be understood in terms of his or her gender. Meyerowitz enables us to see that the construction of transsexuality as a distinct category of identity has played a crucial role in the consolidation of the hetero-homosexual binary and that earlier understandings of the relationship among sex, gender, and sexuality have not wholly disappeared but continue to shape our perceptions and experiences.

But despite its many strengths, the book's analysis, especially of the Jorgensen case, is not wholly persuasive, and at times it raises more questions than it answers. For example, it attributes to Jorgensen's sex change a larger role in transforming gender and sexual norms than may be warranted. Although it may be true, as Meyerowitz argues, that Jorgensen's transformation called into question the belief that sex was the biological foundation of gender and sexuality, this does not mean that it disrupted the normative alignment of sex, gender, and sexuality, especially considering that Jorgensen embodied a normative feminine identity, that of the "blonde bombshell." On the contrary, it seems more likely that in bringing her sex into align-

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ment with her gender, Jorgensen reinforced the belief that femininity was expressed most "naturally" by female heterosexual bodies. Another weakness of the book is also one of its strengths. Written from a perspective deeply sympathetic to transsexuals and their ongoing struggle for social recognition, the book does not question why the transsexual activism that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s took the form of an identity-based movement. Rather, it takes this development for granted and treats the emergence of transsexuality as a distinct form of personhood as both desirable and inevitable. But might the activism have taken another form, one that was not identitarian in its claims and that did not seek recognition of transsexuals as a minority but instead challenged the binary organization of gender and sexuality? The book's failure to ask this question may limit its usefulness, especially for queer studies scholars who have absorbed the poststructuralist critique of identity. Despite these shortcomings, however, this is an important book, one that will have a lasting impact. Meyerowitz provides the first comprehensive history of transsexuality and in so doing fills a gap in the historical scholarship, thus making further work on this important topic possible.

ROBERT J. CORBER
Trinity College *[All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]*

THOMAS R. HIETALA. *The Fight of the Century: Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, and the Struggle for Racial Equality*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2002. Pp. 375. $39.95.

W. E. B. Du Bois was eerily on target when he wrote, in 1903, that "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line." One hundred years later, without either Du Bois's genius or clairvoyance, we can safely say that the problem of twentieth century sport has also been the problem of the color line. From Moses Fleetwood Walker at the end of the nineteenth century to Jackie Robinson in the mid-twentieth century, from Major Taylor to Jesse Owens, from Paul Robeson to Marion Motley, from Nat "Sweetwater" Clifton to Michael Jordan, and from Charlie Sifford to Tiger Woods, the history of American sport has largely concerned the emergence, integration, and legacy of African-American athletes, their struggles to compete and to win, and their battles to move beyond playing into coaching positions and board rooms.

No sport was more important to this process than boxing. In 1968, during the age of Muhammed Ali, African-American activist Eldridge Cleaver wrote, in *Soul on Ice*, that "The boxing ring is the ultimate focus of masculinity in America, the two-fisted testing ground of manhood, and the heavyweight champion, as a symbol, is the real Mr. America."

Certainly during the twentieth century four black heavyweight champions—Jack Johnson, Joe Louis, Ali, and Mike Tyson—have dominated the discourse about race and sport. All, as Cleaver asserted, became more than athletes and boxers; they became racial and ideological symbols, imbued with enough cultural baggage to sink the *Titanic*. Thomas R. Hietala traces the careers and meaning of Johnson and Louis. In particular, he strives to give a social and racial context for the two boxers' careers.

Hietala accepts the notion of heavyweight champions as vital symbols. "Potent symbols of inversion and redemption," he writes, "Johnson and Louis loomed large in the aspirations of their people and endure as major figures in black folklore. They also merit attention because they raise and clarify vital issues of race, regionalism, national identity, and foreign policy during the first half of the twentieth century" (p. 8). For both black and white Americans, Johnson and Louis were more than athletes. The title itself was a "surrogate public office," and the private and public actions of the title holders were subject to close scrutiny, careful evaluation, and occasionally blistering criticism.

The book is fairy evenly divided between reigns of Johnson and Louis, and it might be argued that without Johnson there never would have been a Louis. Louis's behavior and image were so carefully constructed to be the antithesis of Johnson that it is often difficult to separate the myth of Louis from the reality of Louis. Johnson, although equally complex, at least was his own man. He was the first black heavyweight champion, defeating Tommy Burns in a one-sided match for the title in 1908 and losing it to Jess Willard in a controversial fight in 1915. But Johnson's most important match was his 1910 knockout victory over Jim Jeffries, a fight that was billed as a racial Armageddon and precipitated a national wave of racial rioting. Hietala details Johnson's career in the ring, but he is more interested on the impact of the boxer's life on American race relations. And unquestionably nothing was more important to that impact than Johnson's relations with white women, relations that eventually led to his Mann Act conviction in 1913. From Johnson's "redemptive" victories against white fighters, which were widely celebrated by African Americans, to his conviction for "enslaving" white women, which was roundly criticized across the country, Johnson dominated racial thinking in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

From the mid-1930s and mid-1940s, Louis similarly dominated the heavyweight division and racial thinking. His knockouts of Primo Carnera, James Braddock, Max Schmeling, and Billy Conn were important events for white as well as black Americans. But where Johnson was criticized and attacked in the courts, Louis was praised and elevated as a symbol of racial progress. Hietala details how Louis's image was crafted by his backers and why he became "the adopted son of 13 million Americans." Set against the backdrop of the Great Depression, the rise of fascism in Europe, and World War II, the Louis story validated

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exactly what Americans wanted to believe about themselves.

Other historians and journalists have covered the careers and lives of Johnson and Louis, but no other writer has provided such a rich background to those stories. At times, in fact, Hietala's descriptions of nonpugilistic episodes disrupt his central narrative. But whether he is tracing the causes of the Springfield massacre, the reception of *The Birth of a Nation*, attitudes toward black soldiers, African-American migration north, or struggles over the color line, Hietala writes with passion and precision. And he supports his contentions with a wide-ranging and impressive research, mining government documents and court records, African-American newspapers and magazines, as will as a rich variety of poems, novels, songs, advertisements, speeches, memoirs, cartoons, and folklore collections. The result is a history of not only of two boxers but of African-American thought in the first half of the twentieth century.

RANDY ROBERTS
Purdue University

AMY BASS. *Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete*. (Critical American Studies Series.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2002. Pp. xxi, 438. $27.95.

Amy Bass has made a significant contribution to the growing field of sport history by placing the 1968 Olympic protest within the larger context of the fight for civil rights during the 1960s. The importance of sport and its imagery of democracy during the Cold War is key to understanding this international event, according to Bass. The role of the media is thoroughly examined, particularly how various outlets sought to portray African Americans as consummate U.S. citizens who welcomed the opportunity to represent their country at the world's greatest sporting event. Bass argues, in essence, that the black athlete served as a governmental and media pawn for America. Relying on official documentation, including newspapers, government records, and Olympic Committee papers, the author clearly illustrates how "sport provided a battlefield for the strain between the United States and the Soviet Union to take place without gunfire" (p. 9).

Bass argues convincingly that the raised fists of Tommie Smith and John Carlos during the medal ceremonies of the 1968 Olympics represented a fundamental ideological change among many African Americans, and more specifically among black athletes. Just as the nonviolent civil rights movement began to decline in the mid 1960s and was replaced by so-called black militancy, in sport, icons such as Jesse Owens and Joe Louis represented a stark contrast to Smith, Carlos, and Muhammad Ali. Bass seeks to examine "the creation of popular representations of the black athlete" (p. xvi), particularly how Harry Edwards, as the intellectual architect of the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR), realized that sport could be used as a political mechanism.

Bass points to the boycott of the New York Athletic Club-sponsored meet in February 1968 at Madison Square Garden as a clear example of the influence Edwards had on many black athletes. OPHR targeted the meet because the prestigious club did not allow African Americans as members. This dry-run protest months before the Olympics was effective through the use of a picket line maintained in front of Madison Square Garden. According to Bass "only nine African Americans competed out of four hundred or so athletes" (p. 153). Although we are not given the total number of black athletes that were to have participated, this boycott sent a clear message to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) regarding the future. Bass also points to the removal of South Africa from the games by the IOC as a clear example of how the OPHR used the media to secure victory.

What took place at the 1968 Olympics was not an isolated incident among racially conscious track athletes. Black players on the St. Louis Cardinals football team had submitted a list of grievances to the head coach, which included the use of inflammatory language and preferential treatment given to white players. The team's management responded by focusing on problems that divided players along racial lines, and this dramatically changed team chemistry. The Cleveland Browns also found their team embroiled in racial controversy over the exclusion of black players from a golf tournament. Against this backdrop, Smith and Carlos raised their gloved fists during the medal ceremonies of the 200 meters race after finishing first and third, respectively. Lost in the symbolic stance, as Bass states, was the fact that Smith ran "the fastest 200 meters in the history of the timed track; no one would run it again in under twenty seconds until Carl Lewis in Los Angeles in 1984" (p. 239). Bass argues that the 1968 Olympic protest represented a fundamental transformation from "Negro" to "black" athlete.

Bass has done an excellent job of examining this event and its portrayal in the media. However, she falls somewhat short by not including oral interviews with various participants, particularly Smith and Carlos. Thirty plus years after their protest, how do Smith and Carlos feel about what they did, their legacy, and the impact it had on addressing institutional racism in sports? In many ways they are still ostracized, while other athletes such as George Foreman (who, after winning the gold medal in boxing during the same games, walked around the ring waving the American flag) today endorse various products on television, something not seen in 1968. Even Edwards himself, who served as a consultant to the San Francisco Forty-niners, has been able to connect with mainstream sport entities. Smith and Carlos have not. Bass's work is sure to be a part of ongoing conversations about race and sport, particularly as those dis-

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cussions focus on struggles off the field by referring to the turbulent history on it.

CHARLES K. ROSS
University of Mississippi

ROBERT S. MCPHERSON. *Navajo Land, Navajo Culture: The Utah Experience in the Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 301. $34.95.

This book is Robert S. McPherson's latest work on Navajo culture and history. In it he examines the northern Navajo region, with its specific environment and interactions, with the goal of making clear the drama of twentieth-century events there.

The first four chapters focus primarily on the period up to about 1930. Chapter one covers nineteenth-century history, chapter two Navajo and Ute deer hunting, chapter three Navajo farming, and chapter four trading posts. Chapter five covers "technology and initial cultural contact" (cars, airplanes) and chapter six the livestock reduction program. Chapters seven through eleven touch on more recent issues: tourism in Southeastern Utah; the film industry in Monument Valley; the uranium industry in the area; the petroleum industry, particularly around Aneth, Utah; and the changing role of Navajo women. Chapter twelve makes some concluding remarks.

These are good themes by which to examine the way in which Navajo life has developed in the northernmost part of the Navajo nation. McPherson does not restrict his account to the Utah area: he sensibly connects it to the rest of the nation. Despite his goal, the writing is not always as clear as it might be, but much good information is provided and the author clearly has first-hand experience on which to draw.

Chapters seven through eleven constitute by far the most original part of the book. The topics are well chosen. Chapter ten, "Poverty, Politics, and Petroleum: The Utah Navajos and the Aneth Oil Field," is in my view the best, discussing politics, economics, and events in a short, sharp essay that of necessity condenses a larger history but increases the reader's interest at every step. Chapter eleven touches on aspects of education, modernity, and Navajo values.

There is, I think, a problem with this relatively short book. It covers too much and is frustratingly superficial on the most interesting topics. Navajo history is not sparse, especially for the twentieth century: it is rich and varied. And McPherson's background is uneven: a description of Navajo tribal government, of local Chapters, ought to have been included. In addition, he wants to avoid an academic tone, to make the book readable, and balanced, and, above all, to present "at least part of the Navajo elders' perspective." This is a tall order. What can a review contribute to dialogue on the exploration of Navajo history and society?

First, the opening chapters—especially chapters one, three, four, and five—are far weaker than the others and should have been condensed. What is presented is not original and contributes little to the rest of the book. Some background must be given to ground the present, but it should have been selected more carefully. Other scholars have covered the material better. Sometimes, too little information is given. For example, a photo caption (p. 88) notes that some Navajos claimed the car stole children. It did: educators took children off to boarding school in cars. This is alluded to (p. 91), but the reality of that claim is never made clear.

Second, there is not one Navajo perspective, even among the elders, but several. In chapter eleven, "From 'Dezba' to 'John': The Changing Role of Navajo Women in Southeastern Utah," McPherson presents what some young Navajo women say regarding modernity and tradition, education and gender. It is a fascinating and untouched topic. Yet it does not go quite far enough. Where are the voices of young women ("Johns") who have not yet learned to operate in the dominant society? They, too, are part of the picture; examine it.

But this is a readable book that I feel sure many, especially young people, will enjoy. It has good details, many facts, a little bit of everything, trying to satisfy broad interests. In avoiding an academic focus, it sometimes results in superficial treatment of deeper topics. Clear writing should give us more to think about, not less. Navajo history, culture, and society are not simple. The best chapters in this book make that clear.

WILLOW ROBERTS POWERS
Wheelwright Museum, Santa Fe

RONALD D. COHEN. *Rainbow Quest: The Folk Music Revival and American Society, 1940–1970*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp.xiii, 364. Cloth $70.00, paper $24.95.

Many of us who came of age in the era of rock and roll have looked skeptically on the folk music revival that crested in the early 1960s. Like the proverbial environmentalist who loves trees but hates people, some suspect folkies celebrated the idea of the working class but were a good deal less enamored of an actual working-class person—like, say, the young Elvis Presley. Ronald D. Cohen's mild-mannered book does not attempt to resolve this or other tensions in the folk revival (he cites, for example, *Mad* magazine parodies like "Ballads of a New England Accountant" and "Authentic Old Syndicate Songs" [p. 158]). Yet such expansiveness is a signal quality of the book and is its greatest strength.

Cohen begins his account in the wake of the documentarian, historically conscious impulses of the New Deal with such standard figures as ethnomusicologists John and Alan Lomax, performers like Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly, and entrepreneurs like Moses Asch. Yet one of the surprises—and pleasures—of this account are some of the other figures who show up: Earl

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Robinson, Paul Robeson, and Nicholas Ray, who directed a radio show on folk music for CBS. While noting the sectarian infighting that characterized the scene, as it did the political Left with which most folk musicians identified, Cohen takes a pluralistic approach that includes people who straddled other genres and media, like Hank Williams and Carl Sandburg. With the mid-century advent of groups like the Almanac Singers and (especially) the Weavers, folk music took on more specific contours and was recognized as a discrete cultural movement.

It was also attacked as such. Like Hollywood, the folk revival was thrown on the ropes by the Red Scare of the 1950s. Cohen shows how the Cold War shaped and divided folk musicians like Burl Ives (who sidestepped investigators and hewed a safe line) and more outspoken rebels (like Pete Seeger, who refused to cooperate with the House Unamerican Activities Committee and was disdainful toward those who did). Individual careers foundered, and yet by the late 1950s folk music was more popular than ever. The arrival of the Kingston Trio signaled the rise of folk as a genuine variety of popular music—and spawned criticism by those who regarded the notion of folk as popular music as deeply problematic, if not appalling.

All but the most dedicated purists, however, tend to regard the early 1960s as a golden age, when Joan Baez and Bob Dylan were at their height and folk music became a soundtrack for the early civil rights movement. Yet that very movement raised questions about the legitimacy of white media stars as its representatives and calls for a more obvious black presence in its vernacular culture—a demand, ironically, that oft-dismissed rock and roll was better positioned to provide. By the mid-1960s, folk and rock were merging as Dylan and heirs like the Byrds fused on the more literate sensibility of the former and the often earthier, more immediate appeal of the latter. In the later chapters of the book, Cohen gracefully interfaces his account with standard histories of figures ranging from the Grateful Dead to John Denver.

This book is evidently the work of a lifetime. Cohen's sources include many of the standard works (e.g. Robert Shelton's *No Direction Home: The Life and Music of Bob Dylan* [1986]) as well as interviews with many of the principals. He has sifted through materials ranging from well-known periodicals such as *Sing Out!* to the most ephemeral, mimeographed bulletins, and the number of such items in his possession suggests an immense repository of documentary materials. The index runs over thirty-five pages.

Yet this encyclopedic quality is also a problem. Stretches of the book, particularly in the first half, can seem like a numbing list of names, plans, events, and reactions to those events. Cohen does step back occasionally and situate his subject in a broader context, but much of the book reads like inside baseball. Insiders, for their part, may find Cohen diplomatic to a fault, as he sidesteps taking a firm stance in controversies (like Dylan's notorious appearance at the Newport Folk Festival of 1965) and is avowedly celebratory of some figures, notably Seeger, to whom the book is dedicated.

Yet the book remains an impressive account. It will take its place beside, and, as a reference source, may well be more useful than Robert Cantwell's *When We Were Good: The Folk Revival* (1996). It will also go a long way toward convincing skeptics that while the revival may not have been a mighty wind, it was at its best a refreshing, even invigorating one.

JIM CULLEN
The Ethical Culture Fieldston School, New York

JEFFREY W. COKER. *Confronting American Labor: The New Left Dilemma*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 211. $32.50.

The difference between the 1960s New Left and the 1930s Old Left, we customarily think, lay most obviously in the new radicals' alienation from the labor movement and their rejection of what C. Wright Mills called "the labor metaphysic": the assumption that labor naturally served as spearhead of the drive toward a new society. Surely, criticism of workers' conservatism (particularly white workers' racism), denunciation of labor leaders' complicity with corporate and political elites, and interest in new non-union sources of protest (in black liberation, women's liberation, and peace movements) were common themes of 1960s radicalism. And as Peter Levy pointed in *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s* (1994), dislike appeared to be mutual, as construction workers in 1970 assaulted antiwar protesters. Yet Levy demonstrated that such antagonism was far from universal among student or union activists and that the 1960s ended with signs of New Left support for strikes and commitment to join struggles for union and workplace democracy.

Now Jeffrey W. Coker has written a book that seems intended to restore the old portrait of an antilabor New Left but does so in a peculiar way. The four figures under study—in order, sociologists Seymour Martin Lipset and Mills, political commentator Sidney Lens, and historian Herbert Gutman—all had significant roots in the Old Left, and those who proved friendly to the new radicalism in the mid and late 1960s never entirely surrendered their ties to the labor movement. Gutman devoted himself to recovering a past of subaltern protest arising from the American working class, and while recent critics have challenged Gutman's romanticized portrait of workers' consciousness, he nonetheless helped cultivate new studies in labor history that stand on the intellectual front as a major achievement of the 1960s radical revival. Why, then, does a book claiming to elucidate New Left estrangement from labor end with a story that implies, on the contrary, a rapprochement of young radicals with the American labor heritage and American labor activism?

Perhaps, despite the book's subtitle, Coker means to

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stake a historical claim concerning not the New Left alone but rather the long course of the twentieth-century American Left and the left-wing intelligentsia. He begins by noting that his study "cuts across the 'Old Left' and 'New Left' " (p. xii), and he ends by asserting that "a fracturing [of leftwing theories of and attitudes toward labor] that began in the years immediately following World War II ... served as the defining moment for twentieth-century American radicalism" (p. 188). However intriguing that generalization is, Coker never makes a case for the "defining" character of this issue (as opposed, say, to the equally tormenting problems of Stalinism, the Cold War, or the color line), and he fails to determine precisely what the labor question was or how radicals dealt with it at mid-century. The reader remains uncertain whether "labor" generically refers to the union movement, its major twentieth-century organizations, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and their leadership—criticism of which was as much a feature of Old Left polemics as New—or to the working class broadly speaking as a potential force for change. It is too simple and mistaken to say that criticizing the AFL-CIO's Cold War politics meant "moving out of the Old Left and into the New," and Coker's blunt claim that postwar activists bore "antipathy toward organized labor" is weakened by evidence of the activists' persistent hope that "progressive" unionists "could bridge the radical left and labor" (pp. 120, 18, 137). Numerous errors in rendering the history of left-wing groups, failure to plumb the complex attitudes of activists toward the varied dimensions of working-class life, even the easy assumption that the Left once held a straightforward consensus on "labor" result in a book that sheds little light on labor or the Left, Old or New.

Coker's progression from Lipset to Gutman makes sense as a story of the "New Left dilemma" in confronting labor only insofar as he considers Gutman's new labor history a failed gesture, a dead end after which "the myth of the American proletariat became a historical footnote" and "few left intellectuals" bothered even to take notice when "labor was besieged" at the end of the twentieth century (p. 186). Anyone who has read the current output in labor history, attended campus labor teach-ins in the 1990s, joined anti-sweatshop campaigns, or witnessed attempts to forge unity in recent globalization and antiwar protests would know such obituaries for a labor-oriented Left and left-wing intelligentsia are premature.

HOWARD BRICK
Washington University in St. Louis

RANDY SANDERS. *Mighty Peculiar Elections: The New South Gubernatorial Campaigns of 1970 and the Changing Politics of Race*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp. xii, 218. $55.00.

By 1970, according to Randy Sanders, the American South was in the midst of a political sea change that resulted in the election of several moderate southern governors and an abatement of race baiting in political campaigns. Thanks to the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the subsequent registration of thousands of new African-American voters, politics in the South and the nation underwent a transformation on a scale that had not occurred since emancipation. The election in 1970 of a group of moderate southern governors who defeated segregationist opponents marked a watershed in southern politics that, as Sanders writes, "reflected the electorate's newfound attitude of racial moderation" (p. 1).

Arkansas's Dale Bumpers, Florida's Reubin Askew, South Carolina's John West, and Georgia's Jimmy Carter signified this dramatic political transformation and are the focus of Sanders's book. In eschewing race-based campaigns, these men exhibited signs of what the author terms "new populism," which, Sanders explains, focused on the interests of the common voter "but relied primarily on image and style rather than issues to attract support" (p. 6). This group of governors also shared many of the same characteristics, which helped them succeed in their races. Each hailed from rural areas and modest beginnings. They were active Protestants with military backgrounds. Each had some level of service in his respective state legislature. Sanders writes that each also held a degree of political ambition not satisfied by the governor's office. Bumpers later ran for and won election as U.S. senator from Arkansas; Askew ran for president in 1984 and for U.S. senator in 1988 and served as U.S. trade representative under President Carter from 1979 to 1981. West was named Ambassador to Saudi Arabia by Carter. Each understood and appreciated the power of television in political campaigns, and all used it to their ultimate benefit.

Sanders also argues that, to the four governors of which he writes, "issues became subservient to style" (p. 6). This is perhaps true regarding campaign strategy, which is nothing new in politics, but if Sanders asserts (and this is unclear) that the campaign promises of this group rarely evolved into promises kept, his argument will not convince those familiar with Askew's gubernatorial administration. Askew made "tax justice" a core issue of his campaign, calling for adoption of a corporate income tax in a state where income taxes had long been constitutionally prohibited. The year he took office, Askew led a successful referendum election to revise the state constitution and enact the corporate tax. He also implemented environmental protection laws, encouraged school integration, and enacted a "sunshine amendment" to open Florida government to public scrutiny. Such reforms can hardly be considered style over substance. Bumpers, West, and Carter also made strides toward racial equality in their states during their administrations, and, as Sanders asserts in his book, racial moderation was key to their "New South" moderate status.

Historians of the modern American South are beginning to explore the post-civil rights period to assess

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the result and implications of the movement and accompanying civil rights legislation. Sanders's work is a valuable addition to the historiography of this latest "New South" and provides us with an important study of how the civil rights era affected the broad currents of southern and American politics and campaigns.

GORDON E. HARVEY
University of Louisiana, Monroe

MICHAEL J. BAZYLER. *Holocaust Justice: The Battle for Restitution in America's Courts*. New York: New York: University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 410. $34.95.

The term "Holocaust justice" invariably conjures images of Hermann Göring in the dock at Nuremberg, or Adolf Eichmann in the glass booth at Jerusalem. In the years following the conclusion of World War II, the quest for Holocaust justice was pursued in far-flung courts, as prosecutors and jurists sought to enforce norms of criminal law against perpetrators of genocide. Only with the conclusion of the Maurice Papon trial in 1998 did the era of the great Holocaust prosecutions draw to a close, its passing a capitulation less to moral suasion than to actuarial fact. But the gradual dying off of the generation of perpetrators has not signaled an end to the law's engagement with the legacy of Nazi crimes. Rather, the quest for Holocaust justice has shifted from criminal tribunals to civil courts, from the prosecution of SS officers to suits against Swiss banks.

Michael J. Bazyler's book offers an excellent treatment of the leading recent civil cases to recover monies for Holocaust related losses. Bypassing the fraught law and politics of *Wiedergutmachug*—the restitutions paid, over decades and totaling some 100 billion DM, by the German government to the State of Israel and Holocaust survivors—Bazyler focuses on the hot-button restitution claims that have been in and out of the headlines over recent years: those brought against Swiss banks, German corporations, Italian insurance concerns, and Austrian art galleries. In lively and readable prose, Bazyler makes clear the difficulties and delays that have often frustrated the effort to bring a degree of legal closure to claims a half-century old. Yet his book, despite the indignities it documents, is a tale of success, and it delivers a surprising defense of one of the more reviled groups in American popular opinion and culture: trial lawyers. The heroes of the restitution movement are a diverse group of tenacious litigators, who, motivated either by good will or the prospect of handsome remuneration, forced recalcitrant companies to the negotiating table and to settlement. (The restitution movement that notably foundered—the one directed against insurance giants such as Allianz—failed, Bazyler argues, because trial lawyers were effectively shut out from the negotiations.) Yet the true hero of Bazyler's story is the American system of civil law itself: its capacious rules of jurisdiction, its grand theory of class action, its generous rules of discovery, all of which created a favorable venue for the airing of long dormant and seemingly hopeless claims. As Bazyler sweepingly concludes, "American courts provide the best—and often the only viable—forum in which such claims can be litigated" (p. 251).

Refreshing as it may be to read such a defense of American litigiousness, the question remains whether justice was done. Here Bazyler makes two important points. First, he makes clear that the restitution movement did more than prompt acts of belated financial disgorgement. In Switzerland and France, official commissions were constituted to explore in detail how prominent financial institutions bankrolled and profited from Nazi crimes. Bazyler convincingly argues that such commissions, and the detailed reports they issue, are a critical legacy of the restitution campaign. Second, Bazyler contends that the legal tactics developed to litigate Holocaust claims delivered a needed template for other restitution movements, such as those organized by Armenian survivors of the Turkish genocide and by descendents of African slaves seeking indemnification from the American state. All these efforts, Bazyler persuasively argues, have found moral inspiration and strategic guidance from the Holocaust restitution movement.

Bazyler's book does have its disappointments, however. The writing is highly accessible, but the text lacks the kind of critical details that one demands from a cross-over work. The reader, for example, wants to know more about the personal details and career of Edward Fagan, the controversial maverick trial lawyer who spearheaded the slave labor suits against German companies. Conversely the book—perhaps in the hope of attracting a cross-over audience—dispenses with the kind of analysis that one demands of a rigorous work of scholarship. Commenting on a federal judge's important refusal to dismiss, on jurisdictional grounds, a suit brought against French banks, Bazyler writes, "Readers interested in the technicalities of the law and international litigation in U.S. courts would benefit from reading the entire text of Judge Johnson's decision" (p. 189), a rather disheartening punt in a work about law and international litigation.

Finally, Bazyler's larger defense of the American court system does not entirely convince, in part because the book lacks a deeper conceptual treatment of the very issues it explores. Can the success of restitution claims be measured in terms of the amount of money paid? If part of the goal of such suits is to prod a reckoning with the past, how did Europeans view and discuss the settlements forced upon their companies? Were they perceived as belated acts of "rough justice," or as public relations gambits designed to buy "legal peace"? And if the greatest achievement of the restitution effort was the precedent it created for future movements, how salutary is this legacy? Is the checkbook the most efficacious tool for settling historical wrongs and reckoning with traumas of the past? To his

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credit, Bazyler has raised a host of provocative questions that await their answer in future scholarship.

LAWRENCE DOUGLAS
Amherst College

HUGH S. GORMAN. *Redefining Efficiency: Pollution Concerns, Regulatory Mechanisms, and Technological Change in the U.S. Petroleum Industry.* (Series on Technology and the Environment.) Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 451. $49.95.

Ever since the birth of mass environmentalism in the 1960s, environmentalists have had the petroleum industry in their crosshairs. Tankers that run aground, refineries and automobiles that belch noxious fumes, and climate change have been among the many ills that have animated environmentalists. But who kept the oil industry in line earlier in the century, before events such as the 1967 wreck of the tanker *Torrey Canyon* and the 1969 blowout off the Santa Barbara beaches helped to catalyze broad public concern?

This insightful book by Hugh S. Gorman argues that the industry largely looked after itself and was enormously effective in cutting pollution. Starting in the 1920s, integrated oil companies paid ever-closer attention to waste and inefficiency because the pollution that leaked from wells, pipes, and tankers into the environment and leached from the unlined storage pits that dotted oil fields was product not sold to market. Gross pollution was bad for business. Indeed, in the early twentieth century, perhaps one-fifth of the oil extracted from the ground never made it to market.

Gorman is at his strongest in explaining how the basic profit motive combined with three other factors to heighten interest in controlling waste and exerted a powerful influence on industrial investment. One factor was nuisance lawsuits, such as those from farmers whose croplands were damaged by the large amounts of salty water that surfaced along with the oil in most fields. It proved cheaper to pump the water back underground—where the extra pressure actually helped to expel even more oil—than to fight and pay the victims. A second impetus for change was collective action. The oil industry operated under the "rule of capture": property owners at the surface could control who drilled on their land, but the oil itself migrated beneath and belonged to whomever pumped it from the ground. Striking oil on one property would trigger a mad rush to build derricks and drill on adjacent lands. In the Arkansas El Dorado field, for example, oil was first struck in January 1921; nine months later, a torrent of drillers had shipped more than seven million barrels from the field. But they lost nearly half as much to "fire, spills, seepage and evaporation." In addition to the vast amounts of pollution released by hyper-speed drilling, the boom and bust cycle of capture drilling caused wild gyrations in oil prices and actually damaged the oil fields. Poor drilling practices, for example, could release the "cap" of natural gas that usually sat above an oil deposit and generated (along with water below) the underground pressures that helped drillers pump their prize. Large firms found ways to work with state regulatory commissions to impose drilling standards and production limits that created order in the oilfields and also, incidentally, cut pollution sharply.

Most interesting is the third factor: the creation of a professional corps of industrial petroleum engineers. At the center of this shift was the American Petroleum Institute (API), established in 1919 to allow the industry to speak with a single voice on important regulatory matters. The API kept government regulators at bay while its technical committees set standards and created handbooks of best practices and guidelines for every aspect of the industry. Much of Gorman's book focuses on the delicate dance that ensued as API sought to identify issues of collective interest to the industry while avoiding areas where its members preferred competition over collaboration.

Although this book covers important territory that has been largely untouched by professional historians, Gorman's treatise is not without flaws. His writing, although it shines in places, is highly repetitive. In a misguided effort to be comprehensive, the last one-third of the book addresses the period from the 1950s to the present—after the industry had already achieved its greatest successes through self-regulation, when government regulation assumed a more central role. For this period the study adds little to what is already widely known and has been better told elsewhere. Major pieces of legislation appear suddenly and then disappear from the story; the verbs and proper nouns that should accompany key events are often left unexplored.

These flaws aside, Gorman's focus on the more interesting period of self-regulation—from the 1920s through the 1950s—tells a striking and underappreciated story of industrial self-policing. Not only will historians and the burgeoning field of industrial ecology learn from this analysis, but scholars who specialize at the intersection of law and economics would also benefit from probing Gorman's study for the interplay among private profit motives, public regulation, and extremely powerful industry associations such as API.

DAVID G. VICTOR
Stanford University

JOSEPH A. PRATT, WILLIAM H. BECKER, and WILLIAM M. MCCLENAHAN, JR. *Voice of the Marketplace: A History of the National Petroleum Council.* Foreword by DANIEL YERGIN. (Kenneth E. Montague Series in Oil and Business History, number 13.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2002. pp. xvii, 292. $39.95.

This history of the National Petroleum Council (NPC) contributes both to the literature on the evolution of energy policy in the United States and to larger questions concerning the rise of the American corporate state in the twentieth century. One of the authors, Joseph A. Pratt, and Louis Galambos addressed this

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broader subject in their earlier work, *The Rise of the Corporate Commonwealth: United States Business and Public Policy in the Twentieth Century* (1988). Accompanied by a supportive introduction from Daniel Yergin and written with the imprimatur and full cooperation of the NPC, this volume offers a ringing tribute to the objectivity, credibility, and national security importance of the information this industry group has provided to government agencies. One could make the counter argument that the NPC was somewhat more self-serving and polemical at various stages as, for example, in its opposition to synthetic fuel programs and its animosity toward environmental regulation. The important point, however, is that while scholars have been writing about corporatism and business-government cooperation for some time, rarely have they had the opportunity to examine the hypothesis from within an industry body with the freedom and accessibility that has been extended to Pratt, William H. Becker, and William M. McClenahan, Jr.

In 1946, the United States Government Printing Office published John W. Frey and H. Chandler Ide's edited volume, *A History of the Petroleum Administration for War: 1941–1945* [PAW], a rare classic in that it was written from the inside as a government publication. Frey and Ide chronicled how industry cooperation had thrived within the PAW, particularly through the "Petroleum Industry War Service Committee" (PIWSC) and in spite of "Horrible Harold" Ickes, secretary of the interior, PAW head, and general *bete noire* of the petroleum industry. This volume picks up the story with President Harry S. Truman's creation of the NPC, successor to the PIWSC, as an industry council positioned to advise the government on key petroleum matters affecting the nation. One of the inescapable lessons of World War II was the strategic necessity of adequate petroleum supplies to provide a viable military and a strong economy. Composed of representatives from different sectors of the industry, the NPC over the years has provided data, forecasts, and detailed reports, primarily to the Department of the Interior and, after 1977, to the Department of Energy. A similar postwar continuation of industry-government cooperation had occurred after World War I when the American Petroleum Institute (API) formed to extend the enjoyed cooperation evidenced by the National Petroleum War Service Committee. But whereas the API evolved into the powerful political and lobbying entity that it is today, the NPC ostensibly has remained an impartial source of information for policy makers over the past fifty years.

After an initial chapter on the NPC's creation and organization, the book proceeds through a series of topical chapters ranging from concerns for energy preparedness in the Cold War, through the energy crisis of the 1970s, the creation of the Strategic Energy Reserve, environmental challenges, and the NPC's growing role in natural gas, as that fuel has become more central to the energy balance of the nation. It is to the authors' credit that they have managed to address these topics on two levels. They relate the micro-history of individual crises, introducing the various industry representatives and political actors who had contributed leadership and vision at crucial times. This is the story that probably most appealed to their sponsors and is augmented by an extensive appendix containing lists of NPC members, titles of all reports issued, and short biographies of a large number of leaders. But the writers also manage to pull off a more analytical macro story, which places the NPC within the bigger picture of business-government cooperation. They argue that this case study provides a model of success for other industry-sponsored advisory councils, and suggest that business and government can both learn valuable lessons from the experience in petroleum. In the wake of the contemporary "market revolution" in the global economy, the authors counsel that government must accept the virtue of good information and positive collaboration with the private sector if it is to make good policy, while business should recognize the value of cooperation and consensus building in the long term over the shorter term gleaning of economic advantage.

AUGUST W. GIEBELHAUS
Georgia Institute of Technology

ELIZABETH HANSON. *Animal Attractions: Nature on Display in American Zoos*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 243. $29.95.

Whether it be the shelling and looting of Baghdad's zoo, the third largest in the Middle East, during the American war on Iraq, or the opening of the Bronx Zoo's "Tiger Mountain," a three-acre "Asian" habitat for six Siberian tigers that permits visitors to watch members of this endangered species up close through glass, the captivity and saving of wild animals has been much in the news. Elizabeth Hanson's history of the display of animals in American zoos since the 1870s provides a valuable overview of how zookeepers have defined, promoted, and balanced their missions of educating and entertaining people by capturing, exhibiting, and caring for exotic animals. Zookeeping has never been a simple cultural enterprise precisely because its practitioners have repeatedly juggled what an animal-loving public wants to see and feel with what professionals want the public to find edifying. As an international enterprise, stocking municipal zoos depended on networks of animal traders and zoo-sponsored expeditions before World War II. Today zookeeping is governed by environmental regulations and the protocols of NGOs, which also sponsor rescue efforts for zoo animals in war zones and campaigns to protect the 600 Siberian tigers that remain in the wild.

Hanson argues that American display of wild animals accommodated multiple overlapping and often contradictory aesthetic, ecological, and commercial impulses. Nineteenth-century traditions of scenic landscape appreciation, which also informed the design of dioramas in natural history museums, prompted the

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first generation of zoo builders to organize their institutions as "planned communities" and to provide pleasing painted backdrops for caged animals. In the interwar years, ecologically minded zookeepers, greatly influenced by the renowned German animal dealer Carl Hagenbeck, expanded and redesigned animal quarters to make them more "natural." Yet, in one of the many ironies that Hanson notes, the ecology reproduced in pathbreaking outdoor exhibits in Denver and St. Louis was not that of the animals' original habitats but rather local geological formations. By the 1990s, successive revolutions in naturalizing habitats had taken animals from cages and pits to islands with moats to wide-open savannas (requiring various safari vehicles or monorails for visitors) or indoor rain forests. Landscape appreciation gave way to "landscape immersion," and environmentalism replaced vaguer notions of civic uplift as the dominant rationale for zoos. Meanwhile, the promotional instincts of zookeepers, who needed public support to secure tax dollars, sometimes undercut both their scientific and aesthetic agendas as they anthropomorphized animals and aimed for spectacle—whether the elephants that P. T. Barnum's Jumbo made hugely popular at the turn of the twentieth century or the Chinese pandas that performed diplomatic missions at the century's end.

Hanson successfully draws on the published literature produced by zookeepers and animal traders for other professionals and for a general public to describe changing ideas about the display and care of wild creatures in captivity. But her book is freshest when she delves into archives, reports, and stories of individual institutions to describe specific missions or innovations. Thus, drawing on the Smithsonian archives of the National Zoo, she explains how the collecting expeditions of director William M. Mann built on an "infrastructure" of commercial animal dealers, tourism, and local brokers in Africa and Southeast Asia to secure species and generate publicity. Like wild animal dealer Frank Buck or St. Louis zookeeper Marlin Perkins (of "Wild Kingdom" fame), Mann promoted his mission by personifying adventure for a public audience. When a new generation of wildlife conservationists took charge of zoos in the late twentieth century, their seemingly more abstract reformist ideology sometimes cost them popular support, as when New Yorkers rejected efforts to rename the Bronx Zoo the International Wildlife Conservation Park. Hanson explicitly states that she chose not to write institutional history, but the professionalization and bureaucratization of zookeeping in the post-World War II era emerges as a major theme. Endangered species acts brought zoos under federal regulation, personnel arrived with advanced degrees and new expertise on animal behavior, zoos coordinated new breeding programs (and gene pools), and the American Association of Zoological Parks and Aquariums, formed in 1971, took charge of monitoring 160 accredited zoos. One of Hanson's most interesting discussions briefly surveys the rise of "animal welfare science" (p. 171), which expanded at the same time that the animal rights movement launched new critiques of holding wild animals in captivity.

This book is rich in striking examples that compensate for Hanson's less confident analysis of what it is, finally, that has so attracted Americans (and others) to wild animals and made zoos such enduring institutions. Hanson should have been better served by her editors, who might have eliminated repetition among thematically organized chapters and helped give the book a more satisfying narrative shape. Still, the book leaves readers with a clear appreciation of the pressures that shaped American zoos in the past and continue to drive innovations in display today.

ELIZABETH BLACKMAR
Columbia University

BARBARA MELOSH. *Strangers and Kin: The American Way of Adoption*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 326. $29.95.

In a field that still cries out for more attention, Barbara Melosh's history of adoption is a welcome volume. Her account of American adoption practices in the twentieth century is thorough, straightforward, and measured. Personally engaged with her subject, Melosh does not ignore the demands of her discipline, grounding her history in a wealth of data. To the material she uses from the Children's Bureau of Delaware (CBD) she adds data from newspapers, the writings of experts, photographs, and literature. The chapters that draw individual voices from the CBD records provide insight into the experiential dimensions of adoption for all participants.

Melosh covers the main subjects in American adoption, from baby markets to birthparent searches, from social work standards to family policy. Her chapters include an introduction to adoption in the United States (chapter one), an analysis of placement decisions (chapter two), a description of changing attitudes toward adoption (chapter three), a discussion of transracial adoption (chapter four), the knotty subject of secrecy (chapter five), and, finally, the direction adoption is taking in the twenty-first century (chapter six). Throughout, Melosh links changes in adoption practice to context; she notes the major social, political, and economic events that have an impact on adoption, the cultural shifts that affect the ideology of family, and the swings of professional opinion on "placing" children. She examines in detail the "personas" of participants: the figure of the relinquishing parent, for instance, which embodies ideologies of gender, sexuality, and family. Testimonies from CBD records distinguish the book from other coverage of these conventional topics in adoption literature.

Melosh opens the book by speculating on kinship, the "strangeness" of American adoption. The book, however, is less about kinship than about practices for placing children and behaviors around having children. Data from the CBD provide a first-hand view of the

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complex relationship between social-work criteria and individual decisions about parenthood. The reader gets a full sense of the pressure social workers put on members of the triad, as they decide that girl children are easier than boy children, that a light-skinned child should not be placed with "dark" parents, and that children should look like their parents. Her account of decisions about "fitness" and about the right child for the right family reveal the subtle process by which cultural ideologies are replicated and enforced, often inadvertently. Melosh extends existing literature on matching by including ideologies of gender, along with those of religion and race, as factors in the social construction of family. She remains aware that social workers are as subject to the hegemonies of their times as anyone else; they are (rightly) neither the villains nor the heroes in this story.

Replete with details about individual adoption cases and generous with the personal testimonies that bear witness to the source and significance of a decision to place a child with strangers, the book expands the history of adoption with the local knowledge that gives texture to change. Although Melosh recognizes the puzzle of nonbiological kinship in the United States, she does not explore the ways in which changes in adoption practice intersect with popular interpretations of kinship. Consummate as a historian, Melosh is less strong in theory, generally neglecting the anthropological literature on kinship. The value of the book lies in its thick description of practice and its chronological tracking of shifts in American attitudes toward adoption throughout the twentieth century.

The chapters are long and often unwieldy. Chapter five, "Adoption and Disclosure," for instance, covers every possible aspect of secrecy in American adoption from the "secret" of infertility to the white lies in agency records. Chapter six, "Adoption Challenged," covering the search movement and the opening of adoption records, reads like a review of fiction, memoirs, film, and journalism on adoption. The wonderful use of multiple voices from the CBD records, and the illuminating immersion in one agency, unfortunately fade from the last chapters of the book.

These are weaknesses in an otherwise fine book that will be accessible to a wide audience. Fraught with scholarship, the book opens a door to the personal experience of adoption as that experience transformed over 100 years. It will hold a permanent place as a reference for future scholars of adoption, of American culture, and of the profession of social work in the United States. More importantly, the book will put adoption on the front page of history, no longer a footnote to the history of the family or the history of childhood.

JUDITH SCHACHTER MODELL
Carnegie Mellon University

IAN DOWBIGGIN. *A Merciful End: The Euthanasia Movement in Modern America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xix, 250. $28.00.

I do not know who gave this book its title, but I doubt it was the author. As Ian Dowbiggin tells the story, providing "a merciful end" for suffering patients is at best a secondary motive of the euthanasia movement in modern America. Instead, he presents evidence of deep Social Darwinian and eugenic currents. Even for those leaders of the movement whose concerns center on the suffering patient rather than on society, Dowbiggin suggests that the fruit of their labor is infected by mistaken judgment and shortsightedness.

Euthanasia has deep roots in Western culture, but Dowbiggin chooses to begin his account at the turn of the last century during the heyday of Social Darwinism and the dawn of eugenics. This choice sets the stage for all that follows. Modernity is largely a product of Darwinism (or vice versa), and Dowbiggin depicts the utilitarian, anticlerical, pervasively Darwinian euthanasia movement as an archetypical manifestation of the modern reform impulse. Fittingly, the movement begins in America with champions like Robert Ingersoll, Felix Adler, William Robinson, Jack London, and Clarence Darrow. America's failure to embrace their arguments for euthanasia even after a century reflects a cultural hesitancy to accept the full implications of modernity, this account suggests. Perhaps there is some sentiment and superstition left in us, at least when we confront death. The rational end for the dying and the defective is euthanasia, its champions argue.

After somewhat choppily chronicling these early years of Progressive advocacy for euthanasia, Dowbiggin hits his stride with the formation of the Euthanasia Society of America (ESA) during the Great Depression. His book is fundamentally a work of institutional history, and it is the well-researched story of the ESA and successor organizations that the author tells in impressive detail. New York City Humanist Society founder Charles Francis Potter and a wealthy former psychiatric patient named Ann Mitchell served as the initial driving force behind the ESA, at least until (in unrelated events) Potter pressed too hard for compensation and Mitchell jumped from a window to her death. Both warmly endorsed eugenics and advocated euthanasia as much for genetic misfits as for the terminally ill. From the outset, as Dowbiggin documents in detail, the small, Manhatten-based organization's boards and councils were dominated by an elite corps of eugenicists including Margaret Sanger, Henry Emerson Fosdick, Edward A. Ross, H. H. Goddard, Arthur Estabrook, and C. C. Little.

World War II and the exposure of Nazi practices dealt a body blow to the euthanasia movement just as they did to the campaign for eugenics. Trying to make the best of a bad situation, Potter sought to repackage euthanasia as a remedy for disabled veterans—without much success. Nazis had systematically euthanized large numbers of sick or infirm patients in addition to murdering Jews and Gypsies, and Dowbiggin places some of the blame on Germans who supported euthanasia before the war, "no matter what their intentions"

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(p. 70). He sees mercy killing as a slippery slope leading all too predictably to damnable results.

Virtually dead in the 1950s, the American euthanasia movement revived in the 1960s and 1970s with a revised agenda. The notion of patient autonomy over end-of-life decisions became paramount. Certainly the advent of life-sustaining treatments spurred the quest for greater patient control, but Dowbiggin ties revived interest in euthanasia more to cultural developments than to medical ones. Individuals simply expected greater control over their bodies. Episcopal theologian Joseph Fletcher, an influential proponent of situational ethics, emerged as a leader within the ESA, which in 1974 changed its name to the Society for the Right to Die. Its sister organization, the Euthanasia Education Fund, became Concern for Dying three years later. Although Fletcher was an old-line eugenicist, the organizations gradually changed their focus from championing state-sponsored euthanasia to advocating living wills and physician aid in dying. During the 1980s, Derek Humphry's Hemlock Society and Jack Kevorkian's shock tactics took up some of the ESA's more radical positions as the ESA's own successors moved toward the middle. This book tracks these developments with a critic's eye for detail. Dowbiggin has done his homework.

EDWARD J. LARSON
University of Georgia

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

GILBERT M. JOSEPH, editor. *Reclaiming the Political in Latin American History: Essays from the North.* (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 379. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

This volume celebrates Emília Viotti da Costa's monumental influence on the practice of Latin American history in the United States. Drawing together a variety of historiographical and original research chapters produced by Viotti da Costa's colleagues and former students, the work moves beyond mere *festschrift* to provide an overview, demonstration, and critique of recent trends in Latin American history. The collection's most compelling feature is its tension between mentor and students: while Viotti da Costa here repeats her criticisms of the "new historiography," her students advocate such trends, shaping race and gender-conscious historical narratives that explore how politics and power operate historically. Despite such tensions, the contributors agree wholeheartedly with their mentor: good historical writing overcomes the dichotomy between materialist and discursive analysis through an integrative method that "open[s] new paths to a much-needed synthesis" (p. 18). This volume constitutes a kind of testimony to the selective incorporation of postmodernist paradigms in recent historical writing and offers cogent explanations of the political and intellectual currents in which such writing has been grounded.

At the heart of this volume lie the contentious debates over cultural history that have beleaguered professional historians of late. The book's first section places such debates at its center, juxtaposing Viotti da Costa's critique of the perils of postmodernist "turns" with Steve J. Stern's more celebratory assessment. Viotti da Costa insists that although historians' enthusiastic embrace of agency and the power of language (freedom) provided a vital corrective to traditional history's overemphasis on macrostructural factors (necessity), the new historiography risks going too far: "culture, politics, language and meaning, instead of being constituted (determined) became constitutive (determinant)" (p. 19). She further warns against historians' fetishization of memory and oral history, the fragmentation that results when historians privilege experience over the "macrophysics of power," and an exclusive reliance on discourse analysis. Stern's essay provides an optimistic counterpoint, more a recounting than a critique of the intellectual trajectory traveled by his own cohort since the 1960s. Stern traces the evolution of "the political" in historical writing as a response to the profession's internal dynamics (regional and social history, concepts of agency and hegemony, and "politics and culture") as well as to external influences (women's movements, new social movements and identity politics, and the failure of revolutionary options in Latin America).

If these opening essays constitute the heart of the volume, the book's next eight chapters provide the guts, allowing readers to draw their own conclusions about the merits of Latin American historians' recent engagement with "the political." Following Barbara Weinstein's excellent historiographical essay on Brazilian planters and abolition, Mary Ann Mahony and Jeffrey L. Gould deconstruct local historical memory by assessing its erasures and limitations, and raise provocative questions about the role of U.S. scholars in the (re)construction of local political identities. Another set of chapters puts to the test Viotti da Costa's admonition that historians fully integrate structure and experience in historical analysis. Here her students apply a dialectical method—between macrostructural forces and experience, and across abstract divisions of elite and popular culture—and an expanded notion of "the political" to subjects as diverse as labor in post-abolition Jamaica, Guatemala's racialized discourse of illness, race and nationalism in Chile, and sexuality in Chilean agrarian reform. While disparate in their analytical frameworks, these chapters provide a clear demonstration of the historical direction advocated by Stern, while heeding the cautions enunciated by Viotti da Costa.

The last section of the book contains two chapters that engage with and enhance the volume's emphasis on the politics of historical writing. In a chapter that recounts in great detail her field experience and narrative choices for *When a Flower is Reborn*, Florencia

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E. Mallon issues a challenge to those engaged in oral history and ethnographic research. Mallon's chapter reminds us of the pitfalls that have informed anthropological disputes over ethnographic method, emphasizing how elusive elements such as trust and friendship affect the collection of oral accounts and exploring where and how the historian contributes to the construction—and at times, destruction—of local memory. In a final essay, Daniel James celebrates Viotti da Costa's legacy as a writer and teacher. Arguing that his mentor teaches best by example, James turns to her recent *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood* (1994), which renders intelligible, compelling, and politically relevant the unearthing of the past. Viotti da Costa's willingness to render historical processes in complex and un-romanticized ways, James argues, is one of the hallmarks of her work and, by example, her legacy for students and colleagues.

This is a challenging book to review, given the strengths and weaknesses that inhere in a volume dedicated to a graduate mentor and the diversity of historical questions her students have chosen to tackle under the rubric of "reclaiming the political." Precisely because of the contributors' insistence on applying the linguistic (and other) turns to historical practice, and their common engagement with issues of power, memory, and social justice, the volume makes a constructive contribution to today's "theoretical impasse": what is the role of the professional historian of Latin America? To what extent have scholarly trends enabled or constrained meaningful engagement with the past? Is Viotti da Costa's "third way" between positivist empiricism and culturalist deconstruction possible, or even desirable? A fruitful combination of advocacy, critique, and demonstration distinguishes this collection from recent iterations of scholarly debate that which have privileged ideological disputes over careful scrutiny of the "new historiography" itself. While the ultimate success of recent tendencies will surely remain in dispute, one source of their inspiration—the teaching and example of Viotti da Costa—remains forever documented in this fine collection.

ELIZABETH QUAY HUTCHISON
University of New Mexico

KATHLEEN DEAGAN and JOSÉ MARÍA CRUXENT. *Columbus's Outpost among the Taínos: Spain and America at La Isabela, 1493–1498*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 294. $35.00.

This volume is a cogently written historical archaeological account of Isabela, the first European town in the Americas. Kathleen Deagan and José María Cruxent synthesize a tremendous array of documentary and material data, provide an overview of the historical and social context in which this fifteenth-century town was established, and interpret the lives of Hispaniola's first European settlers and the Taíno who greeted them. The volume is intended for a popular audience, and is thus neither overly technical nor particular intensive in its analysis of Isabela and its residents.

The first four chapters consider the historical setting of Christopher Columbus's second voyage, the founding of Isabela, and its subsequent abandonment. In outlining the historical background of the second voyage, Deagan and Cruxent argue that Columbus modeled his colonial venture on the Portuguese *factoria* system. As conceived by the admiral, Isabela would be a trading factory, inhabited by salaried employees of the crown; trade with the indigenous people of the New World would thus be the engine creating wealth for both the admiral and the crown. These chapters paint a not unsympathetic portrait of Columbus, portraying him as a beleaguered administrator doing his best to create a town in the wilderness under duress caused by short supplies, an ill and exhausted work force, and a group of minor nobility resentful of his authority and efforts. Historians and ethnohistorians will find the treatment of the Taíno population in chapter three particularly interesting. By interpreting both the documentary record left by the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Iberian chroniclers and archaeological data, Deagan and Cruxent successfully interpret both the precontact culture of the Taíno and their efforts to accommodate the presence, needs, and desires of the settlers. These opening chapters provide an excellent summary of the current thinking about Columbus and the early years of Spanish colonialism in Hispaniola.

Chapter five discusses the landscape history of Isabela from its abandonment in 1498 to the beginning of Deagan and Cruxent's investigations in 1987. While this chapter is inherently interesting, it will be appreciated most by archaeologists, who will be stunned to read that the site was bulldozed and graded not once but three times, had experienced three major earthquakes, and had been previously excavated three times (in 1891, 1892, and 1945), with no excavation reports or artifact collections known to exist.

It is in this context that Deagan and Cruxent analyze the archaeological remains of Isabela in chapters six through nine. The archaeological investigations did uncover several previously unknown aspects of Isabela. For example, the town was laid out radially, suggesting that the gridiron plan more commonly seen in Spanish colonial towns was not implemented there. The authors conclude that Columbus was a student of the ideas of Francesco di Girorgio Martini, an Italian architect who argued that the ideal city should incorporate existing geographical features into an overall plan emphasizing symbols of authority and defensive fortifications, both to protect the settlement from external threat and to provide control over the internal population.

The authors also use the archaeological evidence to dispel what they consider to be the common misconception that Isabela was doomed because Columbus had chosen an unsuitable location for his town. Among the startling discoveries made by Cruxent and Deagan

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was the site of Las Coles. The archaeological evidence suggests that this site, located some 1700 meters from the main settlement, was a satellite settlement. The smaller site of Las Coles was well watered, and there appear to have been several mills, kilns, and other industrial works located there. Deagan and Cruxent suggest that Las Coles and Isabela were located near all of the resources required for the settlement of a town, and that Columbus's choice for the location of the town was not as irrational as traditionally believed.

The volume concludes with two brief chapters dedicated to the aftermath of Isabela. They provide a historical overview of Hispaniola following the appointment of Francisco de Bobadilla as governor of the colony and a review of the archaeology conducted on several sixteenth-century sites on Hispaniola, including Puerto Real and Concepción de la Vega. The authors conclude that the post-Isabeline Caribbean can be best understood as a place in which multiple cultures and gene pools met, creating a new, creolized biological and social reality. This is the legacy of Isabela.

Deagan and Cruxent set out to write a popular interpretation of the history and archaeology of Isabela. To their credit, they simultaneously published a technical report on the archaeology of the site, which they cross-reference for the expert here. Those with a deep knowledge of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Caribbean may find little new in this book; however, it provides and excellent and very readable introduction to the history and archaeology of the very first stages of Iberian colonization of the New World.

JAMES A. DELLE
Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

JOSÉ-MANUEL NAVARRO. *Creating Tropical Yankees: Social Science Textbooks and U.S. Ideological Control in Puerto Rico, 1898–1908.* (Latino Communities, Emerging Voices: Political, Social, Cultural, and Legal Issues.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xi, 227. $75.00.

José-Manuel Navarro explores an important and intriguing subject: Puerto Rican education under colonial rule by the United States. Navarro's sources are well chosen and highly revealing, especially reports of the Commissioners of Education and social science textbooks used in Puerto Rican schools.

Navarro argues that U.S. education policy in Puerto Rico offered a coherent, ideological approach designed to promote acceptance of U.S. domination and to convert Puerto Ricans into "tropical Yankees." Navarro labels the dominant American culture White Anglo-Saxon Protestant Male (WASPM). U.S. education policy makers perceived the needs of Puerto Rican students through the lens of the WASPM "ideology," developing curriculum and teacher training requirements that emphasized learning English, adopting U.S. role models or heroes (virtually all white males), and supposedly Protestant virtues of honesty, thrift, and hard work. Authors of history and geography textbooks (who wrote primarily for U.S. audiences) also revealed these biases, exalting such historical figures as a Parson Weems version of George Washington and failing to provide heroic examples from Puerto Rican or Native American history or to people their histories with women.

Navarro's work compares educational practices in Puerto Rico and the United States in a limited way, although a broader comparison would shed much light on Puerto Rican education. Navarro first offers a brief history of education under Spanish colonial rule, noting both its limited basis and its humanistic bent. Under U.S. colonial rule, educational opportunities expanded, but, according to Navarro, they were inferior to those offered in the United States because of an early emphasis on "industrial" training and because most schools offered only primary education through grade six. Navarro notes the precedent for industrial and vocational education among Native and African Americans. Small numbers of Puerto Rican students attended Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Tuskegee Normal and Agricultural Institute, and the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. These institutions offered examples for Americanization of groups that education officials saw as "inferior, limited in their intellectual capacities and destined to manual or 'industrial' occupations at or near the bottom of society" (p. 6). They also emphasized moral education and instruction in "behavior, manners, and decorum," as did the Puerto Rican schools (p. 88). Colonial administrators promoted industrial schools, but they soon replaced them with arts and trades schools offering more limited basic academic and practical instruction. Navarro does not note that Progressive-era education in the United States emphasized the Americanization of immigrants in ways similar to those in Puerto Rico. The teaching of English and the introduction of patriotic songs, symbols, and historic heroes who personified "American" values were staples of U.S. education. Examination of similarities and differences in Americanization policies in American cities and American colonies such as Puerto Rico and the Philippines would offer significant insight into colonial education.

American colonial officials hoped to replace loyalty to Spain with a conviction that Puerto Rico's future lay under the benevolent tutelage of the United States. The assessments of early Commissioners of Education reflect anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish feelings. A striking feature of their reports is the optimism with which they approach Americanization. While certain beliefs, like notions of geographical determinism, shaped attitudes toward their colonial subjects, administrators viewed Puerto Ricans as hindered primarily by poverty and Spanish cultural tradition. Reflecting their confidence in the uplifting power of education, they were convinced that English instruction and historical examples of virtuous, hard-working citizens would transform Puerto Ricans into "tropical Yankees." An exception to the generally anti-Spanish tenor came from Puerto Rican historian Salvador Brau, who agreed that the

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American presence promised progress for Puerto Rico. Brau's celebration of Spain and sympathetic treatment of Native Americans, according to Navarro, contrasted with that of American historian John Bach McMaster. "While Brau's pen when describing the Native Americans may have been dipped in an inkwell of sympathy, benign paternalism, Catholic moralism, and pity, McMaster's pen was simply dipped in vitrol" (p. 184).

Navarro's methodology is exegetical rather than synthetic. He analyzes the reports of officials one by one, chronologically, with long block quotes followed by repetitive analysis. He approaches textbooks in similar fashion. Navarro insists that this approach is deliberate, but the process leads to redundant analysis. How many times does the convinced reader need to be reminded that yet another textbook author failed to include women? The reader is not surprised and is left with important questions that are beyond Navarro's scope, such as how Puerto Rican teachers and students responded to instruction, and how this reception differed from (and in what ways was similar to) the response of African Americans, Native Americans, and European immigrants.

Navarro suggests his vision of an appropriate curriculum: one that emphasizes heroes who have resisted colonial domination. Ironically, while he deplores the absence of portrayals of Puerto Rican resistance to Spanish and U.S. domination by early twentieth century writers, Navarro insists that accounting for resistance is beyond the scope of his book. On the one hand, he believes U.S. education contributed to "acceptance of the United States as a beneficent liberator, in place of it being seen as an imperialist and colonialist master"; yet, on the other, he suggests that it also "foreshadowed the educational policy disputes that would envelop Puerto Rico during the following three decades of the twentieth century" (p. 201). Navarro explains U.S. education policy as designed to turn Puerto Ricans into "passive, subservient colonials." His reference to future curriculum battles, particularly over English-language instruction, leaves one wondering how Puerto Ricans responded to Americanization efforts from 1898 to 1908.

DARLENE RIVAS
Pepperdine University

SERGE GRUZINSKI. *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization*. Translated by DEKE DUSINBERRE. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. 266. $22.95.

Serge Gruzinski crosscuts images and poetry of colonial Mexico with avant-garde cinema: scenes of Wong Kar-Wai's temporally unstable movies and Peter Greenaway's lurid and spectacular films. His aim is to show that the "mestizo phenomenon" that we encounter in the postmodern era, where cultures intermingle and wherein there is a "constant cracking open, shattering, and enriching of the genre—along with compromises, reconfigurations, and reinterpretations" (p. 201), offers illuminating parallels to the visual and poetic products of the conquered and colonized Amerindian world. An imaginative scholar and gifted writer, Gruzinski goes beyond making the sixteenth century accessible: he makes it hip. This is the kind of book that professors will find their students have read before they do.

Central to Gruzinski's inquiry is the enigmatic imagery that is part of the canon of colonial Mexican art, both visual and poetic. By the mid-sixteenth century, native intellectuals were caught *nepantla*, betwixt two worlds. Some had been born in the pre-Hispanic era under Aztec rule, others knew it from teachers and parents, and all had been evangelized by Catholic friars and their acolytes in the wake of the Spanish conquest. In this culturally unstable world, native artists flourished. Not surprisingly, in their works, conventional (at least, in European terms) imagery intermingles with things that escape easy explanation. In paintings of the Casa de Deán in Puebla, haughty sibyls of Petrarchian pedigree are flanked by naughty monkeys frolicking among hallucinogenic plants. In the nave of the monastery at Ixmiquilpan, native warriors dressed in jaguar pelts battle among animate acanthus vines hung with (decapitated?) heads. In the poetic songs that make up the *Cantares mexicanos*, we find the pope in Rome taking aim with a turquoise blowgun.

To explain where this imagery emerges, Gruzinski develops a theory of "receptors." He argues that certain settings, usually ones well established in the art of Renaissance Europe or the Mannerist art of the later sixteenth century such as classical mythology or grotesque ornament, "acted like a magnet that spatially united elements of European and Amerindian provenance, originally foreign to one another, and made them converge on the painted surface" (p. 129). He adds to the list townscapes (or *pinturas*) "that visually combined different conceptions of urban space," along with the *Cantares* mentioned above.

But his greatest contribution in this book is to continue the exploration (begun in other books) of the idea of a hybrid or mestizo culture that produced such products, one bound neither by the structures of Renaissance European or those of pre-Columbian America. Gruzinski calls upon us to fashion "irrational" strategies, or invent "new arrangements . . . to allow irreducible elements to coexist without establishing veritable logic" (p. 158), and he points to the melanges produced by modern cinema, where Buenos Aires is captured by a Hong Kong filmmaker (Wong Kar-Wai's *Happy Together*), or tenth-century Japan is reimagined in the 1970s (Greenaway's *The Pillow Book*).

It is hard to read this book without feeling breathless. Gruzinski's grasp of the material, of sixteenth-century Mexico and Europe, of modern cinema and postcolonial theory, allows him to weave together effortlessly the ideas pursued in this book. His discus-

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sions of the role of the grotesque in Mannerist thought, and of the Renaissance view of classical mythology imported to the New World, are erudite and engrossing. The reader is constantly surprised and absorbed by the author's inventive meditations and combinations. Small wonder that Gruzinski is one of the most admired and influential writers on sixteenth-century Mexico, not only because of his evocative interpretations of the material and his wide-ranging historical and art historical knowledge but also because he has been able to make this era topical, tying the issues of the past to present-day concerns.

In the end, Gruzinski does not claim to reach any conclusions; his approach is meant to be suggestive and open ended, pointing to a "mestizo" dynamic rather than prescribing a theory. But I came to wonder how far the analogy between the mestizo aesthetic of our day and that of the sixteenth century can be drawn. Surely our contemporary mestizo aesthetic cannot be unmoored from the globalizing effects of late capitalism, where information, people, and capital move unfettered by national boundaries. And given the radically different economic landscape of the sixteenth-century New World, not to mention its dynamics of power, what does it mean that a similar aesthetic should arise there? Gruzinski sets aside an analysis of the connection between aesthetic effects and power relations, social change, and economic upheavals. Given his extraordinary abilities, certainly this is a subject worthy of his next book.

BARBARA MUNDY
Fordham University

MAGDALENA CHOCANO MENA. *La fortaleza docta: Elite letrada y dominación social en México colonial (siglos XVI-XVII)*. Barcelona: Ediciones Bellaterra. 2000. Pp. 415.

In this examination of the formation and functioning of the intellectual culture of sixteenth and seventeenth-century New Spain, Magdalena Chocano Mena attempts to renovate Angel Rama's proposal that the intellectuals of New Spain formed a city within a city, a lettered city (*La Ciudad Letrada* [1984]). She asserts that the lettered city was, in fact, *la fortaleza docta*, the learned fortress, created by *criollos*, American-born Spaniards, to legitimatize and fortify their elite position.

To build and sustain their fortress, the author contends, these elite men of colonial Mexico undertook two processes. First, they denigrated and invalidated Indian culture in order to eliminate any indigenous claim to knowledge and its associated social power. Secondly, they elevated the social value of the intellectual enterprise in order to establish intellectual capital sufficient to claim and preserve elite social and political positions within New Spanish society. Although these two developments are well recognized by historians of colonial Mexico, Chocano Mena explores exactly *how* these processes evolved by analyzing a wide array of printed primary documents, such as sermons, essays, funeral eulogies, and Inquisition records.

Chocano Mena explains that the indigenous people and their intellectual culture were uprooted through the transcription and translation of their languages into Spanish texts used for educating the Indians. In addition, they were identified as idolatrous and characterized as drunkards. In this way, it was argued that indigenous people and their culture lacked intellectual abilities and moral character and thus could not be part of *la fortaleza docta*. At the same time, the lettered elite claimed exclusionary control of educational institutions and achieved integration into and association with the colonial civil and ecclesiastical bureaucracy. Elite status was fortified by the active role intellectuals played in defining orthodoxy and heterodoxy in order to exclude anyone who claimed to have gained knowledge without formal education. Chocano Mena concludes that the educated elite "played a strategic role precisely through their capacity to integrate their local [interests] into a vast imperial scheme" (p. 371).

In writing this book Chocano Mena has taken on the difficult task of trying to trace the murky development of colonial intellectual culture. She is successful in providing scholars with a road map through this complex territory based on primary and secondary sources. As is often the case with maps, however, there are odd spaces and territories that are not accounted for in her examination. For example, early in the text, the theoretical concepts of Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, and Max Weber are introduced, but they are not cohesively woven through the subsequent text or conclusion. Further, while she does discuss the seventeenth-century controversy over the Immaculate Conception, there is little attention given to the development of the tradition and cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe and its potential impact on the elite's intellectual hegemony. This initially indigenous cult would grow dramatically in the seventeenth century into a *criollo* cult and could be perceived as a territory outside of *la fortaleza docta* where indigenous and elite culture, instead of being separated, could meet to form New Spain's identity and community, even *patria* or nation. Chocano Mena's relative silence on this important cult is unexplained.

Finally, Chocano Mena does not address comprehensively the question of national formation in the colonial period, which is a theme that appears in the primary document texts she quotes. This is especially important because during the seventeenth century, Spanish-American intellectuals were formulating the tenets upon which *criollo* identification with independence would be built in the eighteenth century and over which conflict between liberal and conservative views would be fought in the civil wars of the nineteenth century.

Overall, the author does make a solid contribution to the broad understanding of the intellectual history of New Spain. By identifying the issues and individuals

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of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Chocano Mena provides scholars with useful information about the formation of Mexico's early and middle colonial period culture.

MAGALI M. CARRERA
University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

JIM NORRIS. *After "The Year Eighty": The Demise of Franciscan Power in Spanish New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, with the Academy of American Franciscan History. 2000. Pp. x, 212. $39.95.

Scholars have long seen the Pueblo Revolt as a pivotal event in the history of the Spanish Southwest, a watershed that in so many ways marked the beginning of a new era. In August 1680, the united Pueblo peoples overthrew Spanish rule, drove the Spaniards out of the upper Rio Grande valley, and remained independent for over a decade. Under the leadership of Don Diego de Vargas, Spain managed to subjugate anew the Pueblos and reincorporate New Mexico into its empire during the 1690s, but things were never the same in this colonial outpost on the northern frontier. One important post-revolt change proved to be the ascendancy of civil over ecclesiastical authority in the province. Historian Jim Norris addresses this particular theme and demonstrates the ways in which the Franciscan presence—so prominent before 1680—diminished considerably in Spain's far northern colony of New Mexico after "the year eighty." The author contends that the Franciscan decline was not immediate but rather was "an evolutionary process that began with the Pueblo revolt in 1680 and continued throughout most of the eighteenth century" (p. 5).

Following a brief introduction, Norris begins his study with an overview of Franciscan institutional organization and the extent of their missionary activity, economic importance, and political clout in New Mexico during the pre-revolt era. He then provides a richly researched profile of the "typical" Franciscan who ministered in eighteenth-century New Mexico: a *criollo* (American born) of urban background who lacked sufficient training, experience, or vigor to work effectively on the northern frontier. These group characteristics, the author feels, contributed greatly to the Franciscans' ultimate failure in the province.

The remaining chapters focus on the formal institutions of Spanish civil and ecclesiastical government and the personalities who operated within those structures and trace chronologically the decline of Franciscan power in New Mexico. The challenge came primarily from civil officials—in Spain, New Spain, and the province—who viewed New Mexico in a different light after 1680. French imperial threats, increased hostilities from mobile, non-subject Indians (especially the Comanches and Apaches), and the Bourbon monarchy's proclivity toward military rule cast New Mexico as a defensive outpost of empire rather than a field for evangelization. Thus, civil rather than ecclesiastical authority now guided provincial affairs. The undermining of the Franciscans, argues Norris, was more episodic than steady. The order suffered its greatest setbacks in the first decades of the 1700s (during the governorships of José Chacón and Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón) and at mid-century (especially during the administrations of Joaquín Codallos y Rabal and Tomás Vélez Cachupín). Over the long haul, the results were unmistakable: from being the preeminent economic, political, and cultural force in the seventeenth century, the Franciscans had become by the 1770s marginal players on the provincial stage.

Civil officials may have led the charge to marginalize the order, but religious personnel, including the Franciscans themselves, also contributed to their undoing. The diocese of Durango successfully laid claim to New Mexico, although it never effectively controlled provincial resources or replaced the Franciscans with secular priests. Furthermore, Franciscan leadership in Mexico City proved unresponsive to the need for adequate preparation, especially in languages, for mission personnel. And save a few exceptions, Franciscans in New Mexico paid scant interest to learning Native tongues or caring spiritually for their charges. The Order of St. Francis, argues Norris, fell short in its duty to evangelize.

Norris is to be commended for his solid archival research, and while the idea of eighteenth-century Franciscan decline is nothing new, he does well in showing certain ways through which the process occurred. The author could have further enriched this work had he expanded his inquiry beyond the bounds of formal institutional structures and had sought to examine the issues more broadly. For example, how and in what ways did the ordinary inhabitants of colonial New Mexico—Native American and Hispanic—contribute to the demise of Franciscan authority? Norris makes clear the missionaries' deficiencies with respect to Native languages, and he posits that Pueblo groups perhaps deliberately led missionaries astray when trying to master them, but he fails to discuss fully this important dimension of Native participation in the Franciscans' collapse. One wonders, too, about changes in the relationship between the Hispanic population and the Franciscan missionaries. On its own terms, however, the book stands as a solid scholarly contribution, best suited to specialists in the fields of the Spanish borderlands and colonial Latin America.

CHARLES CUTTER
Purdue University

DAVID CAREY, JR. and ALLAN F. BURNS. *Our Elders Teach Us: Maya-Kaqchikel Historical Perspectives.* (Contemporary American Indian Studies.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 385. $24.95.

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At the very beginning of this book, Allan F. Burns sets the agenda succinctly for David Carey, Jr., by posing a question that cuts to the quick of the subject about to be discussed: "What would the history of Guatemala, or for that matter the history of the Americas, look like if the basic concepts were taken from Mayan oral tradition rather than European-dominated historiography?" (p. ix). Carey pieces together his key answer—decidedly different and often at odds, both internally and in relation to the dominant canon—in ways that make for a provocative and unhinging read, one that challenges us to rethink and reformulate the fundamentals of scholarly inquiry and exposition.

In his opening chapter, "Methodology," Carey makes it clear that his detailed narrative of a handful of Mayan communities in the Central Highlands of Guatemala emphasizes his "five years of living in and returning to these towns," an experience that furnished him "with an understanding of the context and reality of Kaqchikel and allowed me the opportunity to learn about historical perspectives and relevant events in Kaqchikel history" (p. 2). Patiently investing time in building up local confidence and in gaining a full-fledged command of Kaqchikel, one of some twenty Mayan languages spoken in Guatemala, Carey lived among the people he would study "prior to researching documentation," a strategy that enabled him "to frame questions from oral histories, not from histories in the archives" (p. 1). What he unearths and discloses from the experience goes against the grain of all sorts of established thinking on Guatemala and enriches our knowledge substantially.

Notwithstanding his decision to exclude "privileged information that was too private, too personal, or too politically dangerous" (p. 20), Carey weaves a historically framed ethnography that is rich, layered, and nuanced, affording the reader "a broad view of Kaqchikel historical perspectives" (p. 3) generated by fieldwork for the most part conducted in San Juan Comalapa, San José Poaquil, Tecpán, San Antonio Aguas Calientes, and Santa Catarina Barahona. His goal is not to "present oral histories alone but rather contextualize them with reference to written sources" (p. 24), some of which contradict evidence gathered during the interview process, or vice versa. The range of topics covered is impressive, from "Town Origins" (chapter one) to "Ethnic Relations" (chapter nine), "Epidemics" (chapter three) to "Natural Disasters" (chapter four), with Carey and his participants also deliberating at length on "Land, Labor, and Integration" (chapter two) and "Education, Exclusion, and Assertiveness" (chapter five). Particularly illuminating are discussions that focus on native involvement in the military (chapter six), Maya recollections of the authoritarian regime of Jorge Ubico, in power from 1931 to 1944 (chapter seven), and the thorny issue of community leadership (chapter eight).

Carey is sympathetic to his Kaqchikel protagonists at all times, allowing them to express opinions at an individual level that run contrary to more generalized comprehension of certain historical situations. Of the liberal reforms of Justo Rufino Barrios, for example, which caused widespread loss of land in Maya communities between 1873 and 1885, Carey presents the views of one informant from Comalapa who asserts that "Barrios did a good job because a long time ago the land had no owners ... Barrios gave security to families and their land. He had a good idea and did it well" (p. 86). Another informant, also from Comalapa, is critical of the land reform policies of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán (1951–1954), stating: "The agrarian law he passed was bad. He did not help the Maya with it" (p. 99). While recording these viewpoints, indeed any Maya perspective, serves a useful informative purpose, there are occasions when Carey needs to guide the reader with greater care and more authority as to how events unfolded beyond the confines of the communities under scrutiny. It is often the case in Guatemala, as Carey well understands, that what happened in one place at one time may have transpired very differently in a community just a few kilometers away.

Letting people have their say is one matter; accounting responsibly for what they uphold is another. "Fuentes y Guzman," a seventeenth-century chronicler, "did not get it right, at least for our people" (p. 78), one source tells Carey. "He did not find out about our reality, land, work, or life." Fair enough. Carey needs to elaborate, however, on why such a view and myriad others might be valid, including correcting himself about who Fuentes y Guzman actually was. He was not, as Carey states, a "Spanish historian" (p. 46) but a member of the *criollo* elite with as much antipathy for imperial Spain as lack of appreciation for Maya culture. Nor was Antigua, the colonial capital known as Santiago de Guatemala, ever "buried" (p. 45) by an earthquake. Buildings were certainly toppled and the site of the capital moved to present-day Guatemala City. But life in Antigua carried on, with Mayans taking an active part in keeping things going, as they still do all over Guatemala today.

W. George Lovell
Queen's University at Kingston, Canada

Lara Putnam. *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870–1960*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. pp. xii, 303. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

In this book, Lara Putnam delivers a vivid account of labor practices, gender relations, and social change against the backdrop of the United Fruit Company's (UFCO) expansion of banana operations in Central America. Seeking to correct older interpretations that depict regional events as dependent on UFCO managers or the government officials who encouraged the company's activities within their states' borders, Putnam places the men and women who traveled to the coastal city of Port Limón from the West Indies and the Central American highlands at the center of her

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story. She is especially careful to show that women as well as men contributed to the expansion of agro-export activities around Port Limón. To be sure, Putnam acknowledges that the men who cleared the land, worked the fields, and transported fruit played major roles in the development of the regional economy. Nevertheless, she insists that migrant women played equally critical—if less visible—roles through their domestic labors, services, and sales of everything from seeds and soap to sex. Using an impressive body of archival data, oral histories, memoirs, novels, song lyrics, and photographs, Putnam convincingly demonstrates that migrants brought diverse assumptions about gender, work, and respectability to their work in the banana zone and that they adopted or rejected challenges to those older notions in their new country of residence. Full of case histories and graphic descriptions of daily life, Putnam's study puts a human face on the history of a boom and bust plantation economy. The result is a dramatic social and cultural history of migration, community formation, and economic development that will broaden readers' perspectives on the regional history of the western Caribbean.

One of Putnam's key arguments is that neither the UFCO nor the Costa Rican state seemed to matter much in terms of shaping family life and gender arrangements in Port Limón over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Public officials and company managers certainly spent time and energy lamenting male drinking and carousing, female sexual promiscuity, or labor transience. However, Putnam challenges recent historical work suggesting that turn-of-the-century foreign capitalists and government employees successfully imposed "developmentalist" moral conventions and gender codes on laborers in the name of progress, productivity, and profit. In Caribbean Costa Rica, at least, UFCO demonstrated little interest in the moral life of employees and their families as long as the crops were harvested and delivered. And while the Costa Rican state, like others around the region, did periodically wage campaigns against vice and sin, it often lost interest because liquor licenses and brothel activities were so profitable. Indeed, those who did express a clear moral vision—one elaborated according to their own codes of respectability and conduct—were the prostitutes, plantation workers, vendors, shareholders, preachers, maids, and dockworkers who peopled Port Limón. Putnam offers a stunning number of family and labor conflict cases culled from regional judicial archives to show how, in the absence of pressure from UFCO or the state, ideas about gender and community life changed over time.

The book is organized both chronologically and thematically. Putnam uses the first few chapters to set the basic parameters of the story, highlighting the conditions in the West Indies—primarily Jamaica—and Costa Rica that led women and men to leave home and move to Port Limón in such unprecedented numbers. She next charts the patterns of agricultural activities and the economic booms and busts that attracted and dissuaded migrants and laborers from diverse regions between 1870 and 1960. In the remainder of the book, Putnam examines such issues as male homosociability, prostitution, insults, respectability, and violence over the entire period. These chapters are especially engaging, because they are based on rich and vivid details from court cases, memoirs, and interviews that make clear the changes and continuities in peoples' struggles over such issues as spousal obligations, sexual behavior, business dealings, and racial stereotypes. At times, the lists of cases becomes overwhelming, and there are long quotes or examples that could benefit from more extended analysis, but Putnam is careful to include a discussion of her sources and interpretation at every step. This provides continuity from chapter to chapter and keeps the reader mindful of the uses and limitations of archived documents to examine peoples' personal lives and public struggles.

Readers will find that Putnam's study resonates with a developing historical literature on gender and sexuality, economic development, and migration in international context. Moreover, its attention to how men and women used the judicial system to challenge or reaffirm understandings of gender and family draws on many of the methodological and theoretical concerns that inform the "new" legal history of Latin America. In the end, Putnam's study will invite readers to consider more closely the influence of the "Company," that is UFCO, and the company, that is, relationships among migrant men and women, that fostered a unique pattern of economic and social development in Costa Rica over nearly a century.

KATHERINE ELAINE BLISS
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

JUDY BIEBER. *Power, Patronage, and Political Violence: State Building on a Brazilian Frontier, 1822–1889*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 253. $45.00.

This study breaks new ground in examining the formation of the Brazilian Empire from the periphery rather than from the center. Focusing on a frontier area of the Rio São Francisco in northern Minas Gerais, the author examines the imperial system's development in three counties—one of them Montes Claros, the future "capital" of northern Minas. On the basis of two years' archival research, Judy Bieber seeks to explain how national politicians consolidated their control of the country at the local level *ca.* 1850, after two decades of regional rebellions. Yet Bieber's emphasis is not on consensus, but partisan violence.

The area under study was unaffected by the widespread regional revolts of the 1830s and 1840s, so the violence that followed cannot be associated with partisan vengeance for the anti-imperial rebellions. The 1840s were the decade of party formation at the local

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as well as the national level. But for Bieber, the decisive shift in political practice was not the Conservative "countercoup" of 1841 but the dismissal of the Liberal cabinet in 1848 by Emperor Pedro II. The Conservatives now "made" the elections, throwing their opponents out in 1849 with unprecedented violence, even forcing Liberals to flee their homes. This procedure, coupled with the corruption of justice, set the pattern for the rest of the empire.

In this patrimonial system, patronage remained central, affecting the lower classes, for instance, by offering or denying clients protection from military recruitment. Yet patronage in its multiple forms now shifted significantly from family-based authority to the authority of political parties. This tectonic movement reflected a heightened degree of control from the increasingly centralized state in Rio de Janeiro, and when the Liberals returned to power, they followed the precedent set by their opponents in using violence. After 1850, "elite impunity" was "channeled more through party than kinship" (p. 128), although kinship remained important. In this backwater region, the rewards for party loyalty seem to have been primarily jobs for placemen, since provincial authorities awarded few public works to the three counties.

Bieber considers the local effects of repeated parliamentary efforts to reform elections, culminating in the Saraiva Law of 1881. This statute abolished the lower tier of voters (*votantes*), leaving the *eleitores*—now distinguished by a literacy requirement, and constituting less than one percent of the national population—with an exclusive franchise. But in Bieber's communities Saraiva did nothing to diminish electoral corruption, its raison d'être. Elites continually blamed the non-elite groups, rather than themselves, for violence. Moreover, Bieber argues that violence took new forms beyond formal politics after 1849. She believes the *cangaço* (bandit gang) arose in the late empire, replacing the violence of the individual henchman, the *jagunço*, because the former was linked with powerful politicians. Other writers have interpreted rising criminality, political and otherwise—for which Bieber offers some local statistical evidence—as one expression of the dislocations of capitalist modernization, but she specifically links violence to effective centralization of the state and the rise of machine politics.

At an ideological level, Bieber holds that both Liberals and Conservatives accepted the broad notions of liberalism. She further shows how this liberal discourse developed in local print media. To the notions of personal honor and civic integrity the generation after midcentury added party loyalty as a basic element of proper conduct in politics. This new generation was also much better hooked into provincial and national elite networks (e.g. through the law schools at São Paulo and Recife). They thought of themselves as "citizens of a modern state, not subjects of a patriarchal emperor" (p. 204).

In a final section Bieber expands on her argument about partisan violence to argue that the origins of rural bossism, *coronelismo*, closely associated with the First Republic in the historiography, are rooted in the late empire. This is not a new discovery, but the author does strengthen the case that *coronelismo*, and especially its partisan violence, had strong imperial antecedents.

The book is full of perceptive insights, showing the value of "peripheral" studies, but implicit and explicit generalizations about the national political process can only be sustained by studies of other localities resulting in similar findings. Bieber's approach necessarily devotes little attention to national economic trends, but it may be more than coincidence that the consolidation of the imperial system through party loyalty occurred contemporaneously with the shift in economic power from the sugar economy of the northeast to the coffee economy of the center-south. In any event, Bieber has produced an important revisionist work.

JOSEPH L. LOVE
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

ANDREW J. KIRKENDALL. *Class Mates: Male Student Culture and the Making of a Political Class in Nineteenth-Century Brazil.* (Engendering Latin America, number 6.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 269. Cloth $60.00, paper $29.95.

Focused on students at elite law schools in São Paulo and Recife, this insightful monograph examines "how a national political class was formed over time" (p. 12). Crucial sources include student newspapers, many preserved because they include early writings of significant politicians and authors. Along the way, Andrew J. Kirkendall offers original perspectives on the social and ideological history of nineteenth-century Brazil. He also addresses the role of education in the transition from "patriarchalism" to "individualism."

Kirkendall argues convincingly that the primary role of the law schools in class formation was not political indoctrination. Indeed, he relates in detail the disorganization of the schools, their lack of a coherent body of knowledge or curriculum, and the absenteeism of students as well as professors from classes. Instead, the effective separation of sons from their fathers and communities for several years, and especially the students' coresidence in the *repúblicas* (rented houses where groups often from similar geographical background lived together), provided a context of identification and solidarity that forged a strong and lasting bond. This bond, combined with the elite backgrounds of the students, created a "political class" whose members thought they were born to rule.

This political mandate was a responsibility as well as a privilege. The law school generation of the mid-1840s thought that Brazil was prevented from being a "civilized" country by the lack of "the cultural autonomy that a national literature would symbolize" (p. 46). Portuguese was referred to as the "national language." The students believed that "command of

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language defined authority" and that only those with such command could belong to the political class (p. 59). Kirkendall frames the students as having complex and changing identities, as individuals and members of a peer group on the one hand and as family members on the other. He notes that this tension within students' identities reflected the contradictions of Brazilian society at large. The young men sought to foster individual goals as well as community cohesion and identity. Friendships formed in the *repúblicas* were "not only instrumental but central to the process of identity formation" (p. 74).

The contradictory ways in which liberalism was conceived and its evolution as a political ideology are major themes. "It was a libertarian ideology for a hierarchical slave society and a parliamentary political system that was ultimately subject to the whims of a hereditary emperor" (p. 30). "Possessive individualism" was a cornerstone of Brazilian liberalism, including the dominant values of liberty, equality, property, and security. As such, Brazilian liberalism could be seen as an "apologia for an authoritarian order and . . . private power" (p. 35). Kirkendall also notes that, unlike liberals elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere, Brazilian liberals "lacked strong organized enemies" (p. 36). In the 1840s and 1850s, students viewed the institutions of the monarchy, the bicameral parliament, and the centralization of authority in Rio de Janeiro as bulwarks of social and political order. Finding order and the limits of liberalism became a primary political project. In effect, liberalism became "the privilege of one group," and the definition of Brazilian citizenship became restricted to the *bacharéis* (p. 125). Until the 1860s the law students viewed slavery and the monarchy as compatible with liberalism. According to Kirkendall, the reversal of this position was caused by more than a surplus of law students: an emerging regionalism resulting from the economic and demographic shift to São Paulo in the late nineteenth century was crucial.

Kirkendall strikingly relates the life course of law students to the conflicting demands made on them by "liberalism and patronage, by a peer group sense of independence and by future aspirations to power and prestige" (p. 126). In his law school career, "a student evolved from being the client of a powerful patron, often a family member, then frequently through a transitional stage as a rebel against these very patronage networks, and then . . . to potential client of others—with the ultimate goal being to become a dispenser of patronage himself" (p. 90). In this process, the friendships created in law school "were bound up with the need to find allies and build a political career" (p. 91). "It could be argued that the primary function of the law schools was to provide a setting in which the sons of the national elite could forge the ties that made political stability possible" (p. 91). In the years after graduation, a *bacharel* usually returned to his hometown, married, became a magistrate of the imperial bureaucracy, perhaps started a newspaper, and often attempted to use connections with former classmates and other patrons to return to the center of political life in Rio de Janeiro. The dynamic of patronage, the bonds with peers, and interest in liberalism as a language of the state worked in ways that were reinforcing as well as contradictory in determining the life course of the *bacharéis*. While patronage also facilitated some social mobility, those with politically successful fathers more often attained desired political positions.

Kirkendall suggests that graduates of other institutions such as the military also gained access to the political class by the 1870s. While more attention to these institutions could have strengthened the book, Kirkendall makes the important contribution of showing the process by which the political class was formed. That process and its interaction with the development of a Brazilian national identity make very provocative reading and should be of comparative interest to historians in other areas. This book will be excellent for graduate seminars as well as scholars in general.

ELIZABETH A. KUZNESOF
University of Kansas

SHAWN C. SMALLMAN. *Fear and Memory in the Brazilian Army and Society, 1889–1954*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. x, 265. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

This book provides a significant contribution to the historical literature on the military and society in Latin America. Historians trained in graduate programs in the 1980s and 1990s were drawn to the study of the Brazilian military as new sources became available following the return to democracy. Shawn C. Smallman's book makes clear how potent a political force the army in particular was, even though civilian authority remained dominant from 1894 until 1964. While most former doctoral dissertations inevitably suffer from a certain narrowness, Smallman nevertheless usefully complicates our understanding of the evolution of the army's ideology and political activities in the decades leading up to the military coup of 1964.

Smallman's goal is to examine "the informal structures of power that shaped the military's involvement in politics" (p. 6). Particular attention is given, in the second half of the book, to struggles for control within the Military Club, which included officers from the army and navy. He analyzes the interplay between factions in the military over roughly sixty years, although the heart of the book is the period between 1935 and 1954, a time in which economic development and ties to the United States became major national political issues. Smallman argues that there has been a tendency (encouraged by victorious military cliques and aided, often unwittingly, by scholars) to downplay these conflicts and even actively to suppress the memory of them. He does much to rectify that situation.

In the opening chapter, Smallman analyzes relations between military and civilians, who clearly held the

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upper hand from 1894 until 1930. Officers fought against civilians' use of their political influence over the army. Beginning in the 1930s, struggles became more ideologically fraught. A military conspiracy in 1934 and 1935 was taken over by communists directed from Moscow. The insurrection was crushed. In the aftermath, officers found it necessary to repress recognition of the initial involvement of some of their colleagues in the rebellion. Real and imagined threats allowed Getúlio Dornelles Vargas, in power with military support since 1930, to close down the political system in 1937 and create a government heavily influenced by fascist models. From 1937 until 1945, the military, which had encouraged this move, was one of its major beneficiaries. It gained power at the expense of landowning elites and played more variegated roles in the administration of political and economic enterprises, creating greater opportunities for corruption. Following the return to democracy in 1945, officers were actively involved in ongoing debates over economic nationalism (particularly the issue of the nationalization of petroleum) and international alliances. Military mechanisms for repression were further elaborated during the early Cold War period and used against nationalists in the armed forces. Smallman makes clear that the pro-U.S. consensus within the military that political scientist Alfred Stepan analyzed so persuasively was not dominant until 1954, when the nationalist faction was, to a large extent, defeated. Smallman is clearly influenced here by the work of Nelson Werneck Sodré, a military nationalist turned historian whose work helped keep the memory of conflicts within the armed forces alive after 1964, although he has access to sources Sodré did not have.

As with any monograph, the book can overstate the importance of its subject. Smallman seemingly does the impossible in making Vargas, the dominant figure in national political life from 1930 to 1954, into almost a cipher. One wants to know how Vargas came to view the expansion of the military's power, which he had done so much to enable. Did not political parties have more influence on the military (particularly the União Democrática Nacional, which was the political ally of the faction that was victorious in 1964)? One wonders about other possible sources of tension within the army. Did regional or generational differences between officers make a difference?

Smallman ends his study in 1954, suggesting that, by this time, the informal structures of power that later underlay the post-1964 military government were already in place. Historians working on the unusually dynamic period between 1958 and 1964 would argue that there was still a possibility that fundamental questions in Brazilian politics and society might have been settled differently. Smallman would probably dismiss this as wishful thinking; the central issues (at least as far as the military was concerned) already had been resolved. In any case, Smallman offers much that will be worth further pondering, and his book should inspire more research into the political role of the military under civilian rule.

ANDREW J. KIRKENDALL
Texas A&M University

HEIDI TINSMAN. *Partners in Conflict: The Politics of Gender, Sexuality, and Labor in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1950–1973.* (Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 366. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

Reform is rare and the way of the reformer hard, Samuel P. Huntington has written. Readers of Heidi Tinsman's penetrating study of the relationship between sex and politics in the Chilean countryside can only agree. In describing the effects of agrarian reform on Chilean rural laborers, she argues for the centrality of sex and gender relations. Reformers who have dismissed such relations did so at great peril.

This book combines the classical strengths of empiricism with a passionate engagement of feminist theory. Based on traditional sources such as court records and oral histories, it is the latter documentation that proved most revealing to Tinsman, who moved to Chile in 1991 and worked as a legal researcher for a rural labor support group. Witnessing the sexual banter and feminist outlook of union leaders, she became intrigued and began the historical search that resulted in this fine study. The book offers a radical interpretation of efforts to reform rural social relations in the Aconcagua Valley, a vital agricultural region in central Chile. "It is a political history and a labor history," writes Tinsman, "that is also always about sexuality and gender" (p. 13). Few studies of social movements have given such prominence to sex. Tinsman argues, however, that sexual relations are the root of power in patriarchal systems. By keeping this perspective up front throughout the monograph, she makes an important contribution to rural sociology and agricultural history.

Tinsman's approach to patriarchy is nuanced. The book begins with a description of land tenure and labor systems in the 1950s. She looks especially at the costs and benefits of the *inquilinaje*, a system that tied peasant families to large estates through a web of deference and dependency. As a patriarchal system, the landowner held husbands and fathers accountable for the control of their family's labor. Given the few options Chilean society offered women, wives and daughters had mixed reactions to male oversight. Most accepted male hegemony as natural, Tinsman argues. Male domination helped protect them from sexual predators, abusive landowners, and the only extramarital employment available to them: domestic service. It also fit centuries old cultural expectations promoted by the Catholic Church.

Few promoters of agrarian reform questioned patriarchy, but the policies they pursued inadvertently challenged the system. Agrarian reform took off in 1964 when Chileans elected Christian Democrat Edu-

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ardo Frei as president. He redistributed nearly a fifth of Chile's farm land and initiated a campaign to uplift peasant families. Consistent with tradition, the reform emphasized male roles and duties. Peasant men were to break their dependency on landowners and assert their manly right to a livelihood through individual and collective action. The government encouraged the formation of rural unions, and men took charge of them to fight for land and improved working conditions. The reform process saw wives and daughters as essential assistants to empowered husbands and fathers. Women were included in the reform as behind-the-scenes auxiliaries, maintaining the household, managing the family budget, raising the children, and assisting as ordered during strikes.

The process of empowering peasant families produced contradictions that challenged the sexual core of patriarchy. Under Frei, this became apparent with the introduction of family planning and the development of mother's centers. Through sex education and access to contraceptive devices, women gained the capacity to question male control of their bodies. These trends were intensified in 1970 when Salvador Allende, the socialist leader of the Popular Unity coalition, became president. His agrarian reform program redistributed more land, extended more rights, encouraged more activism, and generated more challenges to existing sexual and gender roles.

Allende's reforms promoted gender equality, but the pace and scale of change generated unexpected problems. In summary fashion, Tinsman describes the Allende years as increasingly chaotic and insecure for peasant men and women. As men became more involved in politics, women were left to fend for themselves. Often away from the region, union men formed relationships with other women; abandoned by their husbands for lengthy periods, women lost faith in the reform process. When the coup came in 1973, Allende's support among rural labor activists was divided. This proved tragic as the dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet terminated the reform process and pursued an authoritarian development strategy.

While Tinsman's argument about the centrality of sex and gender proves enlightening, her discussions of causation are not always so illuminating. If men and women had equal control over their own sexuality, would agrarian reform have succeeded? This seems doubtful. Her analysis shows that women's lack of control stemmed primarily from being excluded from the formal economy. Thus, Allende needed to provide economic options for women in order fully to reform the countryside. Ironically, as Tinsman notes, it was Pinochet's regime that forced women into the agricultural labor market and created the conditions for the gender solidarity she observed in the early 1990s. Recuperating the benefits of the old agrarian reform had then become a common goal for rural Chilean men and women.

CLIFF WELCH
Grand Valley State University

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

JONATHAN M. HALL. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 312. $50.00.

As recent events have made so clear, the constituents and significance of a particular ethnic identity can change very rapidly. In the fragmented world of the Greek city-states, a common Greek identity was surprisingly elusive, and polis patriotism often overcame any sense of shared Hellenism. In early times, as Thucydides emphasized, there was no shared concept of "Hellas." It took the Persian invasions of 490 and 480 B.C. to crystallize a sense of shared Hellenism against the barbarian invader. But what of the preceding centuries, the archaic period and before? Jonathan M. Hall's detailed book concentrates on the Greek world from the Mycenaean to archaic periods, with a final classical chapter. It covers archaeological, linguistic, and literary evidence, providing useful resumés of many scholarly debates. Well read in sociological discussions of ethnicity, Hall meticulously and comprehensively trawls through the archaeological and literary evidence for growing Hellenic identity (the "Hellenicity" of the title, a neologism never really explained) and for the large "sub-hellenic" groups of Ionians, Dorians, Aiolians, and Achaians.

The main force of the early chapters is deconstructive. Hall emphasizes that the ascription of Hellenic identity from material finds alone is hazardous: Greek archaeological remains are not necessarily indicative of Greek identity unless their owners *saw* them as ethnic indicators. He has a point here (c.f. the myths of the Dorian invasion), and emphasizes that literary evidence must be the first point of departure, since ethnicity is "discursively constructed" through symbols (p. 19). For archaic Greeks, the primary element of ethnicity was descent, actual or perceived, rather than shared beliefs or even language. Legendary genealogies of mythical and eponymous ancestors are central. The problem, however, is that the written evidence dating to the archaic period is extraordinarily thin (mainly Homer, lyric poets and philosophers, and inscriptions), and Hall has to use far later accounts (e.g. Strabo) to make claims about the developing ethnic consciousness of various groups in the eighth to sixth centuries B.C. As he admits, this can be speculative: he believes the Spartans only acquired Dorian identity by the late eighth century, well before any literary evidence, and he argues in detail for relatively precise time and place for the birth of Ionian, Aiolian, and eventually Hellenic identity. Yet later myths of origin and eponymous ancestors may be as slippery as contemporary material evidence, and retrospective ascription of identity methodologically dubious. It may be argued that there is simply too little archaic literary evidence that talks specifically of "Hellenes"—partly because it was not an issue?—to adduce the neat development in nomenclature he suggests (pp. 132–34). There is no *explicit* evidence of an early (pre-500

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B.C.) "awareness of a common hellenic language" spoken across the Mediterranean (p. 115), but why would our mostly poetic archaic writers think to mention it? (Homer's Carians who are *barbarophonoi* are still an important exception.) The first explicit mention of "the Greek language" in Herodotus (p. 115) is by an outsider, as one might expect: an Egyptian pharoah in need of interpreters.

Hall criticizes extensively and usefully the idea that a sense of Greekness was boosted by the numerous Greek settlements in Sicily and southern Italy in the eighth and seventh centuries that encountered alien populations, and he successfully muddies the water by examining the archaeological evidence. Yet it is not clear why "oppositional" ethnic identity formed in contrast to other groups should be theoretically unlikely there while very probable among Greek subgroups in the archaic period and between Greeks and non-Greeks in the fifth century. The suggested context and specificity of any ethnic claims deserve more emphasis here. Hall stresses the absence of overt Hellenic consciousness in Sicily in Thucydides's account of the Athenian expedition of 415 (pp. 122–23), but it is dangerous to read this absence back into earlier periods since Ionian and Dorian origins, and even Sicilian identity, were more powerful symbols against the Athenian invaders in 415: invoking "Hellenism" as the Athenians had against the Persians would not have been a good rhetorical ploy.

This is in many ways a brave book. It may be the first port of call for many thorny problems in the early construction of Greek identity, and Hall's extreme scepticism will be salutary. He is less exacting of literary than archaeological evidence. More could be made of the cultural activities (rather than institutional arrangements) at Delphi and Olympia for fostering a shared Hellenism, and of the evidence the literature provides that there was a shared cultural heritage, above all Homer, well before the late sixth century. The shift to a cultural definition of Hellenism seems, despite the author's provisos, too simple for so complex a phenomenon as ethnic identity. But the book is hugely ambitious in scope and coverage and raises a great many important questions for which answers will never be easy.

ROSALIND THOMAS
Royal Holloway,
University of London

PETER SCHÄFER. *Mirror of His Beauty: Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah.* (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 306. $29.95.

The book by Peter Schäfer consists of two parts and seeks to relate them to each other. The first half of the book delineates a development from the female figure of Wisdom in biblical, extracanonic, rabbinic, and philosophical literature up to the kabbalistic hypostasis of God as the Shekhinah in Judaism. The second half argues that the figure of the Virgin Mary underwent a similar development in Christianity. According to Schäfer, the relationship between the two figures was particularly close and dynamic in the twelfth century at the time of the appearance in Provence (perhaps Catalonia) of the first work of the Kabbalah, the *Book Bahir.* The structural coordination of mutual influence yields "a much more colorful picture [than would static or linear causal ones]" in that it is "not concerned with the origin of this idea [in either] religion but with . . . its transformation[s] in a shared cultural space [in which] mutual exchange [takes place]" (p. 13).

Schäfer proposes "that the blossoming of the veneration of the Virgin Mary in the Christian world and the reintegration of the Shekhinah into the divinity in Judaism are neither accidental nor merely the result of parallel developments" (p. 14). He claims as his model Ivan Marcus's idea of inward acculturation as set forth in *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (1996). As Schäfer notes, however, Marcus uses and emphasizes inversions and parodies in elucidating such developments, a much stronger and more convincing deployment of the data than his own given that the presence and importation of motifs can be demonstrated in their distortions. Furthermore, the Jewish image sequence ceases to influence Christianity at a very early point and then re-enters in the next century following the *Bahir.* Thus the assertion of mutuality, not unlike the claim of biblical origin in Judaism, stalks the proposed "history."

Two further matters cloud the identity of the work: Schäfer's express hesitancy to endanger its authority with his "personal background" (p. 15), and a celebration of the *Bahir* for having broken up an "encrusted monotheism that had become all too secure of its superiority over 'pagan' polytheism and, worst, [one that] had neglected or suppressed some of the basic needs of human beings" (p. 6).

The introduction contains a synopsis of the work, and each chapter ends with a retrospective summary. In the first chapter, the spotlight is on the personalization and depersonalization of the figure of Wisdom and attendant changes in its function. In the second, Philo is shown to have added contemporary Hellenistic concerns to the mix and an increased flexibility of genderings following "his Platonic predilections—as well as the inclinations of his own misogyny" (p. 54). In the third chapter, a rich consideration of gnostic texts constituting the figure within that material, Wisdom undergoes a sort of mitosis. Part of it descends to mediate between the two spheres of being and, as "[She loses] her innocence [she integrates] the origin of evil within the process of emanation" (p. 77). As the Shekhinah of rabbinic literature, the figure is certifiably not female, but in relating a male God to his worshippers and speaking for them she moves toward a "female personality" (p. 102).

The disdain for this anthropomorphosis among medieval Jewish philosophers is made apparent in the

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fifth chapter. In the sixth, observing the *Bahir*, we arrive at the ingathering of these tendencies in the Shekhinah as "God's feminine potency," embodying God between the two worlds, bound into a relationship of mutual interest with the people of Israel (p. 134). That this is not quite "the gnostic myth" is argued in the seventh chapter. In the eighth, Mariology in the Eastern Church and among important Western interpreters all but deifies the Virgin, identifying her with a pre-existent Wisdom and assuming her into heaven (although some seven centuries more were required to finish the work). She remains a sexual and mediational figure and becomes a channel between worlds as the new Eve (p. 169).

The ninth chapter, examining anti-Jewish legends and images alongside anti-Marian ones in Jewish literature, successfully applies the approach of Marcus and is opulent in its presentation of literary and art images relating to the depiction of Jews seeking to disturb Mary's committal. The tenth chapter argues at length for the thesis announced in the introduction concerning the writing of history without evidence. The argument itself is nondispositive but not entirely speculative.

There are a number of examples of contentions and presentations of data that portray ambiguity about what constitutes "data" as well as ambivalence towards the argument itself. For one thing, the biblical wisdom literature is reduced to a couple of passages from Job and Proverbs, and as a result we hear nothing—on the positive side—of the "wise woman" herself (or of the non-synonym to *hokhmah*, *hakhamot*). On the negative side, nothing is said of male acts and figures typified as "wise." Moreover, the issue of androgyny in the deity base of YHWH does not consider Canaanite influences in the figures of Anat and Asherah. Gershom Scholem's representations of gnostic symbols and terms (such as "the daughter of light" in the *Bahir*) are not successfully eliminated, and his thesis concerning a gnostic school endures, however wan the positive evidence.

Animus is obvious in a note that criticizes Elliot Wolfson for "feasting" on an "incestuous" relationship between the female within the male God in the latter's stimulating treatment of the topic (p. 285, n.37 and n.47). Alternative sourced readings that illuminate the sexual nature of the Hebrew verb "play" and a whole class of divine-human sexual, progenitive relations go uninvestigated, as does the biblical figure of the "strange"/"alien" woman, who would otherwise constitute the figure of Lillith, the Bad Shekhinah. There a few simple language errors, including non-English sentence structures and the appearance of Isaac as Rebecca's son (p. 48). It might be that the extraordinary number of exclamation points decorating the work is an argumentative device, but it is one that does not exactly promote reflection.

HARRIS LENOWITZ
University of Utah

SUSAN R. HOLMAN. *The Hungry Are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia*. (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 231. $52.00.

It was in late antiquity that "the poor" were invented as a distinct social group, worthy of civic concern. In earlier civic discourse of the Greco-Roman world, we find little discussion of the poor as such; in late antiquity they are repeatedly brought to our attention. Church leaders, primarily in the late fourth century, used their sermons to make Christian audiences see and hear the poor in their midst. One result was a transformation in civic ideology, which had traditionally excluded the destitute. Another was the transformation of the classical city itself, now being organized around bishops, churches, and poor houses rather than councilors, theaters, and baths. Thus the late antique invention of "the poor" ushered in nothing less than the medieval world.

Over the past decade, historians have become increasingly aware of this development, guided in no small part by Peter Brown's books *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (1993) and *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (2002). Susan R. Holman's book builds on the former but was written and published before the latter. Since readers will likely be curious about how the two compare, it should be noted from the start that Holman and Brown's studies mostly complement each other but do not overlap, despite the fact that both place special emphasis on the role of the Cappadocian bishop Basil of Caesarea (*ca.*330–379) in bringing "the poor" to the fore, and on the role of theology in shaping the new social discourse. Whereas Brown takes the long view, placing Basil in a trend that evolves from the fourth century through the fifth, emphasizing initial imperial inspiration and the extension of the term "poor" to ordinary members of society, Holman concentrates on three influential bishops—Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus—and their representations of the destitute poor in the late fourth century. The result is a fine-grained, multilayered study, the originality of which lies in its focus on "the poor" themselves, as rhetorically constructed by the Cappadocians in their six so-called poverty sermons.

These sermons (three are translated, for the first time, in the appendix) were delivered between 365 and 382, when Cappadocia in central Asia Minor was hit by successive droughts and famines. Basil and the two Gregorys responded as both classically educated aristocrats and theologically minded bishops. By analyzing each of their sermons within certain "frames of reference"—traditional *paideia*, aristocratic gift exchange, Christian liturgy, and the Cappadocians's own incarnation theology—Holman shows how these bishops fused inherited notions of civic service (*leitourgia*) with biblical models to promote a new civic, Christian

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ideology of divine service (or liturgy), at the center of which were the poor, both as recipients and as symbols.

As Holman notes, the most unprecedented feature of these sermons is their focus on the bodies of the poor. She identifies three dominant images: the hungry body, the fiscal (or financially disabled) body, and the diseased body. These graphic representations helped dramatize needs, making wealthy Christians take note and reform their own behavior. Yet as Holman emphasizes, such imagery cannot be understood apart from the identification of Christ with the destitute. This theological link gave the poor cosmic significance and made participation in their relief a liturgical act, saving all involved. Indeed, this theological direction of Holman's study leads to some of her most striking contributions, including a brilliant elucidation of why Gregory of Nyssa urged his flock to touch lepers. His positive treatment of the decaying leper's body as a spiritual healing agent would have been unthinkable, Holman argues, if not for Gregory's theory of divine mutability, already worked out in doctrinal disputes, that enabled him to view Christ's incarnation as a redemptive condition that did not diminish His divinity.

Holman thus reveals the concerns and craftsmanship involved in the Cappadocian invention of the poor. Meticulously researched yet lively and clear, her book is enhanced by excursuses on a range of related topics (e.g. gleaning practices, imperial laws against usury, ancient medical homeopathy) and informed by judicious use of social and economic anthropology. It also stimulates further questions: how do later bishops known for theology and almsgiving discourse, like Pope Leo (d. 461), compare? Did efforts to define the involuntary poor have any impact on how the voluntary poor were identified in this period? And was it crisis or theology that first instilled the idea of "the poor" among the Cappadocian bishops themselves? This excellent study illumines the very origins of the history of the poor.

DANIEL F. CANER
University of Connecticut, Storrs

JAMES ROBERT ENTERLINE. *Erikson, Eskimos and Columbus: Medieval European Knowledge of America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 342.

For an assessment of this book it necessary to have a clear picture of the present state of the art. Recent scholarship offers considerable knowledge of the voyages of the Old Norse to Greenland and subsequently to the North American continent, often referred to as Vinland or Wineland (see Pall Bergthorsson, *The Wineland Millennium: Saga and Evidence* [2000]). Our knowledge of the Vinland contact derives, first, from the so-called Vinland sagas; second, from other textual sources like the eleventh-century scholar Adam of Bremen; and, third, from the excavations at L'Anse-aux-Meadows in the 1960s. Although the sources may differ in detail, the general picture is fairly clear. Thus it seems plausible that the Viking voyagers reached as far as New England in their exploration of the eastern coast of North America.

As to the history of ideas, we know that reports of the Vinland voyages were circulated in Old Norse society, and we also have a fair picture of the general geographical knowledge of the Old Norse. This picture emerges mainly from the various classes of Icelandic sagas, in which reports of travel and voyages abound, and from other texts written for description and reference. By sifting the sources using the methods of critical scholarship, one can conclude that Vinland was considered to be a "real" phenomenon in contrast to the numerous medieval conceptions of supernatural phenomena. Knowledge of Vinland was kept alive in the society for centuries. It is also quite plausible that this knowledge somehow diffused out of the Old Norse sphere to the surrounding world, although sources on the details of this diffusion may seem both scarce and evasive.

Against this background, James Robert Enterline's book is an ambitious work. He goes a step further to argue that the Old Norse explorers gained even more knowledge of North America than they had by direct contact and travel alone. Thus he presupposes that the Native Americans had a clear and comprehensive knowledge of the whole continent, transmitted through some kind of maps, and that they willingly passed this knowledge to the Old Norse visitors in an organized way, thus giving rise to European maps deriving from the Eskimos. This influence may even have affected maps that purportedly show parts of northwestern Europe.

Enterline demonstrates skill and scholarly diligence in outlining the story of documented medieval geographical knowledge of the North and the West, mainly as it comes down to us in the form of maps. Most of the maps are reprinted in his book, although unfortunately the small scale and insufficient graphics prevent reading some of the texts on the maps, even with a strong magnifying glass. This is disappointing, because such texts are often essential to the message of the maps.

From philologists and historians, we know that the texts coming down to us from the Old Norse world vary in their epistemological status, ranging from pure fable through fiction to realistic and secular reports on human life and the natural environment. When we turn to maps as a special channel of knowledge and ideas, we should expect similar diversity as to the intentions and abilities of the mapmakers. Such critical awareness seems, unfortunately, to be missing in Enterline's book.

In brief, the author fails to convince me of his thesis. First, it is difficult to see the need for any special explanations beyond the accepted scholarly picture described above. Second, the arguments for the "cartographic bridge" (or provenience paradigm, as the

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author calls it) are not persuasive. And third, it is hard to see what impact the thesis would have even if it were true. The purpose and value of making maps of Europe by simulating maps intended to show parts of America seems somewhat problematic to a modern reader.

THORSTEINN VILHJALMSSON
University of Iceland

KATHLEEN THOMPSON. *Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France: The County of the Perche, 1000–1226.* (Studies in History New Series.) London: Royal Historical Society, and Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2002. Pp. xi, 225. $70.00.

This book by Kathleen Thompson is a fairly circumscribed study of a rather small county and its ruling dynasty, nor does it break new ground; yet it is important for all historians interested in northern French and Anglo-Norman politics and power, and Orderic Vitalis in particular, since many of the actors and institutions that appear in his *Ecclesiastical History* are central to Thompson's story. Lying between Normandy, France, Maine, Anjou, and Blois/Chartres, the county of Perche continued no early medieval administrative unit. Rather, it was agglomerated piecemeal beween the tenth and twelfth centuries through the union of three elements: Nogent-le-Rotrou, Mortagne, and Bellême. André Chédeville thought that the family's power originated at Nogent in a delegation by the counts of Chartres intended to stabilize their forested frontier against the Normans. However, Thompson speculates that the family had long been established in the area, one of those nearly invisible local families of power that seem to be the dark matter stabilizing localities in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that it was later drawn into the orbit of the counts of Blois/Chartres. In any case, Geoffrey (*fl.* 1031), the first member of the dynasty we know anything about, was viscount of Châteaudun as well as lord of Nogent. His son, Rotrou I (*ca.* 1040-*ca.* 1066) gained Mortagne and with it the title of count. Equally important, he backed a winner by siding with William the Conqueror against Robert Curthose and Robert of Bellême. Châteaudun and Nogent/Mortagne were divided between Rotrou's sons, Hugh and Geoffrey II, his diminished circumstances moving Geoffrey further into the Norman orbit (and into fiercer conflict with Robert of Bellême). Geoffrey's son, Rotrou II (1099–1144), became one of the great figures of the age, a renowned crusader and a leader of the Frankish contingent in the *Reconquista*. He also backed a winner by siding early on with King Henry I, who rewarded him with control of Bellême and a marriage to his own daughter Matilda. Rotrou III (1144–1191) skillfully balanced obligations and opportunities between Louis VII and King Henry II, ending up not only with English manors but with King Richard II's niece as his wife. Geoffrey III (1191–1202) had a harder time maintaining this balance, given the pressure John and Philip II placed on the Anglo-Norman nobility, but remarkably he succeeded, simply because his family's prominence on both sides of the channel made him and his brother valuable mediators. But Geoffrey III died just as King John's position was collapsing. His widow suffered John's rapaciousness, paying 2,000 marks in 1207 for her English lands and custody of her minor son, Thomas. In the end, John still confiscated Thomas's lands after her death in 1210. Thomas died in England, in 1217, during Louis VIII's invasion.

This is a fascinating story, made more so by passing details revealing the counts' characters: Geoffrey III's failed efforts to live up to his grandfather's heroic standards (Roger of Howden singling him out for cowardice); the desperate efforts of Geoffrey's widow, Matilda, to protect her son's inheritance and pay off her husband's crusading debts; her son's heroism in trying to recover that inheritance. Thompson is too cautious to bring out such color, but it is still there, lurking, as are significant aspects of aristocratic society. One learns much about women: the importance of wives in shaping ecclesiastical patronage, their importance in marriage alliances, their difficulties during minorities. The power of crusading as an ideal of what nobles should do also comes through, as does the expectation of living up to a great forefather's exploits. However, what Thompson herself places in the forefront is a bare-bones skeleton of facts, such as they can be known, and findings that reiterate already well-known aspects of the French aristocracy (indeed, it sometimes seems as though her findings are tailored to illustrating what we already know): for example, the growing specialization of comital administration in the later twelfth century; the growing debt of the aristocracy in the same period; the increasing dependence on kings for patronage, money, and political opportunities; and the leverage kings gained as a result. We learn how the counts protected their English and Norman interests by dividing them between brothers. We see how densely interwoven by marriage and kinship local aristocracies were, and how ecclesiastical prelates used their influence to protect their secular kin. Most of all, we find an excellent case study of the way lesser noble families in a region interstitial to coalescing principalities worked with and against each to create an advantage for themselves, the way such local rivalries ultimately brought them all into the orbits of the territorial princes, and the way the princes needed these families as much as they were needed by them.

GEOFFREY KOZIOL
University of California, Berkeley

SUZANNE F. CAWSEY. *Kingship and Propaganda: Royal Eloquence and the Crown of Aragon, c. 1200–1450.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 184.

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The most provocative element in Suzanne F. Cawsey's careful study of royal speeches lies in the second noun of her book's title. While the fictive and propagandistic dimensions of royal speeches and chronicles in medieval Spain, and their theoretical implications, have yet to be completely absorbed in the historiography, Peter Linehan has illuminated the complex subjectivity—and the frequently combative nature—of much of the evidence to which historians frequently turn. The distinction between "authentic" and "fictional" speeches is one that Cawsey rightly discards. Since peninsular kings were keenly involved in the composition of histories of their own reign, she argues, and might shape the way a chronicle integrated a prior royal speech, such a text—despite accurately representing the king's wishes—may still be considered "fictional." Following Linehan, she suggests that in Iberia, as elsewhere, "historical 'fact' is not always easy to determine at the best of times" (p. 49). Her analysis of the rhetorical components of political mythmaking, drawing on proceedings from the Cortes, royal chronicles, and other sources, therefore provides stimulating material for the continuing debate on the nature of narrative and historical truth.

Cawsey's polished monograph is not principally concerned, however, with the larger theoretical issues. Instead, she minutely dissects the construction of "mythologies of state" in a context where royal propaganda was particularly imperative. The notion that Aragonese kings were party to a political contract had already crystalized by the thirteenth century, and a combination of royal financial weakness and the demands of crusading and other military activity gave the Cortes a strong bargaining position. The propagation of images of the king as feudal and spiritual leader was pursued from Jaime I's reign onward to counterbalance resistance in the Cortes, as well as to guard against the fragmentation of the crown of Aragon. But more than the "aloofness" of the French kings from Louis IX onward, more even than accompanying religious ceremonial that reinforced notions of the king as divine delegate, it was the subtle art of engaged persuasion that was required. These were, of necessity, patient kings: gritting his teeth in the face of poor attendance at the Cortes of Tarragona in 1370, Pedro IV repeatedly postponed his speech until numbers were sufficient. They were also cultured kings: in 1380, when Pedro entrusted some of his books to the monastery of Poblet, a new library was built for the purpose. Like Alfonso X of Castile, who advised that the word of the king meant life and death, that words should be pronounced clearly, and that the speaker should under no circumstances wave his arms around, the kings of Aragon were raised to be well rounded and sophisticated. Through the weapon of the spoken word, Cawsey suggests, they conveyed their subjects' feudal obligations, emphasized their own dynastic legitimacy, and were able to reach a broad segment of society. Further, they underscored the role of providence: "it is certain that our birth was accomplished through the virtue of God," Jaime I declared disarmingly, "for my father and my mother did not love each other" (p. 59). The spoken word was reinforced in writing: the avidly commissioned chronicles were commonly recited at court.

Despite the internal coherence of her book, one nevertheless wishes that Cawsey were prepared to engage more fully in some of the broader historical debates related to the material she addresses. The transitions from lordship and government, from an emphasis on private dynastic power to broader public responsibility, are touched upon in a relatively fleeting way, and the substantial body of recent scholarship on the issue deserves more attention. Indeed, in appearing to imply that notions of public responsibility are to be associated with the Renaissance (p. 143), she evades a good deal of evidence that the twelfth century had been pivotal in this regard. Her discussion of early "national feeling" (conflated here with the term "nationalism") also merits more sustained consideration. To suggest that "nationalism" (in its Aragonese, Catalan, Valencian, and Mallorcan forms) may be traced to the fourteenth century is, after all, to enter a polemical field. The origins and strength of national sentiments, and of loyalty to *patrias* of varying dimensions (local, regional, peninsular), are compelling and contentious problems, left notably unresolved by Juan Pablo Fusi's recent *España: La evolución de la identidad nacional* (2000). Here, as with the theoretical concerns raised by the emphasis on the fictional dimension of royal narratives, there is further interesting work to be done.

SIMON DOUBLEDAY
Hofstra University

WALTER SIMONS. *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200–1565*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 335, $65.00.

Not since 1954, when Ernest W. McDonnell published his pioneering study of *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture, with Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene*, has a comparable work in English investigated the *begijnhoven* or beguinages, those exclusively female and urban institutions so characteristic of the southern Low Countries in the later Middle Ages. Walter Simons's impressive work is thus greatly to be welcomed both for its scope and significance in illuminating the evolution of the beguine movement and its development down to the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt around 1565. No previous scholar has been better equipped to address the social and religious forces that brought about this phenomenon, an acclaimed gender success in that it was the "only movement in medieval monastic history that was created by women and for women—and not affiliated with, or supervised by, a male order." A native Flemish speaker whose career began within the circle of Ludo Milis at the University of Ghent, Simons subsequently spent time at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton

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with Giles Constable before embarking on an academic career in the United States. Such impeccable credentials, while important, serve to enhance Simons's natural abilities: not only does he enjoy essential multilingual skills, but he also displays a profound and nuanced mastery of the sources. His first-hand knowledge of more than forty archival depositories, containing the records of over three hundred beguine communities, provides an invaluable study of southern Netherlandish society with its unique cross currents of Romance and Germanic culture and locates this female movement in a wider European context.

In his synthesis, Simons demonstrates the spontaneous attraction of numerous laywomen throughout the Low Countries to the beguine vocation. The largest body of information on beguine origins comes from the period 1190–1250 and the *vitae* of eleven individual women, composed shortly after their deaths in order to promote their cults. By the end of the twelfth century, these women had begun to associate freely together in separate groups and to live "religiously," at first in a nonhierarchical setting, without any formal, overarching structure to unite such diverse groups. The involvement of male supporters in their cause remained at this stage largely informal and inspirational. But by the second half of the thirteenth century, a dramatic change had turned the informal beguinages into formal institutions over which men tried to assert control. As the beguines gained acceptance and perhaps even came to acquire property, so they began to adopt regulations to govern their chosen way of life, establishing themselves either in small "convents" under the guidance of a single superior or *magistra* or in "court beguinages." These entirely new creations, the "cities of ladies" of Simons's title, were constructed in open spaces either within the walls of cities or just outside. They were larger than convents and far more diverse, being arranged around a central church or chapel. Out of the 298 beguinages identified by Simons, as many as one quarter were court beguinages, able to accommodate an ever-increasing number of women, and offering rich and poor alike a variety of living options.

Tied to the social and economic requirements of the cities where they lived, the beguines, while sometimes seeking to withdraw from the world, just as often participated in an active apostolate. Simons shows that they formed a cheap, flexible, and sometimes literate work force, acting not only as teachers to young children but also as mourners and funerary specialists. Beguine prayers, regularly performed outside a formal liturgical context, were seen by the laity as particularly efficacious. Their simple services, adapted from texts that people knew and understood, were both personal and intimate, revealing a special affection for the recitation of the *Pater*, the *Ave*, and the seven Penitential Psalms. Simons attributes the success of the beguines to their unique and flexible combination of an active life within a secure setting, safely behind walls. He argues that they pursued two innovative strategies, which proved to be highly effective. Not only did they accept the principle of personal property, usually shunned by the monasteries, but also the court beguinages provided a quasi-monastic protection against scandal, while at the same time allowing members access to the urban labor market.

Simons has produced a comprehensive study of the evolution of the beguines, moving from loose communities without institutional attachments to those with more formal regulations. His book is cleverly structured in such as way as to make the text both lively and informative while, at the same time, analyzing a considerable amount of material in order to create an invaluable research tool for future generations. An extensive scholarly apparatus and a comprehensive bibliography support a relatively brief body of text that, with them, makes up approximately half of the book. Two appendixes follow, one containing a repertory of more than a hundred beguine communities and the other an analysis of the population of nine selected court beguinages. Well-chosen maps, plates, and useful tables illuminate the text of this beautifully produced book that places its author at the forefront of the modern interpretation of beguine history.

BRENDA BOLTON
University of London

JOANNA H. DRELL. *Kinship and Conquest: Family Strategies in the Principality of Salerno during the Norman Period, 1077–1194*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 245.

In 1077, the Norman Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and uncle of the future King Roger II of Sicily, captured the principality of Salerno from his brother-in-law, the Lombard Gisulf II; in 1194 there died Tancred of Lecce, natural son of Roger II's long-deceased son Roger, duke of Apulia. With Tancred's death the male line of Hauteville kings effectively came to an end. The period so defined is thus well chosen for a study of kinship, property, and power in the principality in the wake of the Norman settlement in southern Italy. It is the more so on account of the wealth of available evidence, which has been only partially explored. Monastic archives are particularly rich, especially the archive of the abbey of SS. Trinità at Cava dei Terreni, a few kilometers northwest of Salerno. Although well preserved and cataloged, Cava's charters for the period under discussion remain mostly unpublished and hitherto have been little studied. Joanna H. Drell's workmanlike, illuminating, and judicious study owes much of its interest to her long and unrivaled familiarity with the Cava archive. Charter evidence is well supplemented by that of several chronicle sources as well as by royal legislation and by the *Catalogus baronum*.

The study has three main constituent parts. The first identifies the noble families of the principality that formed its ruling class. Seven noble lineage groups are described as forming a powerful network, related by blood and marriage, which included both the old

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Lombard ruling class and the new Norman immigrants. The latter were so few in number as to preclude any supersession of the Lombards by the Normans. Nevertheless, through the twelfth century the barons were mostly loyal to the kings and made for stability. Drell considers the changing role of the counts. Their title became increasingly territorialized; from the mid-twelfth century the counts held their counties by the king's will and favor and had great military responsibilities. Society was so structured that knights formed a class inferior to them; no Cava charter identified a nobleman as a *miles*.

Second, Drell investigates the nature of the family as reflected in the exchange, donation, bequest, and alienation of property between family members. She bases it on a thorough investigation of the law of marriage, and so illustrates the interaction of Lombard, Roman, and Norman law. With regard to inheritance, as might be expected Normans went far in assimilating Lombard custom. There emerged a flexible and varied family structure in which Normans who married into Lombard families neither adopted their partible inheritance practices nor introduced radically new, more consolidated forms of family transmission (although there was development in such a direction that Roger II's legislation may have envisaged, since both noble families and the king wished to control property fragmentation). Third, Drell examines patterns of kinship organization and sentiment within the principality. Of special interest is her conclusion that, especially on the Norman side, distinctions of ethnic descent between Lombards and Normans remained persistent. She goes so far as to claim for the Normans "a subtle resistance to cultural absorption" (p. 145) evident in charter references to family ancestry. But this tendency was balanced by a generally flexible and pragmatic interpretation of kinship in the interests of safeguarding the family and its patrimony.

Drell's detailed study of Salernitan society is informed by an extensive awareness of scholarly work on related topics in other regions of Western Europe. She draws attention to significant elements of similarity and difference. She finds that Georges Duby's conclusions that from the early eleventh century the nobility increasingly adopted the practice of agnatic lineage consolidation and that the twelfth century witnessed a contraction of larger extended families do not correspond to Salernitan evidence; while there is some support in the charters for such a view, their salient feature is a flexibility and variety of familial strategies that warn against over-simple conclusions. Drell also has important things to say about the far from negligible part that women could play in patrimonial concerns. Widowhood, especially, could afford women a certain degree of freedom in relation to property. And, as a final suggestion, Drell raises the question whether—if models of family organization in other regions of Western Europe are of doubtful application to the medieval Italian *Mezzogiorno*—the foundations were not already being laid of the long-term *problema del Mezzogiorno* in the course of Italian history.

H. E. J. Cowdrey
St. Edmund Hall,
University of Oxford

E. Igor Mineo. *Nobilità di Stato: Famiglie e identità aristocratiche nel tardo medioevo; La Sicilia*. (Storia e scienze sociali.) Rome: Donzelli Editore. 2001. Pp. xxi, 346. L. 48,000.

In the traditional historiography of late medieval and early modern Italy, Sicily is portrayed as invariably lagging behind the dynamic urbanism and economies of the mainland's central and northern regions. Millions of words have been spilled on Sicily's putative major affliction: a feudal aristocracy that impeded innovation in the agricultural, commercial, and industrial sectors, making the island dependent on long-distance trade largely conducted by foreign merchants. The origins of Sicily's affliction have been attributed to the Norman conquest, which introduced feudalism to the island, permanently stunting the incipient autonomy of urban centers, and which installed a monarchy that became even more robust under the Hohenstaufen and Frederick II in the twelfth century. For Benedetto Croce, the root cause of Sicily's long-term decadence was the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, a popular uprising that removed the ruler Charles of Anjou, eliminated the French presence on the island (although not in southern Italy), and paved the way for Aragonese conquest. Although the Sicilian Vespers has been, and is still, celebrated as an inspiring patriotic event, it isolated Sicily from the mainland, Croce lamented, resulting in centuries of decline.

The traditional view was faulted by Stephan R. Epstein, whose revisionist book, *An Island for Itself: Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval Sicily* (1992), argued that, far from being underdeveloped and dependent on foreign traders and manufactures, the Sicilian economy in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries exhibited growth through regional integration and specialization and a growing population owing to streams of immigrants in search of economic opportunity. E. Igor Mineo's book is also militantly revisionist: it contests the traditional view that the military feudal aristocracy dominating Sicily from the twelfth century onward was insulated from the political and demographic transformations taking place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Building on the researches of Gina Fasoli and Henri Bresc, Mineo shows that feudalism in Sicily was hardly hegemonic. In the early thirteenth century, only ten percent of the population was subject to feudal law. Incessant internal conflict, recurring plague, and a steep decline in feudal rents all combined to decimate the aristocracy. By the end of the fourteenth century, few aristocrats could trace their pedigree to the Hohenstaufen period.

Public institutions and feudal matters were subject

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to Roman and feudal law, but private relations among the inhabitants of cities and towns were regulated by the compilations of customary laws produced by Messina, Palermo, Catania, Caltagirone, and other cities in the early fourteenth century. Customary law featured two types of family property. One type, in accordance with Latin custom (*mos latinorum*), was community property: that is, all the properties the husband and wife brought into marriage belonged to the couple jointly. Should the property be divided, the father, mother, and the children (females as well as males) were each entitled to a one-third share. There was plenty of variation; for example, in Siracusa community property referred only to properties acquired by the couple after the celebration of marriage. Egalitarianism, Mineo believes, protected both the unity of individual households and those wives whose husbands predeceased them. The other type of family property, in accordance with Greek custom (*mos grecorum*), followed the regime established in the *Corpus iuris* of Justinian, in which the properties brought into marriage were treated separately, so that even though the husband could claim the right to manage his wife's properties, including the dowry, the wife remained their owner. Under this scheme, female and male children inherited equal shares from both the paternal and maternal estates.

Mineo's examination of last wills leads him to conclude that customary law guided actual practice. In this regard, he makes four valuable observations. First, families were optimizers; they chose the type of property scheme that best served their particular interests. Second, the property rights of women were secured by customary law. Third, beginning in the late fourteenth century, there was a slight trend toward reserving family property for the father's direct male descendants. This was achieved by settling dowries on daughters and then excluding them from the paternal inheritance, an expedient that was essential to patrilineal schemes of inheritance and a commonplace in north and central Italy. Fourth, genuine patrilineages and a self-conscious noble aristocracy with its symbolic trappings (coats of arms, genealogies, chapels), ubiquitous in the north, began to be noticeable only in the fifteenth century.

Mineo cautions that the sources for his thesis—that neither the effects of the Norman conquest nor the Sicilian Vespers adequately explain the social transformations of late medieval Sicily—are partial and fragmentary, and that the last wills on which his argument depends are not easily interpreted. Happily, a thorough command of current medieval historiography enables the author to place his thoughtful methodological questions and well-researched findings within a pan-European frame.

JULIUS KIRSHNER
University of Chicago

RUTH MAZO KARRAS. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2003. Pp. 246. Cloth $45.00, paper $17.00.

Looking at three distinct groups in later medieval Western Europe—knights, university students, and urban craftsmen—Ruth Mazo Karras examines the transition from boyhood to manhood and what that process can tell us about the nature of masculinity in the Middle Ages. One of her central arguments is that there was no single model of masculinity in the Middle Ages; even within each of the subcultures she examines there were multiple, sometimes competing conceptualizations of what it meant to be a man. Nonetheless, for each of these medieval groups, masculinity was best demonstrated by a particular set of traits: for knights, manliness was above all else physical prowess displayed through feats of arms; for university students, manliness exemplified itself best through the Aristotelian qualities of rationality, moderation, and self-control; for craftsmen, manliness was the independence, self-sufficiency, and authority of the head of a craft workshop and household. While medieval manhood came in different forms, Karras also argues that it was by no means always defined expressly as the antonym of womanliness. Although "not being a woman" was always at least implicit in the definition of masculinity, in some cases masculinity was forged in the absence of women, in opposition to boys, to other men, or even to beasts, rather than to the feminine. As Karras perceptively comments, the utter irrelevance of women to some of the most important cultural formations of the period was in many ways an even more devastating misogyny than the overt antifeminism that scholars have more frequently considered. For Karras, there are some aspects of medieval masculinity that were more pervasive and perduring: manliness was about seeking power, about competing with and dominating other men.

The intended audience of this book is nonspecialists, particularly the wider world of gender and masculinity studies. Most of the evidence is drawn from secondary works and printed sources, although Karras does make use of a number of archival records, especially from England. In both the introduction and the conclusion, she emphasizes that medieval conceptualizations of masculinity were different from those of twenty-first century Americans: the open emotionalism and ready tears of the ideal medieval literary knight, for instance, should not be seen as effeminate, as they were as much part of manly chivalric identity as bravery or physical skill.

In covering two centuries (1300 to 1500) and most of Western Europe (with an emphasis north of the Alps), Karras emphasizes continuity and cultural homogeneity rather than change or geographical diversity. Another historian might have focused more on regional difference or have made more of the changes wrought by the cataclysms of the period (the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and the papal schism, to name but three). The emphasis on continuity derives to some

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extent from the book's focus on prescriptive sources and a definition of masculinity as ideology (p. 152). The chapter on urban craftsmen is the exception, relying on documentary evidence of masculinity as social practice rather than prescriptive code; as a result, it is the only part of the book in which there is much sense of diachronic development. While Karras explicitly prefers ideology to practice as evidence for the nature of masculinity, resorting to the latter only in absence of the former (pp. 111, 152), the conservative nature of literary sources, especially chivalric literature, which forms the basis of the chapter on knighthood, makes them a distorted reflection of the societies that produced and consumed them. A wider base of sources on the late medieval landed elite—less Thomas Malory and more legal records, letters, and wills—would have led to a more rounded picture of the aristocratic male, as much obsessed with property concerns and his role in the governance of his local society as with the demonstration of physical prowess through knightly deeds. This in turn would have focused attention on the importance of legal education for many late medieval aristocratic adolescents (only briefly mentioned by Karras): training the young man in feats of law instead of, or in addition to, feats of arms.

This book, well written and accessible, will find a broad audience. It would work well in the classroom, either as a source of lecture material or as assigned reading. Effectively combating the nonspecialist's view of the Middle Ages as a monolithic and static society, it will encourage more subtle thinking about gender identities in the past and in the present. The book also sets a research agenda for specialists: in particular, the nature of manliness among the vast majority of medieval people—rural agricultural workers—receives only a brief discussion in the conclusion. Clearly here is a topic that needs further work.

SHANNON MCSHEFFREY
Concordia University

MICHAEL D. BAILEY. *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages*. (Magic in History.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 200. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.50.

This book seizes on a form of revisionism already available in recent witchcraft studies and applies it with great effect to one individual witchcraft writer, the early fifteenth-century Dominican Johannes Nider (d. 1438). The question that Michael D. Bailey rightly poses is: what does it mean to call someone a "witchcraft writer" in the first place? Known only to witchcraft historians, Nider is identified by them as the author of *Formicarius* (*The Anthill*), book five of which is full of witchcraft stories—and this largely because many of these stories reappeared in Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus maleficarum*. This categorization, argues Bailey, wrenches part of the text from the rest of it, the entire text from Nider's other writings, and Nider himself from the world to which he belonged. A form of excerpting occurs, not just at one level but at three, whereby the subject of witchcraft ends up being isolated from precisely the things that made it thinkable. When they are put back together again, text, corpus, and life world show that Nider cannot be thought of simply as a writer on witchcraft. It is particularly refreshing not to see him described even once as a "demonologist" or *Formicarius* as a "demonology." And by virtue of this very fact, we are given a much better understanding of why Nider was interested in witchcraft at all. The reason is far from being unimportant, but it has little to do with witchcraft per se. Nider's ideas about witchcraft were integrally related to a whole series of wider issues of crucial but specific concern to the religious life of Europe in the 1430s. Given that *Formicarius* has been seen as probably the most formative text of the most formative period of early modern demonology, this is an important finding in itself. But the larger lesson of this book is that all witchcraft texts should be carefully situated in whichever period they come from.

The theme to which Bailey returns and returns—with unnecessary repetition, it must be said—is that Nider was a religious reformer. He was a leading figure of the observant movement within the Dominican order, a director of reform of its houses, an admirer of the beguines, a professor of the theology of reform, and the author of other works encouraging a new spirituality among clergy and laity—as indeed, does the rest of *Formicarius*. Above all, he was a key figure at the Council of Basel, which from 1431 became "virtually the center of the entire Western Christian world" (p. 5, cf. 141) and where he heard stories of witchcraft emanating from nearby Alpine valleys in the context of pressing international clerical and theology issues. His idea of witchcraft took shape, therefore, as part of fears about a general laxity (even a crisis) of faith and morals, as an expression of the powers of sin and the activities of the devil, and as means of instruction and warning. This was the larger world into which it fitted at the time and into which we must dissolve it, too. Nider was neither a witch hunter nor a heretic hunter; Bailey achieves an important shift in substituting reform for heresy as the guiding principle of early witch hating.

There are hesitancies in Bailey's argument, notably over the question of the femininity of the witch and whether Nider's witchcraft stories should be analyzed *as* stories. He has also benefited from other recent studies of Nider by Werner Tschacher and Catherine Chène. Nevertheless, this is a reappraisal of the best sort, enabling us to read a previously much cited but much abused text in an entirely new way—reading all of it, for a start. Such methodology is itself still very much needed in witchcraft studies, but important, too, are the implications of the substantive links between demonology and reform. Effectively, Bailey is giving continuity and unity to at least the religious reasons for

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taking witchcraft seriously across the entire period between the meeting of the Council of Basel and the final impact of the Council of Trent. Every one of Nider's concerns and many of his priorities can be found among the Protestant and Catholic reformers of later years. In this perspective, witchcraft becomes the negative image of more than two centuries of attempted religious orthodoxy and improvement: both its indispensable opposite and its authentication. As Etienne Anheim has recently suggested, Basel was indeed the catalyst, providing, exactly like the later Reformation, precisely the controversies in which the witches sabbat could become a useful concept.

STUART CLARK
University of Wales, Swansea

SAMUEL K. COHN, JR. *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*. London: Arnold. 2002. Pp. x, 318.

Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., does not mince words. The opening sentence of his new book announces the author's discovery: the so-called Black Death, the fearsome pandemic that killed Europeans on a massive scale in the fourteenth century, was "any disease other than the rat-based bubonic plague" (p. 1). Coming from anyone else, such an assertion might be dismissed out of hand. It flies in the face of an almost unanimous conviction, among both historians and natural scientists, that the Black Death was indeed the bubonic plague. Coming from Cohn, however, this heretical stance needs to be taken very seriously indeed, given the author's reputation and his well-known expertise when it comes to tabulating burials and testaments in early Renaissance Italy.

Bubonic plague is a disease of rats. As the infected rats die, they fall from rafters like over-ripe fruit and climb out of holes, stumbling awkwardly, in broad daylight. Indian peasants have been known to run for their lives at this point. Those who stay behind risk being bitten by the fleas who abandon the cold rodent corpses and carry the plague bacillus, *Yersinia pestis*, identified by Alexandre Yersin in Hong Kong in 1894. Modern episodes of bubonic plague were thoroughly investigated in the early years of the twentieth century, especially by the British colonial Indian Plague Commission, whose reports Cohn studied carefully. Before him, the British zoologist Graham Twigg went over the evidence with a fine-tooth comb and concluded, in 1984, that it was a mistake to see the disease caused by *Yersinia pestis* as identical with the Black Death. Cohn's mentor, the late David Herlihy, seems to have accepted Twigg's conclusion, but it was left to Cohn to advance the research to the point where historians can no longer accept the conventional diagnosis without the most serious reservations. In the pages of this journal (June 2002), Cohn made his case. He now develops it in greater detail in the book under review.

First of all, there is not a single mention of dying rats in the eyewitness reports produced by the pandemic of the fourteenth century and later aftershocks. I leave it to Cohn to explain why historians failed to notice this simple fact. To claim that the dead rats were surely there but benighted medieval physicians failed to notice them is not an argument that finds much favor with Cohn. He studied very large numbers of plague tracts and discovered that their authors were often good empirical observers.

A rare peculiarity of *Yersinia pestis* is that humans cannot acquire lasting immunity if they survive the disease. Cohn's meticulous research establishes that the disease, after striking virgin-soil populations with devastating effect, became less and less deadly with each assault. After the third or fourth visitation, it tended to single out young children born since the last episode, presumably because adults had acquired some level of immunity. Bubonic plague, by contrast, is equally virulent with each outburst, and it strikes all age groups.

Unlike the medieval pandemic, which killed on a massive scale—Florence may have lost fifty percent of its population—bubonic plague never kills more than three percent. It is also not very contagious: it cannot be transferred from one person to another. In Bombay, crowded hospitals awash with plague victims but with effective rat control were reckoned the safest places to be. This is dramatically at odds with all early modern accounts of the Black Death's ravages: they stress instant contagion and the effectiveness of quarantine regulations.

If the Black Death was not the bubonic plague, what was it? Cohn can do no more than speculate, as Herlihy and Twigg did before him. The question becomes even more perplexing with the recent claim made by members of a French archeological team. Having extracted DNA from two ancient graves in Provence, they claimed to have found traces of *Yersinia pestis* in the remains, but their claim has been vigorously challenged by rival scientists.

Even without the author's intriguing discussion of the cultural consequences of the Black Death, the evidence presented in this book will have far-reaching effects. I only wish that the publishers had taken more care with proofreading: the book is filled with typographical errors.

GEORGE HUPPERT
University of Illinois, Chicago

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

NORMAN HOUSLEY. *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400–1536*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 238.

Norman Housley's latest book focuses on the complex causal factors and methods of discourse surrounding European religious wars from the period of the Hussites in the early 1400s to Martin Luther and the early

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Protestant Reformation. Religion was often a motivating force and contributed to the argument for war, but, he emphasizes, other interrelated political, social, and economic factors frequently determined whether or not actual fighting took place and how religious arguments would be used.

Housley begins with an examination of recent methodological approaches to the problems of studying religious warfare and introduces the reader to some of his main themes: the dichotomous social and cultural patterns of frontier border areas; the concerns of the political center; contemporary concern with scripture in general, but particularly with its eschatological, chiliastic, and millenarian aspects; ethnic or national feeling; and the self-images of being a chosen people and a "bulwark of Christendom" (*antemurale Christianitatis*). The remainder of the book develops these themes in greater depth in a variety of cases, primarily the Hussite wars in Bohemia, György Dózsa's rebellion in Hungary, Thomas Müntzer in the German Peasant War, the radical Anabaptists at Münster, and, to a lesser extent, the Dalmatian community of Senj, the Swiss *Eidegenossen*, the Italian Wars, the Spanish *Reconquista* and expansion into the New World, the English Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Hundred Years' War. The book is not, however, an analysis of any of these wars or revolts; it is a synthesis of religious warfare in the period, and Housley uses and compares these cases to show its many facets.

The various groups tried to give religious authority to their military actions by using key scriptural texts (most often Revelation and Old Testament prophets, but also the New Testament Gospels, Acts, and Epistles), by messianizing their leaders (especially the French King Charles VIII, Emperor Charles V, the English King Henry V, and Joan of Arc), and by using symbols effectively (the cross in numerous cases and the chalice by the Hussites, for example). Fighting in the name of God created problems, however, when one lost battles. Either it had not been God's cause after all, or human agency was at fault. Housley compares groups' reactions across his period and shows that most groups chose to believe the latter when they lost, because they believed that God punishes those who fight for the wrong reasons. A criterion of just war theory, which underlay the justifications for religious warfare, was that soldiers had to fight with right intentions. One of Housley's strong points is his discussion of the thought of the theorists of the various movements. With deft use of the primary sources, Housley repeatedly shows the richness of thought that propelled these movements and how different circumstances affected interpretation of texts from one group to another.

Although religious differences were an internal threat, especially with the beginning of the Reformation, the Muslim Ottoman Turks were the greatest external force shaping religious warfare in this period. They captured Constantinople from the Christian Byzantine Empire in 1453 and invaded Eastern Europe and German territories well into the 1500s. The Turk was the enemy of Christians, but as Housley shows, the "Turk" had three images in Europe: the external Turk, the actual Ottoman Turk; the internal Turk, virtually anyone seen as causing disunity among Christians; and the interior Turk, the self-interest that kept individuals from being ideal Christians. Contemporary Europeans often felt they had to defeat the internal and the interior Turk first, before they could hope for God's help in defeating the external Turk.

Historians usually split the period of 1400–1536 between the late Middle Ages and the early Reformation, but Housley shows that division to be artificial. In his focus on the continuity of themes in the period he demonstrates a fine integration and interweaving of primary sources on eschatological issues and justification of warfare and violence, with secondary sources illustrating recent historiographical and methodological approaches. In his earlier works, Housley discussed the continuity of crusade theory and practice in the late Middle Ages and into the second half of the sixteenth century. In this book, he expands the argument to include religious warfare in general, although he is writing for experts and assumes substantial knowledge in his readers. He does, however, provide solid support for the continuity of arguments for religious warfare into the early Reformation and, in his concluding chapter, the French wars of religion at the end of the sixteenth century.

KATHLEEN A. PARROW
Black Hills State University

IAN MACLEAN. *Logic, Signs and Nature in the Renaissance: The Case of Learned Medicine*. (Ideas in Context, number 62.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 407. $70.00.

Ian Maclean has written another vademecum, this one for the intellectual world of university-trained doctors in the sixteenth century and their Galenic methods, logic, and semiology. Above all, it is a guide to their theory and practice of drawing deductive inferences from complex evidence, and to what they wrote about medical reasoning. It is clear from this book that university medicine from 1500 to 1630 was far from impoverished intellectually.

Histories of medicine often rush past the late medieval "Galenic" centuries to arrive at a seventeenth-century "medical revolution," but Maclean lingers over the long sixteenth century. Recent scholarly studies of this period's intellectual history have been dominated by discussion of the roles of humanism, Aristotelianism, and occultism, and Maclean provides both a useful historiographical introduction and frequent references to these works. Rather than taking sides on the issues, Maclean allows his doctors to speak for themselves in a great conversation about their sources: Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, and the "conciliator" Pietro d'Abano. Worlds of medical knowledge and practice outside the universities tend to

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lie beyond the scope of this book, although they are treated in the nearly 600 modern studies listed in the bibliography. Maclean has little to say about sociopolitical forces, cultural production, a Foucauldian episteme, or paradigm shifts, but still he contributes implicitly to these discourses.

Specific ideas and writings, in their institutional context, constitute the core of the study. Maclean cites works of Girolamo Cardano and Giovanni Argenterio as often as those of Aristotle and Galen; other major figures are the Paduan professors Girolamo Capodivacca (1552–1589), Emilio Campilongo (1550–1604), and Santorio Santorio (1561–1636). He uses the Latin forms of their names, and there is hardly a paragraph without at least a phrase in Latin to remind us of how these "rational doctors" communicated among themselves. Nearly 400 Latin works of the period are listed in the bibliography and extensively quoted throughout the book.

Maclean probes the intellectual world of late Renaissance doctors in terms of their theories of causation. Arguably consistent with developments of "modern" medicine, they especially sought material and efficient causes. In describing this world he has constructed a conceptual composite, providing an ideal-typical description of the intellectually cautious professional doctor confronted with a vast library of ancient sources, scholastic commentary, humanistic revision and emphases, and expanding practical experience that included plague and syphilis (which deserve more attention than they receive here). Despite an alleged decline of school medicine attributed by others to the Black Death and the Renaissance, *ratio* and *experientia* were combined, both at relatively conservative Padua and relatively practical Montpellier. Medicine continued developing by a dynamic process in which practice increasingly shaped theory rather than simply displacing it.

In an ongoing conciliation of medical knowledge with philosophy, Pietro d'Abano's Paduan successors were particularly concerned with resolving the differences they found among philosophical and medical authorities and, ultimately, of relationships between words and things. This involved determining the relative values of commentary and text, of clinical experience and authority, and (at least to 1565) reconciling conflicting propositions within as well as among authorities.

The information gathered and analyzed by physicians in the course of diagnosis, prognosis, and therapeutics consists of "signs" of hidden causes and probable outcomes. Here Renaissance semiology, derived from Aristotelian and Stoic schools, is key to understanding medical thinking, and it receives a full share of attention, as do the hermeneutics of the time. If signs are "tokens of something else," they are evidentiary in a modern sense, and the book closes with an interesting discussion of Renaissance medicine as a precursor to the seventeenth century's "new" science. At the same time, signs were dealt with as propositions, middle terms of syllogisms, for dialectical argumentation was as important as ever for doctors.

Late Renaissance physicians were hardly the sterile, obscurantist, "academic" pedants attacked first by humanists and later by post-Cartesians. Maclean's book is a much-needed corrective, and he finds a high degree of subtlety and self-reflection on the part of his doctors, who struggled with the relationships between theory and practice and drew on a variety of intellectual cultures. Just as there were many Aristotelianisms, there were many Galenisms and a variety of approaches to authoritative texts and the logical schemata used in dealing with them. Maclean's book contributes to our appreciation of the vitality of the late Renaissance intellectual world.

DAVID O. MCNEIL
San Jose State University

MARTIN HORN. *Britain, France and the Financing of the First World War*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 249. $75.00.

This is an interesting and well-researched exploration of how the British and French governments financed a war that came to exceed all expectations. The story told by Martin Horn ranges beyond an account of the financial tactics and strategies adopted by the two powers named in the book's title. Britain's determination to safeguard its gold reserves to preserve its power in the postwar world and France's reluctance to get to grips with the imposition of an income tax that would raise money on a systematic basis draws the author into a complex nexus of international financial ties across the English Channel and the Atlantic that underpinned the financing of World War I by 1916. Horn rises to the challenge of unravelling these relations with aplomb.

Anglo-French financial diplomacy form the central organizing axis of the book. Horn opens with a timely reminder of the deep-rooted rivalries in Anglo-French financial relations, and the different weight accorded to financial objectives in the foreign policy of each country. According to Horn, France did not articulate any distinction between investment and foreign policy objectives. The tensions in the development of British foreign and financial policy, by contrast, is clear in the author's exploration of the views of the City of London. Thanks to its preoccupation with the preservation of British gold reserves and hence membership of the gold standard, the city strongly objected to British participation in the war. Its perspective was in marked contrast to the domestic focus of the Treasury and the view adopted by the Cabinet and Foreign Office, which countenanced British participation in the conflict on political and strategic grounds.

Throughout the book, Horn is alive to differences of opinion within the British political establishment as to how best to finance the war; his thumbnail portraits of

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the roles played by key figures like Reginald McKenna, John Maynard Keynes, and Basil Blackett are nuanced and interesting. Horn's account of the evolution of French financial strategy, however, seems strangely uniform. It is hard to believe that there were few differences of opinion regarding the character and priorities of French financial policy. Neither the constellation of various, naturally competing interest groups nor the perspectives of key individuals are as finely drawn by the author on the French side as in his account of British or American policy.

By 1915, Allied relations with the United States loomed large as the magnitude of the challenge to finance the war became clear. Both Britain and France were determined to protect their gold reserves, but Britain's established relations with New York banks and its apparently more successful performance on the battlefield made it easier for London than Paris to make loan agreements that were to cripple European-American relations in the interwar period. But without this support, as Horn makes clear, in a correction to the overblown assessment of the strength of British finances drawn by Niall Ferguson and Kathleen Burk (see Ferguson, *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I* [1999], and Burk, *Britain, America, and the Sinews of War 1914–1918* [1985]), by 1917 Britain no longer had the financial strength to aid France or its other allies, who had become heavily dependent on British help. True, the British government commanded the financial wherewithal to fight on alone, but "the loss of France would indeed have meant the loss of the war." Without the chain of support that was secured across the Atlantic with American entry into the war, "the evidence suggests that [continuing to fight] would have been beyond Britain's means" (p. 165).

Neither the impact of what was happening in the field of battle nor the evolution of military planning to the history of Anglo-French financial relations is as central to Horn's account as it should be. The war only surfaces in the book when it triggered a crisis in efforts to finance the war, as in November 1916 when French disquiet over the leadership of General Joseph Joffre was a contributory element in the abandonment of the scheme to raise short-term Allied paper in New York. Horn implies rather than asserts that financial planning followed, rather than anticipated, the political and military developments of the war. These issues, and perhaps the most obvious question of all—how far did the mechanisms by which monies were raised shape the Allied victory and its plans for peace—might usefully have been taken up in the final chapter of the book. The author does this otherwise well-researched and thoughtful study a disservice by ending his account with a conclusion numbering no more than four pages that explore the character of Anglo-French financial policies in the 1920s. Other genuinely original findings of the book and an assessment of how the financial history of Anglo-French relations in World War I shaped the financial history of World War II also merited inclusion.

PATRICIA CLAVIN
Jesus College,
University of Oxford

REYNOLDS M. SALERNO. *Vital Crossroads: Mediterranean Origins of the Second World War, 1935–1940.* (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 285.

Beware hyperbole. "This Mediterranean perspective [on the origins of World War II] is new," Reynolds M. Salerno boldly asserts at the outset of his book. "Many international scholars," he continues, "have allowed the dominance of Britain and Germany *during* the war to influence their study of events *before* the war . . . [and] have tended to interpret international conflicts as rooted in bilateral, East-West antagonisms" (pp. 1–2). However, what Salerno terms "this disinclination to recognize complex, multilateral origins" reflects unfairly on those authorities (for example, Gerhard Weinberg and Donald Cameron Watt) who, in broad accounts of the coming of World War II, do take the Mediterranean theater more than adequately into account. Fortunately, once past this initial canard, Salerno's book proves be an excellent and valuable monograph.

The essence of Salerno's argument is that "during this period [1935–1940] the European powers were often motivated principally by their imperial interests and ambitions; they frequently subordinated their continental and alliance policies to imperial priorities" (p. 9). In the Mediterranean context, his inquiry centers on the causes and consequences of the Anglo-French failure to resist fascist Italy's aggressive and expansionist thrust. In the case of Britain, up to the very eve of Italy's entry into the war in 1940, the Mediterranean remained the country's "third defense priority" behind protection of the homeland and its empire in the Far East. With the Royal Navy overextended, appeasement of Benito Mussolini was deemed the sole credible course. The French, whose colonial possessions were congregated around the Mediterranean, were understandably more inclined to challenge Italian pretensions, but especially after the collapse of their Eastern European alliance system they were reliant on joint action with Britain. The British mostly responded by urging their own appeasement policy on the French. Salerno suggests that appeasement of fascist Italy served as a "model" for the appeasement of Nazi Germany. Certainly, Adolf Hitler could not fail to derive encouragement from the difficulties the Western states encountered in formulating joint military and naval strategies.

The contours of the Anglo-French-Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean are well enough known. What Salerno brings to a familiar scenario is an exploration of greater depth, detail, and sophistication than anything hitherto published within the covers of a single

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book. Particularly estimable are his analyses of the decision-making process in each nation, the identification of schools of thought within ministerial and bureaucratic circles both civilian and uniformed, and the establishment of precisely what information was available to the decision makers at any given moment. The ebb and flow of opinion was circumscribed in Britain by Neville Chamberlain's insistent and unwavering faith in appeasement, but the agonized French debates between appeasers and resisters, as well as between the "Mediterranean school" and the traditional continentalists, make for illuminating reading. Even in outwardly monolithic fascist Italy, the generals and admirals, well aware of their country's unpreparedness for war, spoke cautiously against Mussolini's wilder strategic fancies and, on entering the war, effectively undermined his directive for a Mediterranean offensive. The richness of this material attests to unusually extensive archival research. The military and naval archives of the three powers have been especially well combed, yielding the reward of a quantity of important intelligence reports. Vital insight into Italian policy has been gleaned from the records of the Ufficio di Coordinamento, the engine room of the foreign ministry under Galeazzo Ciano.

The source of the Mediterranean problem was fascist imperialism, of course. Some years ago, a group of Italian historians led by Renzo De Felice attempted to refute this received wisdom by depicting Mussolini as a fence sitter who decided on war at the eleventh hour. It was never a convincing interpretation and, although Salerno is not directly concerned with Italian historiography, his book demolishes it utterly. His Mussolini is a warmonger who came to power to slake the discontent of Italian nationalists, and who realized that it could be done only by vanquishing Britain and France. Hence the Rome-Berlin Axis: "Mussolini wanted the alliance with Germany and understood that it increased the likelihood of war against the democracies—a war that offered him the opportunity to build a Mediterranean empire for Italy" (p. 127). Evidence adduced to the contrary—for instance, two so-called Anglo-Italian gentlemen's agreements—Salerno correctly dismisses as efforts to win "equal partnership" status inside the Axis while at the same time driving a wedge between Britain and France.

Salerno's brief pen portraits of the chief *dramatis personae* are entertaining and sardonic, but he should not call Carlo Sforza a Frenchman. Two authors' names, at least, are misspelled in the bibliography, which in general could have used a more thorough proofreading. These are minor cavils, however. The overall verdict is that this book must be recognized for the foreseeable future as the definitive study of the triangular Mediterranean balance on the eve of World War II.

ALAN CASSELS
McMaster University

BARBARA J. HARRIS. *English Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 346. Cloth $65.00, paper $29.95.

Histories of aristocratic women tend to look at individuals, or at women from well-known families such as the Pastons, the Lisles, or the Stonors, making it difficult to know how representative these women were of their time and peer group. This question drives Barbara J. Harris's wide-ranging history of aristocratic women in Yorkist and early Tudor England. Analyzing the experiences, values, motivations, and life choices of a whole social class of women over a hundred year period is a bold undertaking. However, the number of aristocratic families in England was so small (by continental European standards), and the surviving documentation is so rich, that Harris achieves her goals in emphatic style.

A key strength of this study is its sources, which cover around 1,200 aristocratic couples and their children. In addition to family papers, letters, account books, and state papers, Harris draws upon 1,029 aristocratic wills and 551 lawsuits from central prerogative courts. This quantity of material allows her to make statistical comparisons while remaining sensitive to individual difference, providing a firm context for understanding the roles and experiences of elite women within their families and within their class.

Harris's findings call into question a number of existing assumptions about aristocratic female culture and about the period more generally. She challenges the widely held belief that, in this male-dominated aristocracy built around primogeniture, patriarchs and their heirs resented the women in their families as financial burdens. In this view, daughters, who required hefty dowries, and widows, with their jointures or dower entitlements, represented drains on patrimonies that undermined families' prosperity and future advancement. According to Harris, these suppositions are wrong about male perceptions as well as about economic realities. Most fathers and widowed mothers gladly raised the dowries or portions required to find suitable husbands for their daughters. Many also benefited from the political, social, legal, and financial benefits that came from linking families together through marriage. Widows were even clearer assets to their families and were entrusted with a raft of responsibilities from acting as their husbands' executors to overseeing their children's marriages. As managers of estates, widows regularly enhanced (rather than diminished) their family's wealth and social position. In this clearly structured book, Harris demonstrates the simple fact that daughters, wives, and widows were integral parts of their families. Most shared the interests of their male relatives and acted as crucial links between their natal and marital kin within a class where the personal was almost always political (so that distinguishing between "public" and "private" is as unhelpful as it is difficult).

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Harris also queries historians like David Starkey and Steven Gunn who minimize the role women played at court. Individually, courtly women were key players in patronage networks dependent on privileged access to the royal household, and collectively, they played an increasingly important part in the evolution of the court as a center of visual spectacle built around ideals of chivalry, romantic love, and humanism. In this sphere of power through display, ranging from sumptuous dress and linguistic and musical ability, to participation in dancing and masques, the female presence was indispensable.

As well as being invaluable to specialists interested in the political, social, cultural, religious, family, and women's history of England between 1450 and 1550, this intriguing case study should appeal to anyone interested in the historical operation of patriarchy. Harris shows how in England the imbalance of power between men and women resulted not from a unified system of gender discrimination but from a set of loosely overlapping structures, values, and customs that were often in flux. The result was a now-familiar set of contradictions and paradoxes in a society that expected elite women to be simultaneously subservient and competent. First marriages were early and arranged, legal restrictions hamstrung married women, and the inheritance system regularly excluded females in favor of males. Yet despite these restrictions, women could forge what Harris describes as rewarding "careers" as wives, mothers, and widows, gaining respect and independence, exerting political influence, and seeking and dispensing patronage. Gaps within and between the competing systems that restricted them gave aristocratic women room to maneuver and to achieve levels of autonomy their later Stuart descendants would have envied.

TIM STRETTON
Saint Mary's University, Halifax

ROBERT C. PALMER. *Selling the Church: The English Parish in Law, Commerce, and Religion, 1350–1550.* (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. 330. $49.95.

At the heart of this ambitious and incisively argued study is an analysis of the impact of changes in secular law on the English parish. Above all, Robert C. Palmer focuses on the practice whereby not only tithes but mortuary fees, church offerings, and the right to hire a priest to serve the parish were leased by rectors to both laity and clergy. This practice—increasingly common from the late fourteenth century and normal by 1500—resulted, he maintains, in the creation of a "completely commercialized" parish, run by lessees, whose rights and obligations were upheld by the common law, irrespective of the restrictions placed on leasing by canon law. Yet if secular law facilitated the creation of the "commercial parish," it also provided the means of its transformation into the "spiritual parish" through parliamentary statutes passed in 1529. Palmer contends that the significance of these statutes—which prohibited clergy from being lessees of parishes or profiting from commerce (for example, by buying goods and then selling them at a higher price) and restricted lawful reasons for absenteeism by parsons to the service of the crown, aristocracy or education—has been grossly underestimated by historians. In his view, the 1529 statutes resulted in a reformation of the parishes whose effects were "revolutionary": the clergy were compelled to turn their backs on commercial entanglements and to concentrate on their religious and educational duties. Moreover, this was achieved principally through prosecutions brought by their parishioners, encouraged by the prospect of receiving half of any fine imposed.

The book falls into two parts. The context and significance of leasing parishes are explored in depth in the first five chapters. There is much of value here, as Palmer deploys his command of the legal records to illuminate neglected aspects of the late medieval English church. Particularly striking is his demonstration of the complex interaction between the church and secular law: while ecclesiastics were willing to use the secular courts when it suited them, they also became increasingly subject to royal jurisdiction, notably as a result of rulings by John Fyneux, chief justice of the court of king's bench for thirty years from 1495. The discussion of litigation over leases of parishes not only demonstrates how lessors and lessees had recourse to the common law to enforce their rights but offers rich detail on matters such as the repair of churches and other buildings or retirement arrangements for parsons. The last three chapters turn the spotlight on the 1529 statutes and examine their genesis and scope, their enforcement, and the way that their agenda was further advanced by the dissolution of religious houses in 1536–1540. The analysis of enforcement, based on 552 cases (summarized in appendix four) in the first five and a quarter years after the statutes came into force, is the most comprehensive to date and highlights the role of litigants in making the legislation effective.

Palmer amply demonstrates how much there is to be learned about the English church from the later fourteenth century to the reign of Henry VIII from a rigorous analysis of secular legal records. Nevertheless, some aspects of the study could have been pursued further by drawing on a wider range of evidence. Notwithstanding the examples given of individual clergy and laity who leased parishes, the social backgrounds and occupations of lessees, and the extent of their participation in the market in parish leaseholds, remain elusive. The effects on parishioners both of leasing and of the changes introduced after 1529 could likewise have been brought into sharper focus. Leasing may have increased the numbers of absentee parsons in the late Middle Ages, but appropriation of parishes by religious houses from the twelfth century onward meant that absentee rectors were nothing new: surely the crucial issue for parishioners was that

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adequate arrangements were made to provide pastoral care? At the very least, fuller consideration is needed of the connections, if any, between the increasing commercialization of the parish and the close bonds, reflected in flourishing devotional practices, that persisted between parishioners and their parish church. Another question is how far, apart from initial episcopal objections, the 1529 legislation excited contemporary comment that could be compared with the response revealed by the litigation so meticulously analyzed here. To raise such points is a measure of the significance of the issues Palmer addresses in a stimulating book that merits serious attention from anyone seeking to understand the late medieval English church and the extent to which it was transformed in the Reformation.

HUW PRYCE
University of Wales, Bangor

MARJO KAARTINEN. *Religious Life and English Culture in the Reformation*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. viii, 210. $60.00.

Historians, like soft-drink manufacturers, are always seeking a gap in the market, and Marjo Kaartinen has identified an important one: attitudes toward the religious life in Henrician England and toward the monastic dissolutions of the 1530s. It is true that "surprisingly little research has recently been undertaken on the final days of English monasticism" (p. 5), although the field is not quite as vacant as an unwary reader might suppose. It is unfortunate that several key studies have appeared while this book must have been in press: Neil Rushton's reassessment of "Monastic Charitable Provision in Tudor England" (*Continuity and Change* [2001]); Sean Field's study of antimonastic stereotypes in Robin Hood ballads, "Devotion, Discontent, and the Henrician Reformation" (*Journal of British Studies* [2002]); and James Clark's edited collection on *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England* (2002). But there is less excuse for failing to take account of Claire Cross's survey of the testamentary evidence, "Monasticism and Society in the Diocese of York 1520–1540" (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* [1988]) or of Benjamin Thompson's incisive study of the crucial attitudes of monastic "founders," "Monasteries and their Patrons at Foundation and Dissolution" (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* [1994]).

Nonetheless, this book has original things to say. Structuring chapters around the monastic vows and virtues of obedience, poverty, chastity, and stability is an inventive and productive approach, and there are interesting passages on monastic diet, dress, and work, on gendered distinctions between virginity and chastity, on attitudes toward the body. The writing is fresh and engaging, only occasionally betraying signs that English is not the author's first language. An overall perception that neither monks nor monasticism were widely disliked chimes well with the most persuasive modern scholarship.

However, questions can be raised about the methodological route by which such conclusions are reached. In a revealing comment on Bob Scribner's classification of anticlericalism as both a mentality and a form of behavior, Kaartinen notes that "for the present work, mentality provides more possibilities, because it is more stable than action" (p. 5). Later we are told that it is important to seek to uncover "the core of the attitudes and ideals beneath all the rhetoric" (p. 150). Yet this assumption of a "stable" religious mentality, depoliticized and largely independent of agency and process, is a somewhat troubling one. The sourcebase is textual rather than archival, on the (at best arguable) grounds of providing better insight into "attitudes and opinions." But we learn little about the provenance and production of the texts in play. To take one example, the anticlerical tract *Rede me and be not wroth* is frequently drawn upon, but at no point are we told the circumstances of its composition, or the (highly germane) fact that its authors were apostate Observant Franciscans. Erasmus is cited in the English translations of the 1530s, without apparent awareness of the extent to which these translations were tendentiously political and rhetorical productions. Indeed, the disaggregation of "mentality," "rhetoric," and "action" looks particularly incongruous in view of the fact that a good number of texts used here were produced to support the campaign to close the monasteries, or to justify it after the fact. There is also a rather serious error where a group of manuscripts detailing monastic sexual crimes are said to be "compiled by bishops . . . for the purpose of reform from within" and to "probably date. . . from the 1530s" (p. 117). On inspection, these turn out to be seventeenth and eighteenth-century transcriptions of the propagandistic "Compendium Compertorum" drafted by Thomas Cromwell's visitors in 1535–1536.

In fairness, Kaartinen is at pains to point out that the hows and whys of the dissolution are not her real concern. Yet to attempt to answer vital questions about the perception and experience of religious and cultural change largely through the cross-referencing of textual tropes is a hazardous enterprise. For many readers, and I think for Kaartinen herself, the crunch question is "why the English allowed religious houses to be destroyed" (p. 29). The solution proposed here—that because many of the ideals underpinning monasticism (poverty, chastity, stability) were shared by those who sought its destruction, and that therefore in some essential way little of true importance changed—left this reviewer feeling unsatisfied, if not perplexed. This book bills itself as "a new kind of scholarly approach" to the cultural history of the early sixteenth century, and perhaps we are all cultural historians now. Yet, rather in spite of its intentions, the book under-

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lines the need for a cultural history with the politics put back in.

PETER MARSHALL
University of Warwick

RORY MCENTEGART. *Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden and the English Reformation*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, for the Royal Historical Society, London. 2002. Pp. x, 244. $75.00.

For more than a century, historians have asserted that Henry VIII and his ministers entered into negotiations with the German princes in the 1530s largely for reasons of state. This revisionary study, which benefits greatly from Rory McEntegart's familiarity with the state archives of Hesse, Thuringia, and Bavaria as well as the contemporary English sources, turns that thesis on its head, claiming that religious and secular motives cannot be separated in the factional politics of the latter part of Henry VIII's reign and that theology was a major factor from the start.

Having broken with the papacy over his repudiation of Catherine of Aragon and alienated her nephew, Emperor Charles V, in 1533 Henry needed all the allies he could muster and began making overtures to the defensive association of German princes and cities established by John Frederick, duke of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse, at the town of Schmalkalden in Thuringia. All members of the League acknowledged a common statement of belief, the Augsburg Confession and Apology, composed the previous year by Philip Melanchthon. The Confession set out the Lutheran position on the main points of the Christian faith including the creed, baptism, the Lord's supper, free will, justification, good works, and the invocation of the saints. The Apology, added later to refute Catholic objections to certain particulars in the Confession, elaborated Lutheran teaching on communion in one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, the nature of the Mass, auricular confession, diversity of meats, monastic vows, and the power of the church. McEntegart argues that Henry VIII could by and large accept the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession but never reconciled himself to the more radical innovations in the Apology. Some of Henry's more forward councilors, such as Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer, however, saw a strategic alliance with the Schmalkaldic League as a means of advancing evangelical reform in England.

Henry VIII first sanctioned a formal embassy to the League in 1534 and at the same time issued an invitation to Melanchthon to visit the country. Almost immediately, the proceedings ran into difficulties. The Germans made recognition of the Augsburg declaration a condition for admission to the League, while Henry assumed he possessed the power to alter the details of the settlement, and no agreement could be reached.

A new embassy from the League achieved no more success in 1538. Once again, the English king requested a major delegation of German theologians, headed by Melanchthon, to confer on matters of religion, and once again the League refused to comply. This time, however, some discussion did take place with English theologians on the disputed points in the Augsburg Apology, although the Germans had no authorization to make any concessions. Frustrated by this impasse, during Cromwell's absence from court the king turned to the conservative Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, for the resolution he sought. Then in June 1539 he attached to a bill originally designed to uphold the doctrine of the real presence five much more contentious propositions explicitly rejecting Lutheran teaching on communion in both kinds, vows of chastity, private Masses, clerical celibacy, and auricular confession.

Although the Germans—with good cause—regarded the Act of Six Articles as a direct challenge to the Augsburg Apology, Cromwell did not abandon all hopes of a secular alliance and went on to procure a marriage between the king and Anne of Cleves. The failure of the match cost Cromwell his life, and for some years Henry severed all links with the Germans. The emperor's resumption of hostilities against the League, however, caused Henry to change his stance, and in the last months of his life he proposed yet another conference between English and German theologians. He died in January 1547, before he could receive this final embassy, and the following April imperial forces defeated the League at the battle of Mühlberg.

This re-examination of the diplomatic relations between England and the Schmalkaldic League provides valuable new insight into the origins of the Act of Six Articles, the beliefs of Henry VIII, and the fall of Thomas Cromwell, and it convincingly reinstates the importance of religion in the political history of the English Reformation.

CLAIRE CROSS
University of York

SUSAN WABUDA. *Preaching during the English Reformation*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 203. $35.00.

In this attractively written and admirably compressed monograph, Susan Wabuda addresses a relatively little studied topic—preaching—which she claims can be used to draw some wider conclusions about the English Reformation. She commences with an amusingly drawn picture of the complementarity of the accounts of that Reformation by Geoffrey Elton and A. G. Dickens. In the process, she brings out the breathtaking smugness of their joint approach to the subject and the extraordinary pretentiousness of their claim to have wrapped up the topic, leaving nothing else for younger scholars to look at or say.

Wabuda wants, rightly in my view, to make a case for

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the continuity and strength of the Protestant reforming impulse right through to the Elizabethan period. In doing so, she challenges a recent revisionist interpretation that claims the same impulse ran out of steam under Henry VIII. She does this by looking at the institution of preaching in such a way as to argue that the late medieval church was threatened by reform proposals as much because of its own success as because it was in decline. For preaching institutions existed and flourished long before the course of Henrician politics allowed the reformers a say in church government and were, in the end, taken over by Protestant evangelicals. One can see how this subtly questions Eamon Duffy's account of the late medieval parish and the essentially nonverbal basis of its devotional and spiritual life.

Wabuda argues that sermons were part of the English church's life long before the break with Rome (and, in her first chapter, gives a good account of where they were delivered, all the way from preaching chantries to pulpit crosses). She challenges the "persistent myth ... that sermons were relatively rare before the Reformation" (p. 26), although she admits that there is no way of knowing how many were actually preached. And her account of the ways in which the preaching of sermons was funded is impressive. Just as in Duffy's parish, however, we do not know how far the whole parish subscribed to the dominant forms of liturgical activity practiced there, so there is no way of measuring how sermons were received. Wabuda does, nevertheless, subscribe to a watered-down version of the "triumph of the laity" thesis when she argues that the appropriation of the sermon for political ends by the Henrician regime also allowed lay folk to critique what they heard from the pulpit; and, of course, the Henrician destruction, or rather financial rape, of the structures that had supported preaching meant that the laity took on more responsibility for supporting preachers, and households (allegedly) became the replacements for several of the functions of religious houses, including the maintenance of preaching. Her third chapter, "Flocking Companies of Friars," shows how the attacks on the mendicant orders actually drove trained preachers from these orders into the parishes.

In both her second and third chapters, Wabuda shows how the sermon, or rather the institution of preaching, and also various Erasmian ideas about the proper function of preaching became a polemical battleground as controverted Reformation ideas about the function of the word were injected into polemical quarrels between conservatives and evangelicals, even if it is not always quite clear whether preaching is the issue of or simply the occasion for such quarrels.

The issue all this raises is, of course, what the link was between the rise of the sermon as a vehicle for Protestant reform and the later (i.e. especially late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century) distrust of preaching by a brand of conformist or "avant-garde" conformist cleric who thought that a certain sort of sermonizing might actually distract people from the proper means of worshipping God. Wabuda's study is written from an avowedly (but very moderate) Protestant standpoint and perspective. Preaching in the Reformation period is envisaged as definitely not the preserve of a proto-Puritan cadre but rather as a natural and beneficial outcrop of the restructuring of the church between the 1530s and the 1550s. Indeed, the final chapter, "The Name of Jesus," traces a linear progression from the Christocentrism of the cult of the "holy name," which was the "hallmark of evangelical Catholic piety in the decades that preceded the reforms" (p. 148), and of the preaching chantries which fostered this Christocentrism, all the way through to the Christocentrism of the preaching reformers. Here we seem to have a prescription for a moderate consensus on the place and function of preaching in early modern society, fostered but almost deproblematized by the Reformation. Where, then, did the debate about preaching come from? Clearly there is space for another, or second, volume on preaching in the (later) English Reformation.

This book certainly changes our perspective of several key aspects of English Reformation history. In the politest of ways it undermines even further Dickens's view of the topic. Perhaps this is the way that Dickens himself was tending? Wabuda ends her introduction by noting that the last time she met Dickens he "expressed satisfaction that I was working for the Jesuit Fathers in New York." This is the same man who, in a doctoral viva, told the candidate, a student of the Marian martyrs (a former Baptist who had become an atheist), that he should try not to let his "Catholic" prejudices interfere with his research.

MICHAEL QUESTIER
Queen Mary,
University of London

THOMAS COGSWELL, RICHARD CUST, and PETER LAKE, editors. *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 304. $60.00.

This is a truly inspiring collection of essays: a tribute to Conrad Russell by friends and former students to mark the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. All of the contributions are of a high standard, and some of them are pure gems. Russell is one of the leading proponents of the revisionist interpretation of early Stuart history that reflects a desire to break free from the Whig and Marxist teleologies that had dominated accounts of the origins of the English Civil War up until the early 1970s. There was no high road to civil war, the revisionists taught us: early modern England was a most unrevolutionary place, a society characterized by consensus where local allegiances were more powerful than national ones, and where political contingencies and extraneous pressures were more important in generating political conflict than long-term structural defects. Or so it seemed. Editors Thomas

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Cogswell, Richard Cust, and Peter Lake open this volume with an important reevaluation of the revisionist enterprise. In fact, revisionism, and particularly Russell's own brand, they tell us, has been misunderstood, in large part as a result of the polemical circumstances in which revisionism announced itself to the world. Russell's work did not eschew long-term structural argument or explanation; it showed an awareness of the reality of conflict and ideological division within a society that idealized consensus, and remained just as concerned with explaining why civil war broke out in 1642 as the earlier—albeit botched—efforts that the revisionist enterprise was designed to refute. The challenge for scholars now, the editors proclaim, is to recognize the real advances made by revisionism and move to the next level, by developing "new research agendas designed to test, confirm, reject and extend the considerable insights and advances vouchsafed to us by the initial project" (p. 14).

Nevertheless, the essays in this volume seem to leave little of the revisionist case intact, even if it is the revisionism associated with scholars other than Russell that is the implied target of attack. Thus we see an early Stuart England riven by ideological division, at all social levels, where James I started the process completed by Charles I of alienating the people from the monarchy, and where the government under both kings was headed by nasty individuals who were into self-aggrandizement at the expense of the interests of the commonwealth. To be sure, Cynthia Herrup's essay on parliamentary pardons, which often involved extended negotiations between crown and parliament, reminds us of the different styles of kingship of James I and Charles I, with the father showing a greater degree of flexibility and willingness to compromise than the son. Yet Andrew Thrush's essay on James I's personal rule of 1611–1620—and the implications thereof for his foreign policy—suggests that Charles learned his distrust of parliaments from his father. Likewise, Cust shows that James himself was largely responsible for teaching his son to fear popular spirits, a fear that does much to explain some of Charles's more disastrous political and religious policies and initiatives. David Hebb's examination of the duke of Buckingham's attempts to make profit out of the sea as lord high admiral reveals the duke as a ruthless money grubber seeking to take advantage of misfortune to line his own pockets (a matter not improved by Buckingham's death, since Charles then simply put the admiralty into commission and took the profits for himself). There is no picture of a reforming duke or paternal monarchy here, just pure extortion.

This volume further makes clear how deeply national politics penetrated the localities. Pauline Croft examines the cultural impact of the frequent meetings of Parliament in the decades 1601–1610 and 1621–1629, how MPs transmitted back to their localities political and religious information picked up in the metropolis, and how shared experiences in the nation's capital could create a new conviction that it was the House of Commons, and not the king, that understood the nation as a whole. Cogswell shows how Buckingham exploited the media and explored hitherto taboo areas of public relations in an attempt to boost his popularity, not just with Parliament but with the nation at large. Many of the essays emphasize the importance of long-standing religious divisions. Nicholas Tyacke explores how Elizabethan Puritans looked to the Scottish reversionary interest in the 1590s and early 1600s as a means of obtaining their much-desired reforms in church and state, while Lori Anne Ferrell reminds us just how much religion was what was at stake in the union campaign of 1603–1607. Julia Merritt has a cracking piece on the Puritan divine Robert Hill and how he sought to bring the reformist message to the broadest popular audience without compromising any of his views on predestination. Anthony Milton has a brilliant essay on Laudianism and how the ideological rationale for Archbishop William Laud's and Charles I's initiatives in the church came to be provided by ecclesiastical self-promoters like Peter Heylin, who by putting forward arguments they thought would best serve the interests of the men whose patronage they sought thereby came to generate substantially more radical justifications for the new style of ceremonialism than the Laudian bishops would ever have ventured. Jacqueline Eales reveals the importance of sermons in sustaining civil war allegiances while at the same time showing how preaching campaigns could help maintain high levels of religious and political tension in both urban and rural communities. And local communities certainly were divided, despite the use of the traditional positive language of unity and consensus, as Lake shows in his superb essay on the Cheshire petitions for and against root-and-branch reform in the church. This does not mean that the struggle was simply about religion, however, since "different styles of piety and positions on church government shaded into other more political debates about representation, order, and the nature and local of authority throughout the polity" (p. 287).

This book is going to be a must read for anyone interested in the field. Russell's own take on the period might well survive relatively unscathed, although qualifications and adjustments will inevitably be in order. "Revisionism," as we have come to think of it, however, is surely dead. The wave of the future is here. It is a tribute to Russell's own intellectual stature that he has been able to inspire such a superb collection of essays in his honor.

TIM HARRIS
Brown University

ROSEMARY MOORE. *The Light in Their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain 1646–1666.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp xiii, 314. $29.95.

ADRIAN DAVIES. *The Quakers in English Society 1655–1725.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York:

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Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 262. $65.00.

As the only survivor among the multitude of new sects that sprang up during the English Civil War and Commonwealth in the mid-seventeenth century, the Religious Society of Friends, known as Quakers, has attracted more than passing interest over its long history. Members are remembered for their plain dress and speech, for William Penn and Pennsylvania, as pacifists of conscience and courage, and for their long history of prison reform and distress relief. It will surprise, even astonish many to discover that the Quakers, who have maintained their pacifist stance for about 350 years, often at great cost to themselves, were once perceived as dangerous radicals, even anarchists, intent upon overthrowing the Puritan government and the Restoration establishment. Perhaps even more surprising is the degree to which the authority of founder George Fox was challenged, both in doctrine and direction, by charismatic early figures. Rosemary Moore illuminates the radical end of the English Reformation by analyzing, via a computer database, about fifteen hundred pamphlets, tracts, and publications and a vast mass of manuscripts, letters, and reports. The breadth of her coverage reveals the hostility that consistently fell upon the early Quakers and adds significant, indeed informative insights into the dissension within Quakerism in its initial two decades, culminating in 1666 when Fox initiated major reforms.

Moore reviews and clarifies the quagmire of new sects that proliferated during the Civil War, some with roots in continental movements. Others, such as the Levellers and their communal wing, the Diggers, ultimately put down by Oliver Cromwell, rejected the orders of society and defied authority, terrifying the propertied classes with demands for equality and the communal ownership of resources like land. Some of the early Quakers did expect to take over the nation to create their idea of God's kingdom on earth. Some believed the millennium, the second coming of Christ, had arrived, and religious fervor erupted into fanaticism. The response is well known: Fox and many other Quakers, both men and women, were imprisoned and treated harshly. James Naylor was tried before Parliament and sentenced to be whipped, his tongue bored through with a hot iron, and to be branded as a blasphemer. Less well-known, perhaps, are the many pamphlets and broadsheets attacking Quakers, some viciously scurrilous, to which Quakers responded with their own outpourings that served as rebuttal, as well as helping to define and clarify their doctrine. Most surprising is the downright abusive tone of some of those early rebuttals. Fierce devotion to their faith in a troubled and repressive time was matched by a fierceness of expression not usually associated with the Quakers. Another surprise is the degree to which the lead in the early theological debates was not taken by Fox but mainly by Naylor. Finally, in 1659, Fox produced an enormous book, *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore*, in which he replied to more than one hundred attacks on Quakerism. Fox could fling abuse with the best of them, but this work marked a change in policy, which Moore sees as an attempt to minimize "those features of Quakerism which were subject to attack" (p. 107).

But this is not a book focused only on doctrine, and Moore deals as well with the political experience of Quakerism in the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the crucial period between the death of Cromwell in 1658 and the Restoration in 1660. Always keenly aware of the power of the press, the Quakers issued several pamphlets a week, some individually, some on the authority of the London men's meeting—London had become the center of Quaker authority—and one by Fox himself. Friends were torn as to whether they should serve in the local militia, and whether to accept office. Fox was against it, although he did not comment on the use of force by a lawful government. By the Restoration in 1660, the sect had undergone what Moore calls a metamorphosis. Radicalism and doctrinal extremism were controlled by the imposition of the authority of the meeting, but not without bitter quarrels, factionalism, and dissent. Friends were admitting, albeit somewhat grudgingly, that others had a right to their views and practices, and while they continued to demand liberty of conscience in religion, the Quakers were also expressing their faith in relatively conventional terms, "showing that Quakerism was compatible with mainstream Christianity" (p. 221). Fox revised the meetings until, by 1676, the sect's modern structure was in place.

As Adrian Davies deals with some of the same topics as Moore within the context of Essex, a county rich in period sources, Quaker and others, is a second volume on this period nugatory? No, because his focus is on the degree to which the Quakers, so often portrayed as hostile to their world and seen as persecuted, marginal, and isolated, were in fact a part of everyday life in local society. Building on the work of Richard Vann and Judith Hurwich, Davies assembled an index of names and, as far as possible, traced the social origins and occupations of the Essex Quakers. Vann challenged the common assertion that the early Quakers were artisans and small farmers, and showed that the Quakers came from what he called "a middle to upper-bourgeoisie" and "that the percentage of Friends drawn from the gentry class was not lower than that in the population at large" (p. 142). Hurwich challenged Vann, based on her study of tax records in Buckinghamshire. Davies looked at the hearth tax records and found about equal numbers of relatively prosperous Quakers and more humble farmers and artisans in Essex, but also a substantial portion (twenty-three percent) who were unquestionably much lower in the social scale, with but one hearth and exempted from the tax. The distribution of urban and rural Quakers was about equal over the period studied. Davies also deals with the persecution of Quakers

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providing illuminating tables on imprisonment. By far the principal cause was refusing to swear the oath of allegiance, but more were jailed for disturbing church services in 1655–1659 than for refusing to pay the church tithe, underlining how aggressive and disruptive some of the early Friends could be. Passionately convinced of the rightness of their convictions, they were far from saintly in their behavior. Davies also examines the degree to which adherence to Quakerism hardened familial divisions.

Davies devotes substantial space to the degree to which Quakers were part of their communities, and notes examples of Quaker wills that left money for the poor, on the grounds that poverty was a threat to spiritual well being (p. 203). For this reader, Davies's challenge to older authorities is of value. For example, the claim that Quakers refused public office, worldly honors, and official positions is well rebutted by his examination of Quaker occupations in Essex. From 1660 onward, they held responsible positions within their parishes, serving as overseers of the poor, highway surveyors, vestrymen, vermin destroyers, and even constables. As this book covers a wider chronological period than did Moore, Davies is also able to look at the shift from radical sect to established, relatively integrated denomination, albeit one that maintained its sectarianism by insisting on plainness of clothing and speech, endogamous marriage, and refusal to pay tithes. Davies deals with the Quaker focus on education, a concern from the early years of the sect, noting the first formally established Quaker school, founded by Fox in 1668 at Waltham Abbey in Essex. Moreover, the high literacy rates of Quaker women are carefully examined in the context of arguing that Quaker culture encouraged literacy levels not found among the general population.

Davies's analysis of Essex records and the tables compiled from them, combined with a wide ranging and thorough grasp of the work of other historians, produces a book that Quakers will find essential, as will those interested in the religious, political, social, and anthropological aspects of this period. One must be aware of extrapolating too broadly from the experience of the Essex Quakers; research by other historians on other counties has produced different combinations of results. Nevertheless, both of these books will fascinate those interested not just in Quakers but in a tumultuous, even apocalyptic period, and in the Friends' progression from an antiauthoritarian, sometimes fanatic and outrageous radicalism that enraged both government and society, to denominational respectability.

HELEN E. HATTON
University of Toronto

DAVID M. TURNER. *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660–1740.* (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 236. $55.00.

This is an important cultural history exploring ideas about extramarital sex through detailed and sensitive historical analysis. By examining the period often neglected by historians between the Restoration and the early eighteenth century, David M. Turner provides us with much-needed information about the sexual attitudes of a society in transition. He explains changes, for example in the language used to describe adultery, and continuities, such as the idea that extramarital sex was a public as well as a personal matter, and that adultery and its consequences were a subject for both comedy and tragedy. Turner achieves this by drawing upon a wide range of legal, prescriptive, periodical, and pamphlet sources and an extensive knowledge of Restoration and eighteenth-century drama. Material from the Restoration Court of Arches and the publications relating to the earliest cases for "criminal conversation" receive fresh analysis. We are guided through the complex, and frequently contradictory ideas that governed sexual conduct in the period.

A particular strength of Turner's careful work is what it reveals about early modern masculinity. Despite the sexual double standard, which made women more culpable for adultery than men, Turner pays equal attention to representations of men's motivations, attitudes, and emotions concerning illicit sexual liaisons. In his analysis of literature that featured cuckoldry, for example, Turner shows how contemporaries were at pains to distinguish between different types of cuckold, and he explains that it was how a husband reacted upon discovery of his wife's betrayal that determined how he was judged as a man. In cases of adultery, relations within as well as between the sexes were affected and could be reconfigured. Cultural depictions of the cuckold and his rival brought into the open debates between different and conflicting styles of manhood, which contrasted social manners and conduct as well as sexual mores.

It is Turner's argument that, by 1740, there was increasing sympathy for the cuckold figure as adultery became seen as a personal tragedy. He believes that by this time the shame that men demonstrated about being cuckolds came "primarily from *'within.'*" They regarded wife adultery as damaging not just because it questioned a husband's social reputation but because it was a "personal misfortune" and betrayal of intimacy (p. 115). This new focus on the inner man appears also to have been a feature of advice literature about sexual relationships. Turner shows that after 1660 writers appealed to the virtue "within" men when they argued against adultery, thinking that this would be more likely to govern sexual passions than the fear of sin or legal prosecution.

In this book, it would have been rewarding to hear more of the voices of men "within" through an analysis of their personal records such as letters, diaries, and autobiographies. Like the sources that Turner does use, these were, of course, narratives that were "fashioned" by the attitudes and values of the period. But as personal "representation" of "reality," they may bring

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us closer to discovering how our predecessors explained the mixed emotions and reactions of excitement, laughter, pain, and loss that adultery could provoke.

ELIZABETH FOYSTER
Clare College,
University of Cambridge

ANNA NEILL. *British Discovery Literature and the Rise of Global Commerce*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. x, 229. $62.00.

Recent studies in eighteenth-century culture and history have been increasingly oriented toward transnational relationships, elaborating the ideologies that enabled (and sometimes unwittingly undermined) imperial domination, tracking the complex negotiations of societies in contact, and tracing the influence of such negotiations on European discourses once understood as entirely home grown. Anna Neill's contribution to these studies is particularly distinguished in its integration of research in history, literature, and philosophy, shifting gracefully, for instance, from a detailed account of eighteenth-century geography and its tight links to Britain's international trade agenda to a reading of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) as exposing the "epistemological dead-ends" (p. 119) of geographical exploration. In another case she moves from a thoughtful description of the moral philosophy of David Hume and Adam Smith, and a somewhat contentious assertion that they believed social leaders must serve as moral spectators in a potentially corrupt commercial society, to an interpretation of the journals and later mythic representations of luminary sea captains James Cook and William Bligh. Especially useful to students of eighteenth-century British history is the book's early and in-depth discussion of contemporary Scots' works on the history of manners, including those of Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames, John Millar, and Smith, and their relation to colonial discourse.

Most important about Neill's work is its investigation of the ways in which the travel literature representing British global mobility, in its production of "new social identities and forms of behaviour" (p. 3), troubles as much as it reinforces commercial imperialism. A closer reading of archival material regarding Cook and Bligh, for example, reveals the ways in which their position within colonial and labor relationships meant they could not serve as disinterested moral spectators. Similarly, Neill demonstrates how geographical texts attempting to know and control global spaces produce paradoxical, monstrous figures in the uncharted territories they must confront. Writers on globalization in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries frequently emphasize its all-encompassing character. With an eye toward such characterizations, Neill points out the ways in which the global commerce of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries also saturated and drew from a wide variety of social discourses, but her assertions about the double-edged quality of the resulting texts serve as an important reminder of the rhetorical and social resistances that are also a part of the globalization process.

Neill analyzes some eighteenth-century writers who were openly skeptical of the interests and practices of international investors and traders, looking at the writings of Tobias Smollett and Samuel Johnson. These canonical writers, while not unambiguously against all international trade, attempted to articulate a resistant position from which to critique the excesses of imperial commerce. Their efforts to present a virtuous and corrective figure, however, were unsuccessful, hampered by generic and rhetorical limitations. In her study of the use of the picaresque in Smollett's *Roderick Random* (1748) and Johnson's *Rasselas* (1759), for instance, Neill pays her closest attention to rhetorical form, and to good effect. The mobile figure of the picaro, while offering a detached perspective from which to observe social evils, is himself morally inconsistent, his larger vision necessarily afforded by the very cosmopolitanism both writers perceived as a problem. This incorporation of formal analysis would have been welcome in the chapters on Daniel Defoe and Swift as well—an analysis of Defoe's deployment of a range of developing print genres or a deeper engagement with Swift's use of difficult satirical and ironic modes in ways that defy any straightforward interpretation of his position would likely strengthen and enrich Neill's argument.

Like a compelling travel account, Neill locates some of her most surprising and significant discoveries later in her narrative. In conclusion, she takes on such big guns as Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari, Paul Gilroy, and Marcus Rediker, arguing that the nomadism imposed on British and colonial subjects by global commerce ultimately enabled not "emancipatory transnational identities" but "isolation and impoverishment" (p. 184). This challenge to one of the most influential strands of studies in Atlantic transnationalism, however, deserves a more sustained discussion and development. The rejection of the emancipatory narrative of transnational travel is in some ways implicit in Neill's undertstanding of travelers as undergoing transformations that might work in two directions: the conversion of "civil subjects" into "vagrant outlaws" (p. 23) through travel to the peripheries might just as well work the other way around. Neill reads buccaneer William Dampier's manuscript revisions of his later published journals to show his reinvention of himself as a respectable English captain, a promoter of scientific discovery and related British commercial interests. In extensive analyses of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and *Captain Singleton* (1720), she finds additional evidence of the reconciliation of wayward traveling and self-serving subjects with the interests of an imperial state. Making explicit reference in these chapters to the alternative arguments of Gilroy or Rediker, or to the body of criticism that reads Defoe as

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critical of or at least ambivalent toward the project of British empire, would highlight the significance of Neill's valuable contribution to the expanding field of studies in eighteenth-century transnational movements.

JANET SORENSEN
Indiana University, Bloomington

STANLEY CHAPMAN. *Hosiery and Knitwear: Four Centuries of Small-Scale Industry in Britain c. 1589–2000.* (Pasold Studies in Textile History, number 12.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xxiv, 328.

The British hosiery industry has largely been neglected by historians, which is not surprising. It was an industry of countless small firms, always deeply in the shade of cotton and wool textiles. Its key piece of mechanization, William Lee's stocking frame of *ca.* 1589, never fit the chronology and litany of invention recited by every school child learning about the Industrial Revolution. It produced no memorable entrepreneurs; its centers, Nottingham and Leicester, never matched Liverpool and Manchester, Leeds and Bradford in the annals of Britain's economic and urban development. Hitherto, historians have had to rely on William Felkin's *History of the Machine Wrought Hosiery and Lace Manufacturers* (1867), largely technical in its focus, and Charlotte Erickson's pathbreaking *British Entrepreneurs, Steel and Hosiery, 1850–1950* (1959). This new book fills an obvious gap in British textiles history.

It is rare in the writing of industrial history that subject and author are perfectly matched. Stanley Chapman has been immersed in the history of hosiery for well over thirty years. He has come to breathe the area and industry, its people and firms. His book is therefore no insular account but a first-rate history of the industry from Lee's great invention to its rapid collapse at the turn of the twentieth century.

The book surveys five major periods: the transference of the industry from London to Nottingham and Leicester, leading to a period of marked growth between 1730 and 1800; half a century of problems and industrial strife to 1850; the unusually belated transition to a factory system of production between 1850 and 1914; forty years of boom between the 1920s and 1960s (the World War I years are curiously passed over), when the industry fared so much better than cotton, woollens, or worsteds; and, perhaps the best section in the book, the years of mounting difficulty after the 1960s, which witnessed the flawed formation of two conglomerates (Courtaulds and Coats Paton) that came to dominate the hosiery and knitwear industries, and the globalization and sorry post-1970s decline of the industry.

A number of themes provide a thread through these sections: the general lack of enterprise and training (first analyzed by Erickson) that was a constant feature of the small-scale producers engaged in the industry; the early role of banks and, in the 1920s, the interventions of Sir Arthur Wheeler, a one-time stockbroker, in the finance of businesses; and the stranglehold of the great London-based warehouses in the nineteenth century. The leading firm among the latter, I. and R. Morley, employed a workforce of 11,000 people at its height, had a turnover of £3 million in 1900, and produced an annual catalogue of 500 pages listing between forty and fifty thousand separate items. After the 1920s, such firms were replaced by multiple stores, headed by Marks and Spencer, buying long runs of hosiery and knitwear on increasingly rigorous contracts. Other motifs are drawn out. The industry was subjected to constant changes in fashion (most notably the shift from the wearing of breeches to trousers in the early nineteenth century), the late impact of technology after 1850, and the significance of a lively market in second-hand machinery throughout its history, which allowed easy start-up for newcomers.

This is a big agenda for a well-illustrated book of 300 pages, but in general it comes off well. The twentieth-century sections, not skimped as in so many industrial histories, are particularly convincingly handled in the second half of the book. At their base is a series of interviews conducted over the past twenty-five years and a thorough knowledge of the trade literature. The passages on the eighteenth century are well buttressed by the author's pioneering ventures into the records of insurance companies. Indeed, he has been working so long in the field that the now unfashionable debate on protoindustrialization, so much in vogue in the 1970s and seemingly apposite to the transference of the industry into the East Midland counties, is ignored here. Since its machine and hand-knitting branches ran in parallel for two centuries, omission of the phenomenon in the East Midlands gives the account an old-fashioned flavor.

The theme of general lack of enterprise in the industry, with a handful of notable exceptions, pervades the book, especially in its closing chapter and conclusion. The claim is well established. But the wider aims of the leaders in the industry are not pursued. We are told they were always content with a "modest prosperity." Yet some must have made large fortunes. What did they do with them? What were their social ambitions? What were their cultural and political roles in Nottingham, Leicester, and the neighboring counties?

Chapman's book lacks a bibliography. This is a pity, because one would have brought together the breadth of oral evidence, manuscripts, reports, and trade and journal literature upon which the book is so soundly based. Occasionally the proofreaders have nodded, most evidently in tables 2.4, 6.3, and 8.7. But these are minor quibbles. The long-neglected British hosiery and knitwear industries now have a history that matches their importance.

RICHARD G. WILSON
University of East Anglia

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F. DAVID ROBERTS. *The Social Conscience of the Early Victorians*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 569. $65.00.

For about fifty years, F. David Roberts has been studying the early Victorians, and this book is solid testimony to that long erudition. It also builds on his two earlier studies of the period, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State* (1960), which examined the people and practices of a new administrative state, and *Paternalism in Early Victorian England* (1979), which revealed the hierarchical and organic sensibilities of leadership by the landed aristocracy. Both books have been widely cited in historical literature, and the book under review will be, too. It is stunning in its encyclopedic command of historical evidence and its use to propel analysis of how social conscience developed. Two things stand out: the voluminous and compelling evidence comes from the writings of an astounding number of early Victorians, and the analysis is not at all unidimensional, for Roberts is at pains to clarify the incredibly complex interplay of motive, thought, and action that led to creating a modern social conscience concerned to eliminate deprivation and evil.

Britain was the first society to have to deal with industrial capitalism; it was constantly asked to innovate responses to new social challenges with a society that was dominated by paternalistic rural, landed elites and their established institutions. Their authority was challenged by new ideologies of political economy and utilitarianism, which replaced paternalism after midcentury as an acceptable philosophy for organizing society. The heart of the book is concerned with the gradual demise of paternalistic values and their replacement as the dominant social outlook by a laissez-faire sensibility tempered by a growing humanitarianism, which was given force by the energizing morality of evangelical Christianity. The political success of laissez-faire came with Whig Party support; the wider social acceptance of the outlook had many, diverse influences, ranging from Oxbridge graduates influenced by teachers such as William Paley to the writings of John Stuart Mill and influential novelists such as Charles Dickens. Overall, none of this is unfamiliar to historians of British history, but Roberts has sophisticatedly woven together the many ways in which social ideas, activities, and new and old institutions promoted acceptance of the laissez-faire orientation. His analysis rings true, especially his insistence that paternalistic values often coexisted with and sometimes complimented the usual values associated with laissez-faire: voluntarism, self-reliance, and philanthropy.

Parts one and two, consisting of eight chapters, develop the visions of paternalistic order and of political economy and their constituent parts. Part three, consisting of four chapters, is concerned with attitudes of social reform, such as humanitarianism and philanthropy, that contended with entrenched interests in intense political battles carried out in Parliament, press, and the arts all across England (Roberts's focus is on England, although he makes clear the valuable contribution of Scottish thinkers who were instrumental in keeping alive Enlightenment rational values). The last part deals with the controversial, yet inevitable rise of government to deal with vast social evil, even while dominant values suspected government as an evil undermining personal responsibility. The key to accepting governmental initiative was joining to humanitarian values the utilitarian yardstick of promoting the greatest social happiness to measure whether reform was working to the moral reformation of industrial society. Philanthropy, undertaken often as a substitute for governmental initiative, not only was inadequate but revealed even wider need that only government could begin to address. As government increasingly dealt with specific evils through legislation and its inspectorates, few understood that these many separate efforts amounted to a substantially changed role for government's relationship to citizens. Most of those opposed to larger government turned to it nonetheless, seeing greater good in many specific reforms and fearing less the larger emerging behemoth. Still, they left a strong legacy of suspicion toward central government.

It is inevitable in a study such as this that the argument becomes repetitive and overlapping at times because of the constantly intersecting interests of those addressing social issues, whose positions were also overlapping and changing. In the end, the thematic organization adopted reinforces Roberts's central theme of the successful redefinition of social conscience lying within individuals and their ideas that was aimed at greater freedom and personal responsibility. Despite the repeated feeling that one has already read that description, and that on one occasion the same parliamentary vote is rendered differently (pp. 107 and 275), overall the argument is persuasive, mostly because it arises from the numerous voices of the era, which were not themselves always consistent. One cannot escape understanding clearly at the book's end that despite the numerous failures to solve social evil, the joining of humanitarian impulses with utilitarian concepts of governing fundamentally changed British society and left a caring legacy still present today. Describing the complexity of such change successfully could only be done by someone with an intimate familiarity that is the product of lifelong study. Roberts is that scholar.

MICHAEL J. MOORE
Appalachian State University

JAMES A. EPSTEIN. *In Practice: Studies in the Language and Culture of Popular Politics in Modern Britain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. 206. Cloth $60.00, paper $21.95.

James A. Epstein is a fine historian who has produced a fat sheaf of important writings on British radicalism. Here he brings together six previously published essays. The book supposedly charts a middle ground

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between E. P. Thompson's "cultural materialist" readings of social history and the "linguistic turn" advocated by Gareth Stedman Jones, Patrick Joyce, and others.

After an opening statement on culture and language, Epstein's first two essays explore the significance of Stedman Jones's and Joyce's writings of the 1980s and 1990s. In these engagements with various innovative articles and books, especially Stedman Jones's advocacy of a linguistic interpretation of English working-class radicalism in the 1830s and 1840s, outlined in "Rethinking Chartism" (which appeared in *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working-Class History, 1832–1982* [1983]), and Joyce's *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848–1914* (1991) and *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England* (1994), Epstein draws attention to what is valuable in the appreciation of discourse.

Apart from problems associated with the somewhat dated nature of this discussion, Epstein narrows his understanding of how authors handle "democratic politics" to what he designates "the practice of historical writing" (p. 41). This textualization of political meaning explains how it is that Epstein can restrict his commentary on Stedman Jones's essay, "Why Is the Labour Party in a Mess?" (also in *Languages of Class*) to an oddly depoliticized abstraction. He accents Stedman Jones's ostensible insight that the Labour Party's ability to forge new "unifying strategies," circa 1979–1983, was inhibited by conceiving of its constituency in class terms. Blairism, to be sure, transcended that limitation, coming up with a variety of "Third Way" options that brought Labour back to power. In the process, however, we have seen not only the end of class politics in the Labour Party but a series of social democracy's sorry capitulations. While this may not have been clear in the mid-1980s, when Epstein wrote the first version of the article reprinted here (and revised extensively for 2003 publication), it is all too evident now and surely merited some kind of historical and political comment. But Epstein's linguistic-ordered reading of Stedman Jones manages to sidestep this significant development by applauding the historiographic insight animating what he celebrates as a new historical appreciation of the Labour Party and socialism forever freed of "evolutionary notions of Labour's historical unfolding" (p. 32). In the process, what actually happened to the Labour Party in the last two decades is largely ignored.

The second section of Epstein's collection is different, being composed of four articles that are less obviously intent on balancing a tightrope reaching across the chasm of representation/materialism. Most of these essays, which address the language of radicalism through an analysis of state trials, the politicized space of the coffee house, or the "gentlemanly leader" of plebeian opposition, accent context and manage to say useful things about class and radicalism. Among the strongest contributions are those that elaborate theory, not as commentary on historical writing but as development of an understanding of past social relations. A discussion of contentious constitutionalism and sedition trials, for instance, is wonderfully evocative of the rhetoric of rational liberty that infused Jacobin dissent in the 1790s. This essay, to borrow Thompson's words, is "linguistic without the turn": its ninety-five footnotes gesture lightly, if at all, to postmodern writing. The book's final chapter, contrasting the radicalism of Peterloo's Henry "Orator" Hunt and Chartism's Feargus O'Connor to the liberalism of later figures such as John Bright and William Ewart Gladstone, is similar. Indeed, his chapter rightly addresses changes in the cultural context of popular politics over the course of the nineteenth century, and thus moves off the ground of linguistic continuity that dominates Stedman Jones's account of Chartism.

If the opening essays on history and theory thus seem to fit uneasily with the later articles that actually engage in writing history, this is symptomatic of a problem in the making of this text. Too much appears hastily patched together. Author and publisher were insufficiently concerned about repetition to exercise editorial pruning, allowing the same quote from a radical lawyer to appear in two separate chapters (pp. 96, 109). Epstein deplores the "defensive postures and a tendency for contesting parties to talk past each other" that he regards as characteristic of opposing views around the linguistic turn (p. 55). But the citations to conceptual statements are largely to those few who have made the linguistic turn *within history as a discipline*, sharply and loudly, or to historians already espousing Epstein's middle ground. Others, including Terry Eagleton, Richard Evans, Alex Callinicos, David McNally, Perry Anderson, and Ellen Wood, are not adequately engaged.

There is no conclusion to this book. This may well be fitting, because, in practice, the middle ground of Epstein's book is a highly problematic space between a fashionable advocacy and the rigors of actually doing history. When Epstein opts for the latter, he largely walks away from his much-vaunted middle ground; when immersed in the former, the rhetoric is heady, but the interpretive terrain provides little in the way of sure analytic footing.

BRYAN D. PALMER
Trent University

MARK FREEMAN. *Social Investigation and Rural England 1870–1914.* (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, with the Royal Historical Society. 2003. Pp. xi, 217. $70.00.

This book focuses on the theory and practice of social investigators and investigations exploring late Victorian and Edwardian rural England. Arguing for the continuing importance of the rural in the period 1870–1914—both because the agricultural laborer continued to form the "largest single occupational group recorded in every census until 1901" (p. 2) and because

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rural life continued to be turned to for various forms of salvation—Mark Freeman undertakes a detailed analysis of parliamentary surveys, independent research, special correspondents' letters, and cultural studies.

An accessible, intelligent and useful work, the book aims to "follow the processes of social investigation" (p. 9) from inception to operation, and to consider issues of readership and reception. Taking "social investigation" in its widest sense, Freeman purposely "engages with . . . a diverse range of sources" (p. 4), not just those studies that might normally be considered the precursors of the modern social survey.

The first chapter provides the reader with a detailed historiography and the story of social investigation up to 1870. The remainder of the book consists of a competent and comprehensive analysis of the authorship and function of the various approaches to rural inquiry between 1870 and 1914. Most chapters begin with an evaluation of a specific theme: for example, "the revolt of the field," rural depopulation, or rural living and working conditions. Each theme is linked to a different type of enquiry, such as "special correspondents and resident investigators" (chapter two), poverty surveys (chapter four), and the "cultural inquiry" (chapter five).

Aware of the work undertaken on social investigation in urban environs by, for example, Eileen Yeo, and of methodological innovations within social history such as those lead by Robbie Gray, Stewart Hall, and Frank Mort, Freeman rightly treats the surveys he studies as "reflections and instruments" (p. 9) of the nascent modern state. In consequence, his approach is material as well as ideational. Hence, he recognizes the significance and impact of differing conceptions of rural life and people on policy making; nostalgic writing in the 1900s, for example, "fed directly into, and in some cases shaped, contemporaneous debates on the land question" (p. 172). Freeman highlights the relations of power between inquirer and subject and maintains an interest in the laborer as social actor; although most of the investigations he discusses failed to recognize the agency of the poor, Freeman does not.

As a result, a key theme of the book is the emergent tension between the informant method of inquiry and the respondent method of inquiry. In reconstructing this debate Freeman is sensitive to the process of dialogue that took place between researcher and researched and to the dialogue that continued long after the publication of each researcher's findings. In this respect, although the book focuses on the construction of knowledge—and avoids issues of representation—its central thrust is an interest in power.

The book captures most of the major social investigators and investigations of the period, including not only the best-known individuals (e.g. B. S. Rowntree) but those, like Maud Davies, who emulated them. There are, of necessity, some omissions in Freeman's project, some of them for structural reasons. For example, Arthur Munby's diaries are not used, as they were unpublished at the time, and Freeman concentrates on what was publicly available. But, in an instance like this—Munby's investigations were modeled on the dominant form of enquiry used by the state, yet included interviews with working women—Freeman's method should open the way to further exploration. In addition, building on the cultural turn within rural history and Victorian studies, Freeman's capturing of the more "literary" surveys as social investigations, via participant observation, is justifiable and well founded, given current debate and work by Alun Howkins, Jan Marsh, Karen Sayer, and Jane Long. Freeman rightly recognizes that there was far more to social investigation than quantitative surveys and official inquiries, statistics and blue books.

More could have been said about the differing power relations within the rural laboring population—gender for instance—although regional variation is well handled. It is a shame that Freeman shies away from the linguistic turn, and he misses the opportunity of building on work by social geographers like Doreen Massey, although he recognizes the impact of geographic distance on the form of investigation. That further work in the field is needed is unquestionable. However, both historians of rural history working with primary sources and historians working on the policy-making and ideological artefacts of the period itself will need to take Freeman's work into account.

KAREN SAYER
Trinity and All Saints College, University of Leeds

AVRAM TAYLOR. *Working Class Credit and Community since 1918*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. PP. x, 218. $65.00.

As the son of a Yorkshire miner, raised in a relatively close-knit mining village prone to periodic bouts of poverty, I became painfully aware of the ways in which the working class operated a credit system in order to survive. Although my mother purchased food and clothing at the Barnsley Cooperative, which gave no credit, she also extended her purchasing power by buying goods on tick from a couple of local shops, whose accounts she paid fortnightly in rotation, and she purchased major items of clothing through the Provident Clothing and Supply Company. In the latter case, the Provident agent would arrange a loan check of £20, and it would be paid off at well over £1 per week for twenty weeks. I resented the Provident agent, who became almost an open-handed family friend encouraging borrowing at obscene rates of interest that amounted to exploitation. Therefore, Avram Taylor's excellent book is more than an evocative piece for an old historian; it provides the context for the dependence and change that has characterized working-class credit for more than a century.

Taylor has written a much-needed book on a subject that, because of the largely oral nature of such credit arrangements, is less well recorded in conventional records than many other topics. The book is substan-

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tially based on sixty interviews of the providers and the borrowers from Tyneside, even though evidence is also drawn from a wide range of other areas. Three main arguments are presented. One is that the system of working-class credit developed when family finances failed and out of the subsequent growth of what Philip Abrams described as modern neighborliness. Employing the theories of Ferdinand Tönnies, Abrams and Anthony Giddens attempted to recreate the culture of working-class credit as it emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with its emphasis upon mutuality, social networking, and illegal money lending. Taylor deals with the Local Exchange Trading System (LETS), which gave people the opportunity of exchanging goods and services without the use of cash. There is a detailed discussion of the strengths and pitfalls of a variety of credit arrangements such as the diddlum clubs, the street lenders, and the modern-day loan sharks. The book also deals with the tally men who would take orders for the making of suits and clothing from a restricted range of clothing at very high rates of interest.

A second argument is that the relationship between working-class communities and shopkeepers was conditioned by the contradictory class relationships that existed in working-class communities such as those in Tyneside, where the shopkeepers were drawn from the skilled working class who exploited their own social groupings. This highly class-based study examines the exploitation involved in borrowing "on tick" but also the risks and judgments involved in shopkeepers allowing their customers credit. No "tick books" appear to survive, and therefore evidence of exploitation is largely based upon interviews.

The author's third argument is that many of the old forms of street credit arrangements have declined since 1945 and that some forms of old credit have flourished alongside new credit arrangements. The history of Empire Stores, the Bradford-based catalogue mail order company, is traced from its "Watch Club" days to the present, where it employs 400,000 agents who cater to an average five customers each, mainly family and friends of the agent. Similarly the history of the Provident Company is examined from 1880 until the present; Taylor shows how it developed its clothing check arrangement to allow customers to cash in their check at a wide range of shops. Despite the growth of credit cards and other forms of credit, the mail-order forms and some of the other traditional forms of institutional credit survive. It is the street lender and the tick men who have disappeared.

Although well written and researched in detail, this book is not without its faults. It is a little too mechanical in parts and offers glimpses of credit arrangements without fitting them into the close operation of working-class community institutions such as the Miners' Welfare in mining districts, which provided various forms of financial help for working-class families. The operation of the cooperative movement alongside credit systems might also have been examined as part of the survival strategy of the working class. Nevertheless, this is an extremely useful and important book and ought to be read widely by historians, whether they be Marxists, traditionalists, or postmodernists.

KEITH LAYBOURN
University of Huddersfield

JOHN SHEPHERD. *George Lansbury: At the Heart of Old Labour*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 407.

Few things become a politician like the manner of his or her leaving. For George Lansbury, leader of the Labour Party between 1931 and 1935, this exit was prompted by a brutal attack launched at Labour's annual conference by the pugnacious trade unionist Ernest Bevin. With the gentle Lansbury left isolated within the party for his pacifist beliefs, Bevin delivered a mortal blow to his leadership by summoning up the vision of him "hawking his conscience round from body to body asking to be told what to do with it" (p. 325). Lansbury resigned the leadership soon after. Given his saintliness and unbending devotion to principle, it is perhaps surprising that Lansbury was ever leader of the Labour Party, and indeed he chanced into the post only after an entire cohort of the Labour leadership lost its seats in the electoral slaughter of the 1931 election. But, as John Shepherd's admirable new biography suggests, Lansbury provided leadership of a different kind for socialists and working people in his long political career between the 1890s and the 1930s.

Lansbury's life reflects the story of labor and radical politics from the late Victorian era to World War II. Born into a working-class family and raised in the east end of London (Bow remained Lansbury's political heartland for his entire life), Lansbury was a devout Christian who moved through Liberal politics into the world of late Victorian socialism, beginning with the Social Democratic Federation and coming to rest with the nascent Labour Party. After a short period as a Labour MP, Lansbury became editor for the *Daily Herald*, whose pages were then graced by writers such as Rebecca West, Hilairè Belloc, H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, and the great cartoonist Will Dyson. After World War I, Lansbury served as mayor of Poplar and took up near-permanent residency as MP for Bow and Bromley. He became a familiar, if not always central, figure in Labour's development as a party of national government in the 1920s. As first commissioner of works between 1929 and 1931, Lansbury was a force for modernity in London, advocating the surprisingly controversial causes of mixed bathing in the Serpentine and outdoor dining.

Throughout his long career, Lansbury acted as a voice of conscience of the Labour left. In this, his closest recent counterpart is Michael Foot. Lansbury's own socialism had been shaped in part by the Marxism of H. M. Hyndman and the ethical socialism of William Morris, but it was rooted in a Christian faith and his experiences of working-class life in the east end of

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London. This made Lansbury a fervent advocate of social equality, cooperation, and fellowship. Nothing dislodged him from his principles, whatever the cost to his career. One of his last acts as a politician was, for example, to join other pacifists in calling for a negotiated peace after the outbreak of World War II.

Two episodes in Lansbury's career demand our particular attention. In 1912, after holding his parliamentary seat for only two years, Lansbury forced a by-election on the suffrage issue. He had been an early convert to feminism. This was not only an intellectual belief but a conviction shaped by his understanding of the lives of working-class women. After becoming a Labour MP, he decided that female suffrage was the issue of paramount importance in Edwardian politics. As Shepherd points out, he "put gender above social class as a principle on which there could be no compromise" (p. 116), in stark contrast to many other male Labour politicians. The gamble did not pay off in the short term. He lost his seat and earned the ire of his colleagues. A second principled stand was more successful. As mayor of the east end borough of Poplar in 1921, Lansbury led a rebellion of local councillors determined to "wage class war" (p. 194) on a municipal taxation system that disadvantaged poorer districts' ability to provide services for their residents. Lansbury's rebellion—dubbed "Poplarism"—remains a remarkable and rare example in twentieth-century British history of extraparliamentary, peaceful protest in the cause of local democracy and working people. It earned Lansbury a spell of time in prison and a national reputation as a radical leader.

This reputation did little to help his parliamentary career. He simply did not fit in with the leadership group around Ramsay MacDonald that favored moderation above all things. Nor did he carry much weight as an intellectual figure or within the union movement. Nonetheless, Lansbury inspired considerable affection and veneration. His successor as leader, Clement Attlee, called him "almost a Gandhi" (p. 2). Shepherd makes a good case that Lansbury's unsullied reputation as an outsider made him a compelling leader for Labour after the trauma of 1931. But Lansbury was not the man to spearhead the necessary reform of the party's policy in the early 1930s. He was largely detached from that process and was ultimately marginalized by it, as the debate over foreign policy demonstrated in 1935.

Shepherd has done a magnificent job of recovering Lansbury's life. His scholarship is impeccable. Shepherd provides vivid and detailed portraits of the disparate corners of Lansbury's career, such as the economic and social world of the late Victorian east end, Liberal and socialist politics at the fin-de-siècle, Edwardian feminism and suffrage, radical journalism, and local and national Labour Party politics in the early twentieth century. There are two criticisms I would make. The first is a minor quibble: it would be difficult, even for a saint like Lansbury, to find the Canadian or the Quebec parliament in Montreal (p. 136), as for better or worse these are located in Ottawa and Quebec City, respectively. More substantially, Shepherd falls prey to the temptation of all biographers: sympathy for his subject occasionally leads him to suspend a critical assessment of Lansbury's career. Lansbury's saintliness might, for example, have been interrogated a little more rigorously. Sometimes it simply comes across as naïveté or woolly mindedness. Left-wing parties and left-wing leaders of course must be grounded in principle to speak truth to power, but they still need to be able to wield power shrewdly, knowing when to be pragmatic. Lansbury showed only intermittent flashes of such political acumen. This may have impaired both his own career and the causes he supported. These criticisms aside, Shepherd has written a splendid political biography that is also a major contribution to the history of the Labour Party.

STEPHEN BROOKE
York University

PATRICIA BEHRE MISKIMIN. *One King, One Law, Three Faiths: Religion and the Rise of Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Metz.* (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 90.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. xxiv, 153. $62.95.

This monograph is a study of the relationship between religious diversity and political and social change in seventeenth-century Metz, a French city of about 20,000 inhabitants. Patricia Behre Miskimin argues that friction among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews helped insure the triumph of absolutism in Metz and the establishment of a centralized state. Through her analysis of religious tensions, she sheds light on the experience of Protestant and Jewish minorities in early modern France. She also suggests that absolutism and the religious tension engendered by religious diversity both brought secularization in their wake. Her study reminds us of the importance of local studies in understanding the complexity of historical processes. In the ongoing debate about the development of French absolutism, Miskimin rejects the traditional view that centralization was simply imposed from above. Its success in Metz "owed as much to local forces, local prejudices, and local circumstances, as it did to any royal or central government agenda" (p. 26). Her discussion of religious relations is illuminating but also raises further questions.

The primary focus of the study is Metz, especially from 1633 on, when the Parlement of Metz was created. The roots of the relationship between religion and absolutism, however, went back to the sixteenth century, when Metz was annexed by Henry II in 1552. Although Metz had been an imperial city distinguished for its independence and strong civic unity, religious divisions between Catholic and Protestant notables contributed significantly to the disintegration of civic unity and the French takeover. Religious factionalism increased in the seventeenth century, when there were not only Catholics and Protestants in the city but also

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members of a small Jewish community. Henry II allowed the first Jewish families to settle in Metz in 1564. In 1633, there were about eighty-five Jewish households in Metz and about 7,500 Protestants, roughly one-third of the population. Metz was a city virtually unique in France, where members of three religions openly, if fractiously, coexisted.

In analyzing how absolutism took firm root in Metz, Miskimin argues persuasively that internal tensions, including religious friction, played a crucial role. Absolutism increased largely through the burgeoning power of the parlement and the *bailliage*, the king's court of first resort. Although Messin magistrates protested these courts, which eventually eliminated much of the local courts' power, their efforts were unsuccessful because various Messin groups, including the magistrates, found the royal courts useful, especially the appeal to parlement. Among those groups were Gentile butchers opposed to Jewish butchers selling certain cuts of meat (cheaply) to Gentiles and cloth merchants seeking to restrict rights of Jewish merchants. Catholic clergy regularly appealed to the *bailliage* and parlement for help against the Protestants, while Protestants looked to the courts for protection (as did the Jews). The regular appeals to royal institutions enhanced their status and contributed to absolutism's eventual triumph.

Relations among the Catholic majority and Protestant and Jewish minorities were complex. Jews were distrusted, and Miskimin explores in detail the arrest and execution in 1669–1670 of Raphael Levy, a Jewish peddler wrongfully accused of ritually murdering a Christian boy. Examining Jewish-Christian relations more broadly, however, she finds cloth makers defending Jewish merchants against the cloth merchants in the 1630s and town magistrates defending Jewish butchers in the 1640s against the Gentile butchers. She argues that these examples represent growing secularization in Metz and that the Levy case was less a scapegoating of Jews for a specific misfortune than a communal, unconscious backlash against secularization.

Regarding Catholic-Protestant relations, Miskimin acknowledges a range of reactions to Protestants among individual Messin Catholics but focuses on the anti-Protestant writing of a local bishop, Martin Meurisse, in 1642. Meurisse feared the Protestants as schismatics and heretics, but Miskimin argues that his polemic was fueled not only by Counter-Reformation zeal but by a similar backlash against growing secularization.

Miskimin's arguments about secularization are suggestive and intuitive but ultimately lack adequate definition. Although she briefly defines secularization in her conclusion, throughout the book I found myself wanting a more comprehensive and conceptual discussion. Was the cloth makers' defense of the Jews truly an example of "secularization" or merely of commercial self-interest? How does one clearly distinguish between the two? Second, I wanted to know more about lay Catholic response to the Protestants in their midst. How much intermarriage was there between Catholics and Protestants? How did that affect family relationships? Recent research suggests that family ties often overrode religious divisions and religious authorities' exhortations to act in prescribed ways toward members of an opposing faith. Explaining family relationships in Metz would add greater depth and differentiation to a discussion of secularization. Finally, did family ties develop between royal and local elites and aid absolutism and secularization? This kind of analysis would strengthen an already valuable work.

JUDITH PUGH MEYER
University of Connecticut

MARY TERRALL. *The Man Who Flattened the Earth: Maupertuis and the Sciences in the Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 408. $39.00.

Mary Terrall's biography of one of the French Enlightenment's most fascinating individuals is an example of excellent research, brilliant analysis, and engaging prose. Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis lived at a time when scientific careers were unusual and the boundaries of scientific knowledge were not yet clearly defined. He successfully negotiated these boundaries, thriving on controversy while carving out a place for himself in the Paris Academy of Sciences and the literary world. Later, as head of the Berlin Academy, he burnished the image of Prussian science and metaphysics. Throughout a long life, lived with unusual gusto, he remained engaged in the heated debates over mathematics, mechanics, geodesy, generation, and metaphysics that constantly roiled the eighteenth-century Republic of Letters. Terrall's study of Maupertuis, based on an analysis of his scientific and anonymous literary works, his voluminous correspondence, and that of his admirers and detractors, makes fascinating reading.

As a champion of Newtonian science, Maupertuis helped to dislodge the cabal of Cartesians in the Paris Academy of Sciences. Educated by a passionate Leibnizian openly hostile to Newtonian ideas, Maupertuis avoided debates over the existence of a so-called "living force" that divided the French Cartesians and the English Newtonians. The effort to clarify the vague generalities of the Cartesians on the question of the shape of the earth, however, forced him to grapple with Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687). Calculations based on the principle of attraction suggested that the earth was flattened at its poles. This was a direct challenge to the Cartesians Jean-Dominique and Jacques Cassini, who believed it was an elongated sphere. Too smart to raise the hackles of the Paris Academy at a time when he was seeking a seat, Maupertuis wisely sent his first paper on the shape of the earth to the Royal Society. Shortly afterward, he published a thoughtful comparison of the two systems in *Discourse on the Various Shapes of the Celestial*

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Bodies, with an Exposition of the System of Mssrs. Descartes and Newton (1732). Terrall argues that this early publication is an example of how Maupertuis used the Paris salon culture and especially his female admirers throughout his life to popularize his brand of Newtonian science. This may have prompted one disgruntled Cartesian to remark that "A lady of high style cannot create a sensation [*faire de bruit*] unless she has a geometer in her retinue, and the geometer who does not circulate in *le monde*, looks a sorry sight among his fellows" (p. 85).

In Terrall's view, Maupertuis's expedition to Lapland to measure the arc of the earth near one of the poles is an example of his strategy to cultivate a wide reading public in a effort to undermine the authority of the Paris Academy. The expedition to Lapland not only supplied an empirical validation of his predictions based on Newtonian theory but also cast doubt on the accuracy of French instruments and the Cassinis' approach to mapping the earth.

The Lapland adventure established Maupertuis as a man of physical courage and daring, making him even more highly sought after in Parisian high society. He used this popularity to advantage, sitting for a grandiose portrait by the painter Robert Tournières that immortalized him as "the man who flattened the earth." He is dressed in the furs of a Laplander with his hand firmly pressing down on the globe. To further humiliate his opponents in the Paris Academy, Maupertuis published an anonymous tract that ostensibly presented the two points of view on the shape of the earth. In fact, *A Disinterested Examination of the Different Works on the Shape of the Earth* was a wicked satire on the Cassinis and their practice of academic science.

A master of conversation and literary style, Maupertuis published his ideas on generation anonymously in the 1740s and 1750s. He intended the *Nègre blanc* and *Vénus physique* (both addressed to an unidentified female) as subtle attacks on natural theology. His descriptions of the ardors of lovemaking in the animal world no doubt titillated his readers, but they also served as the vehicle for an attack on the views of another powerful academician, René-Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur. In a publication attributed to Dr. Baumann of the University of Erlangen, first published in Latin with the obscure title *Dissertatio inauguralis metaphysica de universali naturae systemate*, Maupertuis attributed intelligence to matter, thus opening the door to atheism and materialism.

Terrall's work is scholarship in the best sense. Her explanations of arcane eighteenth-century French physics, mathematics, astronomy, and biology are among the most lucid available in any language. Her understanding of eighteenth-century French science is accompanied by a penetrating analysis of eighteenth-century French literary culture and how the two intersected in the character of the sly and witty Maupertuis.

VIRGINIA P. DAWSON
Case Western Reserve University

COLIN JONES. *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon 1715–99*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 650. $34.95.

Everyone knows the basic story of *The Marriage of Figaro*, but Colin Jones tells it from an unusual and delightful angle. "Why did audiences laugh at the jokes?" Jones asks, and with this hook, he expands on Beaumarchais's theme of how worthless nobles were. The fact that Louis XVI failed to prevent the Comédie française from performing the play illustrates how diluted monarchial authority had become since the death of the Sun King. Moreover, as the country's commercial economy matured, a privileged nobility was becoming irrelevant. Thus, everyone, including nobles themselves, could snigger at the stock characters on the stage. For once, art mimicked life.

This charming illustration encapsulates many of the book's strengths; it is a powerful and graceful narrative general history of the Old Regime and French Revolution, undergirded by an understated argument. Even specialists will learn something from the retelling of the John Law affair, the ministry of Cardinal Fleury, the agonizing struggles over Jansenism, the fights with the parlements, the hugely complex problems of financial administration, and so on. Everyone will be fascinated with the pen-portraits of the morose and guilt-ridden Louis XV; the feckless and inscrutable Louis XVI; the preposterous Marie-Antoinette and the even more scurrilous image that her enemies created for her. Oddly, none of the revolutionaries, not even Napoleon Bonaparte, is presented as vividly.

The monarchy is the centerpiece of the argument. Shortly after the death of Louis XIV, it lost the ability to control opinion. The serious rifts among the philosophes get a full airing, but Jones also lets many other voices speak: Jansenists, *dévots*, constitutionalists, physiocrats, gutter writers, judges, mesmerists, freemasons, pornographers, artists, and playwrights. At the same time, the country enjoyed an unprecedented prosperity, especially in commerce and manufacturing. Jones could have gone even further in testifying to the thriving prosperity in the countryside, at least in the Île-de-France and perhaps elsewhere in the north and northeast. The results of this exuberant economy were a modest rise in the standard of living and, with it, a growth in population.

On the eve of the revolution, the narrative and the thesis come together. Jones sees the revolution as the result of a loss of confidence on the part of the robust and uncontrollable "bourgeois public sphere" in the monarchy and the polity in general. However it manifested itself, in the nauseating stories about the queen's sexual perversions, in the king's sluggishness, in the indecisiveness of the ever-changing teams of ministers, this loss of trust meant that the Old Regime would not survive its last financial crisis.

Jones changes his mode of presentation quite dramatically when he discusses the revolution. No longer content patiently to build up a case, as he does with the

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Old Regime, he presents an impassioned defence of what Albert Soboul called "the classical interpretation." Thus, the "Montagnards' strategy involved enlisting widespread popular support so as to enact a program of radical social, economic and political innovations which linked directly back to the Enlightenment project of social amelioration" (p. 476). This is a huge claim that does not follow automatically from the text. Many Montagnards after the fact never made such claims, saying that they acted out of political and military necessity, not to engineer social reform.

Once again, as in all classical interpretations, the winners of the revolution are the bourgeoisie and, to a lesser extent, the peasantry. The nobility are the big losers, losing an unlikely half of their property. Since the economy as a whole had also shrunk by an equally implausible forty percent in the decade before 1799, one wonders whether it was worth being on top of this diminished heap. In any case, the bourgeoisie of domestic and international commerce was ruined, to be replaced by that of the professions, surely a modest group in comparison. This conclusion is inconsistent with a large body of solid research showing that the rich ruling class of the postrevolutionary period were primarily landowners, among whom the old nobility was outstandingly represented. It is unfortunate that Jones ignored this work.

All the markers of the classical historiographical interpretation are here. The guillotines, the firing squads, the cannonades into prisoners, the drownings, the slaughter of innocents, the tribunals that issued death sentences after trials that lasted a few seconds, and the thousands and thousands of arrests are never or barely mentioned. The Committee of Public Safety's role in encouraging these atrocities is never raised; the decree ordering the total physical destruction of Lyon, which every other general history finds irresistible, is the best example of this sort of omission. Exceptional measures were justified because the war was one of national defense. We are told several times that refractory priests had the law applied to them. This is a euphemism for saying they were executed for refusing a loyalty oath. Jones confines the counter-revolution to a handful of disgruntled former courtiers and ecclesiastics. For him, no popular counter-revolution existed, because even in the Vendée, apparently, no one wanted a return to the Old Regime. He deprecates the beginnings of the biggest peasant revolt in French history as "civil disobedience." He also denies that the insurrection had royalist sympathies from the beginning. One wonders what the hapless yokels of the region thought they were doing when they first invaded bourgs and towns under homemade white Bourbon flags shouting "Vive Louis XVII!"

For Jones, as for Soboul, the driving force of the revolution was popular radicalism, mostly in Paris. This is the "popular movement" (and there is only one popular movement in the period) that saved the country by imposing the Terror on the Montagnards in the National Convention. Moreover, the Committee of Public Safety aimed to establish "an embryonic welfare state." Such an interpretation is surely anachronistic and quite at odds with sans-culotte ideals of economic self-reliance or the Robespierrist one of virile purity. In any case, the vindictive and violent economic program of the Parisian radicals, such as it was, created a huge black market and massive shortages. The poor, the old, and the disabled suffered enormously. But Jones castigates the Committee of Public Safety's attempt in February 1794 to coax goods from the underground economy onto public markets by raising fiat prices as putting profits ahead of social justice.

Aside from the legislation on the church, this is a no-fault revolution. According to Jones, the revolution's greatest achievement, the principle of elections, was somehow sabotaged by the Right. There is no mention of the fact that, after 1789, the revolutionaries themselves nullified the results of every national election or plebiscite down to 1800 through force or fraud. Jones has no convincing explanation of the abysmally low electoral turnouts of the period, but part of that explanation must have been this practice of ignoring or punishing voters' choices. In any case, we are told elsewhere that "the Right" had no support in national opinion, so one wonders how it accomplished this treachery. If the blame for political failure can no longer be shifted entirely to the Right, the high mindedness of the perpetrators excuses the worst outrages. Thus "The sanguinary power politics of August and September [1792, which include the September Massacres in Paris] were not incompatible with high moral principle" (p. 461). Since Jones recognizes that the usual reason given for the massacres—a noble plot to break out of the prisons and slaughter patriots—was "utterly ill-founded," and since the vast majority of victims were "common criminals," courtiers, and priests, one is left baffled as to what "high moral principle" was involved.

This is the classical interpretation: identifying the overthrow of one class by another; ducking the issue of repression, offering euphemisms for it, or excusing it as patriotism if sidestepping is impossible; taking a rigorously urban bias in evaluating economic policy; accepting the Montagnard self-justification that so much suffering and death in the present were an indispensable prelude to future happiness; and blaming failure on circumstances, especially on a ghostly counter-revolution that had no genuine popular following, let alone legitimacy.

D. M. G. Sutherland
University of Maryland

Rafe Blaufarb. *The French Army 1750–1820: Careers, Talent, Merit*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 227. $69.95.

This consistently interesting and scholarly study gets off to a cracking start with the instructive story of Louis-Nicolas-Hyacinthe Cherin, whose job involved checking that aspirants for a commission in the royal

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army satisfied the genealogical conditions mandated by the regulation of 1781 (namely four generations of patrilineal noble descent). Cherin had inherited the position on the death of his father in 1785 and had purchased a further ennobling office in 1788, so he could be said to personify the employment practices of the Old Regime. It might also be thought that his world collapsed four years later when the principle of "careers open to talents" was established by the National Assembly. Yet it turns out that the revolution opened up a fast track for Cherin. He took advantage of the emigration of noble officers to get himself a commission in 1792, rose rapidly thanks to his aptitude for military service, and by 1795 was a general. Had he not died in action in 1799, leading a cavalry charge, he would almost certainly have achieved the noble status so generously bestowed by Napoleon Bonaparte on his senior officers.

Cherin exemplifies the paradoxical nature of the French army's officer corps. The "Ségur Ordinance" of 1781 used to be paraded as one of the crassest examples of the "aristocratic reaction" that allegedly brought the bourgeoisie to boiling point in 1789. Rafe Blaufarb confirms and strengthens the argument of his dissertation director David Bien that, in reality, the ordinance was directed not against commoners but against a particular section of the nobility. It was designed to protect poor provincial nobles against the courtiers who used their wealth and influence to leapfrog the junior grades and become colonels by their mid-twenties. The French Revolution may have broken the noble monopoly of the officer corps, but its abolition of venality and the court, together with the reservation of places at military schools for the sons of serving officers, also opened the way for poor nobles who in the past rarely got beyond the rank of major. That may help to explain why so many noble officers waited so long before emigrating, as Patrice Higonnet revealed in *Class, Ideology and the Rights of Nobles during the French Revolution* (1981), although Blaufarb does not discuss this possibility.

As in so many other spheres, the French revolutionaries combined fiercely radical rhetoric with pragmatic action. There was a real break with Old Regime practice only after August 10, 1792, when the National Convention severed all the ties with the past. Meritocracy made way for egalitarianism, as the deputies abolished existing institutions for officer education, recruitment, and promotion to the extent of allowing the common soldiers to elect their own officers. Not surprisingly, this turbulent interlude did not last long. The Thermidorian regime paid lip service to Jacobin principles while purging the officer corps of all but dedicated professionals, thus laying the basis for General Bonaparte's system. Especially during the empire, Napoleon went a long way back to Old Regime practice and principles. This did not mean that the idea of merit had been abandoned, but then neither had it been disregarded before 1789. It was rather that merit was defined not simply as pure ability but rather more collectively as what Blaufarb defines as a "sociopolitical order grounded in sentiments of fidelity and justice." It had worked before the flaccid hand of Louis XV allowed the court nobles to seize the lion's share, it worked for Napoleon, and it was to work for the restored Bourbons, too.

This is the first time that access to and promotion within the officer corps have been subjected to such close scrutiny. Blaufarb has diligently worked his way through a colossal amount of archival material, both in the Archives Nationales and at Vincennes, as well as mastering a formidable amount of contemporary printed material, so his conclusions carry real authority. Moreover, as he reasonably claims, this book is not just about the army but has a wider relevance as a social history of ideas such as equality, talent, and merit. Whether intellectual historians will open a book with the word "army" in the title is a different matter. For the military historian, the focus is perhaps rather narrow. This is very much a book about France. There is no consideration of Prussian influence on Old Regime practice, for example, and next to nothing about the war after 1792. One big issue that might have been addressed is why French military effectiveness went from rags to riches to rags in such a short space of time. Significantly but sadly, no work by the late Richard Cobb is cited in the (rather short) bibliography.

TIM BLANNING
Sidney Sussex College,
University of Cambridge

MICHAEL P. FITZSIMMONS. *The Night the Old Regime Ended: August 4, 1789, and the French Revolution.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 245. $49.95.

TIMOTHY TACKETT. *When the King Took Flight.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 270. $24.95.

Both Michael P. Fitzsimmons and Timothy Tackett treat dramatic events that profoundly shaped the French Revolution: the emotion-drenched night of August 4, 1789, during which the National Assembly abolished feudalism and corporate privilege in an ecstasy of generous renunciation, and Louis XVI's failed attempt, on June 20–21, 1791, to escape from Paris and the revolution by fleeing to the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands. Both books are written by seasoned historians of the French Revolution and are based on prodigious research in Parisian and provincial archives. Each is a welcome contribution to revolutionary scholarship.

Fitzsimmons is eager to rescue the night of August 4, 1789, from what he sees as the skepticism and neglect of recent historians, who have tended to attribute it to cynical and self-interested motives and have failed to recognize its centrality in the history of the revolution. He argues, in my opinion convincingly, that events of

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that night unified the National Assembly around an agenda of radical social and constitutional reform that, in spite of second thoughts, setbacks, and conflicts, continued to guide the assembly's majority throughout the two years they devoted to writing a constitution for the kingdom. It is true that the renunciations of August 4 arose from a scheme hatched by "patriot" deputies, who hoped to calm the peasant uprisings of late July and early August by having prominent nobles offer up their seigneurial dues in exchange for gradual cash redemption. But the planned initial renunciations soon inspired others, and by the end of the all-night session, not only the seigneurial system but the entire array of privileges of the nobility, clergy, townsmen, and provinces—which, taken together, formed the very integument of French society under the Old Regime—had been declared abolished. These manifold abolitions opened the way to the assembly's Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen and to its elaboration of a constitution based on civic equality.

Fitzsimmons's account of the session itself is curiously bloodless, however, conveying little of its extraordinary character or high-pitched emotionality. Moreover, I fear that readers not already familiar with the significance of privilege in the architecture of Old Regime society may fail to grasp how great were the stakes of the renunciations. Here, and in general, Fitzsimmons seems to be writing for specialists rather than general educated readers or even historians of other periods. But his analysis of the night's political and legislative consequences is systematic, novel, and studded with fascinating archival finds and astute judgments. In successive chapters on the assembly itself, the church, the nobility, the countryside, and the guilds, Fitzsimmons sets forth the status quo ante, indicates what was renounced or proposed during the August 4 session, and then recounts the often slow and tortuous path that led from dramatic renunciation to legislative or constitutional enactment. In addition to using records of the legislative debates and the archives of the assembly's various committees, Fitzsimmons has methodically tracked down correspondence between deputies and their families or constituents in dozens of local archives and libraries. These archival exploits enable Fitzsimmons to put together a particularly thorough and nuanced legislative history. For example, there are splendid accounts of the continued distinction of orders in the operations of the National Assembly until the middle of August 1789; of the clerical deputies' fall from grace following their opposition to the abolition of the tithe; of the months of procrastination and confusion surrounding the abolition of the guilds; and of the surprise and outrage expressed by former deputies of the nobility when hereditary nobility was suppressed altogether on June 19, 1790. There is much in this book that will delight and surprise specialists on the French Revolution.

What is missing from Fitzsimmons's book is a sense of the night of August 4 as an *event*, a dramatic turning point. The narrative of the legislative session itself is not only bloodless but nonconsecutive: it is parceled out into the five topical chapters. Nor do we get a good sense of what in the political context of early August might have made possible the emotional, epochal, and systematic renunciation of privileges. Fitzsimmons says virtually nothing about the widespread theme of "regeneration" in the political discourse of 1789—which seems to prefigure the renunciation of privilege—nor about the extraordinary hopes and anxieties that affected the assembly in the aftermath of the taking of the Bastille. Moreover, his discussion of the Great Fear, the immediate precipitant of the night of August 4, is postponed until chapter four, which deals with the ramifications of the renunciations in the countryside. This book is a triumph of archival research, but it is disappointing as a narration of a great historical event.

Tackett's book, by contrast, is something of a page turner. The author clearly has tried to write a book that will at once satisfy specialists and appeal to a larger public. Like Fitzsimmons, he is a dogged researcher who has not only combed Parisian archives and libraries but has also done extensive work in provincial collections. Yet he has systematically subordinated his scholarly digging to the production of a readable narrative. His account begins in media res, on the evening of June 21, 1791, with the fateful decision by the municipal officers and national guard of the small town of Varennes, some forty miles south of the border of the Spanish Netherlands, to stop a coach believed to be carrying the king and his family, and to compel its passengers to spend the night in a second-story apartment while awaiting further instructions. After presenting enough political history of this small town to make us understand why its officials and people were willing to stop the king of France and hold him under house arrest, he circles back and tells the story from the point of view of the king, his family, and the group of conspirators who organized his flight. Tackett deftly narrates the royal family's nocturnal escape from the Tuilleries Palace and their progress toward capture in Varennes. He then recounts the excruciatingly slow return of the royal carriage, surrounded by a motley troop of thousands of national guardsmen and curious provincials, proceeding through a gauntlet of silent and hostile Parisians, and ending with the royal family's virtual captivity in the Tuilleries.

If the first three chapters are a narrative of the dramatic events of the king's flight, the remaining five chapters deal with its effects on the politics of the revolution. At the time the king fled, the National Assembly was putting finishing touches on the Constitution of 1791, which was to make France a liberal constitutional monarchy. The king's flight was not merely an implicit abandonment of the revolution and its proposed constitutional system; Louis left behind a "declaration" in his own hand denouncing the National Assembly's reforms and explicitly renouncing his oath of loyalty to the constitution. This put the assembly in a conundrum: the deputies had either to

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scrap the constitution they had spent two years writing, depose Louis XVI and establish a regency in the name of the child dauphin, or ignore his perfidy and go forward with a constitutional monarch who had proven his disloyalty. Meanwhile, as various committees of the assembly deliberated at length on what to do with the recaptured king, the country, already deeply politicized by the events of the past two years, began to make judgments of its own. In Paris, the radical political clubs and the sections called for the deposition of the king and the declaration of a republic, mounting a campaign that deeply frightened the moderate majority of the assembly. As one of Tackett's most original chapters demonstrates, responses in the provinces were also intense. Stories about Austrian troops invading to avenge the king spread a panic analogous to the famous Great Fear through much of eastern France. All over the country, revolutionary militants stepped up their attacks on nobles and on clergy who had refused to take an oath to the constitution. Meanwhile, hundreds of declarations poured into the National Assembly from all over the country, most of them sharply critical of the monarch, some disdaining even to mention him and simply declaring their support for the assembly. When the assembly opted to exonerate the king and go forward with the plan for a constitutional monarchy, the provinces seem to have accepted this decision with good grace, but republican agitation in Paris surged, until the Champs de Mars Massacre on July 17, 1791, and the subsequent campaign of repression reduced it to sullen silence. The National Assembly got its constitutional monarchy, but the king's flight and the intense bout of political activism to which it gave rise destroyed the political unity and good feeling that might have enabled it to succeed.

Among its other virtues, Tackett's book restores Louis XVI's centrality to the history of the revolution. His portrait of the king—as pathologically indecisive and politically and socially maladroit—is sympathetic but ultimately damning. In Tackett's account, Louis's weak and vacillating will led the monarch, his family, and the nation of France into disasters that might well have been avoided. Tackett even suggests at one point that the history of the French Revolution might have been less tragic and bloody had the king's flight succeeded, because an unambiguous act of treason would have united all revolutionaries against the king and his foreign supporters, rather than leading them into bitter divisions among themselves. Tackett's thoughtful, beautifully written, and meticulously researched account of the king's flight makes it clear that while the French Revolution will always cry out for broad theoretical explanation, it also requires us to ponder the vagaries of personality and the fundamental contingencies of political events.

WILLIAM H. SEWELL, JR.
University of Chicago

LESLIE A. SCHUSTER. *A Workforce Divided: Community, Labor, and the State in Saint-Nazaire's Shipbuilding Industry, 1880–1910.* (Contributions in Labor Studies, number 58.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. x, 233.

In recent years, American women scholars studying French labor history have increasingly focused on the "gendering" of work and the rise of gender discrimination in French industry in the twentieth century. In this thoroughly researched monograph, however, Leslie A. Schuster returns to more traditional concerns about working-class formation, the origins of strike activity, and the dynamics of the French labor movement in the years preceding World War I. Her specific subject is the city of Saint-Nazaire. In the late nineteenth century, Saint-Nazaire emerged as France's leading center for the construction of ocean-going steamships as the site of the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique's Penhoët shipyard (for some reason, Schuster spells this "Penhouët" throughout). While Penhoët was achieving world renown at the turn of the century by building sleek, stylish oceanliners such as the *France*, the company's workers were gaining a reputation for militancy that attracted the attention of leading socialist politicians like Paul Lafargue and Fernand Pelloutier. For a time, it looked like the shipworkers of Saint-Nazaire might play a leading role in the coming proletarian revolution. The principal achievement of Schuster's book is to explain why the Saint-Nazaire workers ultimately shunned this role (and, by inference, why there was no proletarian revolution in prewar France).

Schuster begins by outlining the business history of Penhoët and the other Saint-Nazaire shipyards and by describing the formulation of government policies to stimulate and to protect domestic shipbuilding in France. These policies were especially important, in Schuster's estimation, because they exacerbated the cyclical nature of ship construction and thereby contributed to the recurring crises of unemployment that undermined the shipworkers' commitment to labor activism. After laying out the larger economic and political setting of the shipbuilding industry in the first two chapters, Schuster turns in the remaining four chapters to the social formation of the Saint-Nazaire workforce, workplace dynamics, labor politics, and the history of strike activity in Saint-Nazaire between 1881 and 1913.

As the book's title indicates, Schuster believes that the key factor in the history of labor at Saint-Nazaire was the presence of two distinct communities of workers. One of these consisted of peasant workers who came from, and continued to live in, the marshlands north of Saint-Nazaire known as the Brière. Their close-knit community had long depended on peat cutting for its livelihood. However, as the demand for peat for fuel declined after 1850, the Brièrons moved into ship construction, secured training for their sons as skilled shipwrights, and soon established themselves

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as the labor aristocracy of the Saint-Nazaire shipyards. Yet they continued to live in the Brière, and they continued to view themselves as peasant proprietors, not as industrial workers. Consequently, they associated little with the other main community of workers at Saint-Nazaire, low-skilled workers recently arrived from other parts of Brittany who lived in slum housing near the shipyards and who drew their identity mainly from their industrial employment.

This basic rural-urban split in the Saint-Nazaire workforce, Schuster argues, was the single biggest barrier to achieving a unified labor movement there and the chief reason for the repeated failure of strike actions in the shipyards. Strikes were frequent at Saint-Nazaire—Schuster counts thirty between 1881 and 1913—and all shipworkers usually participated in them, at least initially, but not necessarily for the same reasons. Whereas the unskilled urban workers usually made the classic demands—more job security, better working conditions, higher wages—the peasant workers from the Brière were preoccupied with maintaining their traditional way of life (getting time off to harvest peat, for example, took precedence over wage increases). The bosses soon learned to exploit these differences (along with the constant fear of layoffs), and they repeatedly succeeded in foiling strikes with divide-and-conquer tactics.

In addition to the urban-rural split among the shipworkers, Schuster takes pains to bring in other factors that contributed to the failure of strikes at Saint-Nazaire, including the inept intervention of outside labor organizers and socialist politicians. In the end, her book presents a well-rounded and convincing explanation for why socialism and syndicalism never took root among the shipworkers of Saint-Nazaire in the years before World War I. In doing so, the book helps us better understand why the French labor movement as a whole had so few successes in this era. It contributes to our understanding of working class formation in France by illuminating the various factors that molded the economic circumstances and the sense of identity of French workers. It also provides valuable information on the business history of French shipbuilding, and it attempts to clarify the bewildering intricacies of French shipping subsidies. For all these reasons, students of the social and economic history of modern France will find Schuster's book a welcome addition to the scholarly literature.

MICHAEL S. SMITH
University of South Carolina

JOHN HELLMAN. *The Communitarian Third Way: Alexandre Marc's Ordre Nouveau, 1930–2000*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 294. $39.95.

There are two distinct aims of John Hellman's collective intellectual biography of Alexandre Marc and his "non-conformist" circle of the 1930s-1940s. One, overt, is to analyze their Christian-based "third way" ("neither right nor left") ideology and its ties to the "conservative revolution" of "white fascism" or to the left-leaning "national Bolshevism" of interwar German and Belgian youth culture. The second, subtler goal is to show how "modern Catholicism was altered by the invention of fascism," "repackaged" after the war as a "radical-progressive" "new theology" that inspired the Second Vatican Council and underpinned the "metapolitics" of the "European New Right" (pp. 190–91). An early footnote addresses the book's Canadian readers by citing Quebec separatism as a Canadian version of nonconformism, which, like Vichy, "assumed French Catholic cultural preeminence in a multicultural, pluralist society" (p. 11 n. 8). Not only Charles De Gaulle and François Mitterrand but also the Green (ecology) movement are joined as links in this elitist, antiliberal, and generational "counter-culture" that promoted "a white, Christian, federated Europe, uniting Germany and France against the Stalinist East, Third World immigration, Islamic fundamentalism, and American influence" (pp. 8, 12).

Marc, a Jewish-born Russian exile in Paris, converted to Catholicism in 1929 and devised the doctrine of "personalism" (with Emmanuel Mounier, a prior Hellman biographical subject) as a means of "Catholic renewal," toward "a New Order on earth" (p. 17). "Political mavericks" (p. 16) outside mainstream politics, Marc and his circle published several "erudite and arcane" journals (p. 158), including *Ordre Nouveau*, to speak for a new generation of "non-conformists" (Marc's term) who gathered in youth jamborees and outdoor retreats in Germany and Belgium. Claiming to transcend national and party divisions while drawn to the left-wing "deviationism" of Marcel Déat, Jacques Doriot, and Paul DeMan, as well as of Adolf Hitler's rival Otto Strasser, Marc's group extolled the youthful virility and antimaterialist "mystique" of early Nazism to incite a "revolt of the person" against "the spiritual decay of modern society" (pp. 35, 64, 92). Their publications, plus Marc's newly available letters and diaries, document for Hellman a "semi-secret," even "clandestine networking" (pp. 3, 19–20) that underlay Vichy's National Revolution and then resurfaced "at the centre of postwar French intellectual and political life" (p. 182).

In roughly chronological order, and in painstaking detail, Hellman traces the correspondence, encounters, and affinities or linkages across the network of "astute non-conformist technocrat[s] and ideologue[s] [who] could easily move from one kind of alternative to liberal democracy to another" (p. 112). The narrative, too, jumps back and forth across national boundaries, sometimes puzzling the reader with multiple references such as to Strasser's "Black Front" or the "Night of the Long Knives" without a clear definition of terms. The chronology highlights continuities from 1930 through the liberation of France but limits discussion of Vichy itself to a section on "the knight-monks of Uriage" (the École Nationale des Cadres)

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that Hellman has studied in depth elsewhere. Most of the book relies on the novelty of sources "unknown till now" to fill out a portrait previously drawn by Zeev Sternhell and Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle, again refuting the "'[René] Rémond school' thesis" of France's virtual immunity from fascism (pp. 189–90) and repeating nearly verbatim as a "preliminary conclusion" a series of points from chapter one (pp. 20–21, 183–85). But the tone shifts dramatically in chapter eight ("Alexandre Marc's Memories and the European New Right").

The "memories" at stake here are not just Marc's own—"elephantine" yet "selective" (p. 185)—but those of the "discreetly politicized French academic establishment [who] dealt gingerly" with Marc's role as inventor of personalism and with its links to the German youth movement and to the postwar New Right (p. 191). Robert Aron, co-founder of *Ordre Nouveau*, "deftly [wrote] the non-conformists and ON out of [Vichy's] origins and administration" (p. 15); and Uriage disciples at the Editions du Seuil publishing house and at *Le Monde* recast their old communitarian discourse in progressive new guise so as to "peddle" it, especially in the United States and Canada, "as the cutting edge of new Catholic thinking" (p. 190). The links to fascism are also said here to have colored the pontificate of John Paul II, "personalist philosopher . . . and benevolent authoritarian," whose antifeminism and antimodernism helped to canonize right-wing clerics and allowed "a marginal, repressive, and unhealthy politico-religious culture" to endure (p. 192). These harsh allegations remain scantly documented, perhaps as a preview of further work in progress. But what is amply revealed is "the dark side" of a movement whose "noble rhetoric" and abstract thinking "absolved" its members from responsibility for violence and ruthlessness, "thus keeping this aspiration alive" to the present day (pp. 5, 10, 199).

KATHRYN E. AMDUR
Emory University

HELEN WATANABE-O'KELLY. *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xv, 310. $39.95.

When one reads that Gabriel Tzschimmer, in his *Durchlauchtigste Zusammenkunft* (1680), needed 316 folio pages and a further 562 pages of "brief notes" to describe a gathering at Dresden in 1678, and that Christian August Hausen devoted 1,931 pages to commemorating the electors of Saxony in his *Gloriosa Electorum Ducum Saxoniae Busta* (1728), one realizes what a remarkable achievement it is that Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly should have been able to produce such a succinct and yet marvelously informative account as this of court culture at Dresden under rulers of Saxony from Moritz, who became elector in 1547, to Friedrich August I (better known as August the Strong), who reigned from 1694 to 1733. The book is a model of sound and wide-ranging scholarship, drawing not only on the author's own pioneering studies of court festivals but also on her recent discoveries in Dresden's libraries and archives (exemplified in her detailed account of the education of the sons of Elector Christian I and her analysis of the changing interests and tastes of successive electors as reflected in the 122 inventories of the collections drawn up between 1550 and 1700). Furthermore, her book shows what exciting opportunities still exist for research in Dresden.

Watanabe-O'Kelly seeks to show how, given the belief that it was the duty of the ruler, as God's representative, to exhibit splendor, successive electors used art (in its widest sense) as a tool of government to display and enhance their power and to express their political ambitions. This last aspect is particularly impressively illustrated in the chapter on the "Saxon Hercules," August the Strong, who in 1697 abandoned the dynasty's traditional Lutheranism in favor of Roman Catholicism in his successful quest to be elected king of Poland (as August II).

The book, which is made all the more attractive by its fifty-six well-chosen monochrome illustrations, comprises seven principal chapters. The first outlines how the Lutheran legacy expressed itself in court culture, whether in the impressive electoral burial chapel at Freiberg, anti-popish tournaments, sacred music (notably that of Heinrich Schütz), or biblical drama. The second surveys the reception of Italian art, architecture, arms, equestrianism and other skills in the sixteenth century; a major role was played here by Giovanni Maria Nosseni (1544–1620), who arrived in Dresden in 1575. Chapter three investigates the origin and growth of the Dresden collections, notably the *Kunstkammer* with its ten thousand objects, including many scientific instruments, and the library. Next follows a splendid chapter on alchemy, mining, and astrology at Dresden. The electors were concerned not only with finding the Philosopher's Stone (the key to which, apparently, is to be found in Ms. Loc. 4417/1 in the Saxon State Archive) but above all with exploiting the natural resources of minerals and metals on which the local economy depended. Chapter five examines the way in which Elector Johann Georg II (ruled 1656–1680) sought to enhance his image; particularly fine is the account of his appointment as a knight of the garter by Charles II of England, an honor that enabled him to represent himself as the champion of Lutheranism defeating the dragon of Catholicism. Chapter six surveys the introduction of foreign drama (English actors putting on works by William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe, French actors performing plays by Molière and Pedro Calderón), the ballet (Nosseni playing a major role as designer), and opera at Dresden during the seventeenth century. The excellent final chapter shows how August the Strong both built on the cultural traditions of his court and innovated too, introducing Catholic elements to a court that had been staunchly Lutheran since the Reformation and bringing in French influences as well (with a French troupe performing the plays of Pierre

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Corneille, Jean Racine, and Molière and the operas of Jean-Baptiste Lully for August's Polish court at Warsaw. He was responsible, in architecture, for the "Frenchified urbanity" (p. 212) of the Zwinger also, reorganizing the private collections to make them more generally accessible in the museums we know today and encouraging alchemical experimentation, culminating in the success of Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus and Johann Friedrich Böttger in devising the method of making the porcelain that since 1708 has secured Dresden's world renown.

At every turn, one recognizes Watanabe-O'Kelly's supreme control of her subject. One senses her sharp eye for detail and her keen appreciation of the treasures Dresden offers. The only slip I noted concerns the mid-sixteenth-century Saxon mint master Abraham Riese, who is confused in the index with the Franconian mathematician Adam Riese (1492–1559).

JOHN L. FLOOD
University of London

JOHN ROGER PAAS. *The German Political Broadsheet 1600–1700*. Volume 7, *1633–1648*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 2002. Pp. 454. €798.00.

PEER SCHMIDT. *Spanische Universalmonarchie oder "teutsche Libertet": Das spanische Imperium in der Propaganda des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*. (Studien zur modernen Geschichte, number 54.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2001. Pp. 529. €63.00.

Although they both cover printed propaganda during the Thirty Years' War, these two books are very different. John Roger Paas offers the seventh volume of a comprehensive collection that will reproduce all known variants of all the 3,000 or so known German political broadsheets of the seventeenth century in full-page size. Peer Schmidt studies over 200 pamphlets that dealt with Spain, out of the 10,000 or so published between 1618–1648 that survive in German libraries. Yet there is also overlap: most obviously, Schmidt reproduces nine broadsheets from Paas's earlier volumes, most of them showing Spanish victories and defeats. Moreover, despite the different scale, meticulous scholarship and brilliant editing characterize both works. Interested readers will welcome these books not only for their content but also for their beauty.

Schmidt arranged his monograph around four main themes. After a short survey of relations between Spain and the Holy Roman Empire in the early modern period, he examines the "structures of communication": authors and presses, the rhythm of publication (and how it reflected the conduct of the war), and the "public space" where issues and prints were discussed. Next Schmidt analyzes the "Antihispanismus" of the broadsheets, dividing the material into six categories: Spain's perceived quest for universal monarchy, the legitimacy of Spain's military intervention in the empire, the "character" of the Spaniard, the "Black Legend" of Spanish atrocity in America, the role of America in the war (both as resource and as target), and the influence of the pope and the Jesuits on Spanish policy. This discussion takes up almost half the book and leads to an illustrated consideration of the repertory of images—both verbal and visual, almost all unflattering—used in German prints and songs about Spain and its American colonies. The work concludes with a consideration of the Spanish reaction: the works intended to counteract these assorted negative images.

Schmidt divides this material into three types: religious works that praised *El rey católico*; political works that extolled *El rey prudente*; and hagiographical works that extolled *El rey planeta* (the "planet king," as Philip IV's apologists called him). He provides a brief conclusion on the function and effect of political propaganda in the first half of the seventeenth century. Then come some fifty pages of bibliography, with the printed primary sources listed by date (each item provides the full bibliographic record, including the German libraries where a copy exists).

This unusual arrangement of sources reinforces a point made in the text: the production of works for and against Spain followed an uneven rhythm. Fifty-five percent of the total (122 items) appeared between 1618 and 1621, with the rest scattered fairly evenly, except for a spike of seventeen items in 1640–1642. A more detailed consideration of this second concentration will illustrate the genre. Works by apologists for the Catalan and Portuguese revolutions make up the majority: for Catalonia, six polemics by Gaspar Sala (three in Castilian, three in French), two by Francisco Martí y Valdamor; eight items justifying the Portuguese "Restoration" (John IV's "Manifesto" in both French and Dutch, two items each in Castilian, German, and Portuguese, and one in Latin). Of the other works, one provided the text (in German translation) of the duke of Medina Sidonia's challenge to his brother-in-law, John IV of Portugal, and a second praised Emperor Ferdinand III's desire for peace. Only one work defended Philip IV: Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz's reply to John IV's manifesto. The list is not quite complete, however, because Schmidt does not include in his list another broadsheet of 1641 entitled "Actus regius Iohannis Lusitaniae seu Portugalliae Rex" (the rest of the text is in German), which contains an engraving of each of the four stages in John IV's accession to power: the murder of Philip IV's chief secretary in Lisbon, the arrival of the new king, his coronation, and his consecration. Schmidt does include a reproduction and discussion of the item in his text (pp. 369–71), which makes its omission from the list of sources all the more curious.

By a strange coincidence, Paas also overlooks this item (although it appears in another published collection of broadsheets: Wolfgang Harms, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* [1983]). There cannot be many such omissions, however, because the author has drawn material from over 180

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libraries, museums, archives, and private collections in seventeen countries. At least four-fifths of the broadsheets have not appeared in print since the seventeenth century; almost one-third survive in only one or two copies. Eventually the series will comprise eleven volumes, the last one providing an index to the whole. Here, too, the pace of broadsheet publication complicates coverage: thus Paas's fifth volume covered two years (1630 and 1631), the sixth covered only one (1632), but the current one covers sixteen years! It follows the same format as the rest: a short but helpful introduction; high-quality reproductions of the plates in full-page size (several of them as fold-outs); reproductions of plates that once existed but now seem lost; and notes on the editions and contents at the end. As Paas observes, most of the broadsheets published during these years provided neutral accounts of battles. Those on political subjects also tended to be bland, lacking the aggressive tone and content of broadsheets from earlier years, almost as if the printers and engravers shared the war weariness of the general population as hostilities dragged on from year to year. Some turned this to advantage—a broadsheet of 1636 showing Christ appearing before an assembly of Europe's rulers to rebuke them for their failure to make peace was reissued in 1645 with just a few changes in the names of the rulers—but the overwhelming impression given by the propaganda surveyed in these two excellent works is of the futility of wars in general and of the Thirty Years' War in particular. This is no doubt exactly what their makers intended.

GEOFFREY PARKER
Ohio State University

IAN F. MCNEELY. *The Emancipation of Writing: German Civil Society in the Making, 1790s-1820s.* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 48.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 329. $65.00.

The title notwithstanding, this book is mainly about the activities and eventual decline of a particular occupational group—the "scribes"—in the German duchy of Württemberg over the course of a few decades. It has much to say about the transformation in governance that occurred in Württemberg in the wake of the French Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte's advance into the Germanies, and about the role of the scribes—who functioned as notarial intermediaries between individuals and the ducal government—in that transformation. It does not, however, provide a comprehensive account of Württemberg civil society in the making, much less that of the Germanies as a whole.

The first part of the book documents the late eighteenth-century Württemberg political context and the role of the scribes (*Schreiber*) in that context. Ian F. McNeely has worked through a mountain of archival and secondary sources to craft a nuanced picture of an occupational group that was responsible for the many forms of "official writing" required of inhabitants of the duchy. Contracts, wills, estate inventories, mortgages, deeds, receipts, economic records, birth and death certificates, and much more were all recorded by the scribes, who charged fees for services. Scribes thus had intimate knowledge of communal life, exercising power and influence well beyond their formal position in Württemberg society.

McNeely argues that the scribes exercised a kind of "tutelage" over their clients, while paving the way, through their writing practices, for the rise of a truly autonomous and self-conscious civil society: "interactions between state and citizens through official writing lay the basis for modern civil society" (p. 2). Yet the thread of the argument frequently gets lost in a maze of detailed descriptions of local and provincial politics, the career trajectories and machinations of scribes, all manner of bureaucratic wranglings, commissions, and reports, and petty bickerings and conflicts between local officials. The author attempts to "frame" the narrative with four abstractions—formality, collegiality, sociography, and encyclopedism—but the use of such constructs only partly organizes the welter of material. McNeely can be commended, however, for not oversimplifying the complex and interconnected nature of early modern German sociopolitical life or the myriad ways in which German corporatism could foster civic involvement.

What seems clear is that whatever their merits as mediators between individuals and the state, the scribes were by and large a burden on Württembergers, and there were good reasons for their comeuppance after the Napoleonic reorganization and expansion of the duchy. How they (or the kinds of writings they purveyed) were a liberatory factor is far less obvious. The second part of the book documents the eclipse of the scribes and the rise of new forms of writing such as intelligence gazettes, encyclopedias, and various types of "sociography," but the connection between the older and newer forms of writing is hazy at best. It seems more likely that contemporary observers were correct in seeing the scribes as an unwelcome, expensive intrusion into their lives, and that it was only once they, and the burdensome scribal practices they purveyed, had been cleared out of the way that an enlightened and autonomous civil society might emerge, in which citizens "could develop their own facility in mapping their social world and imagining fresh possibilities within it" (p. 10), as McNeely himself suggests.

The author asserts that official writing practices, and not Enlightenment ideas, were the underlying basis for the rise of civil society. But as he demonstrates, "writing" can be an instrument of hegemony and of advancing one's self-interest, alongside advancing common interests or broadening individuals' horizons and self-understandings. Much more would need to be done, by way of documenting the impact of scribal writing practices on the way that Württembergers

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conceived of themselves, their social world, and their relationship to government, if official writing were to be understood as the main actor in the rise of Württemberg civil society. By privileging the category of official writing, McNeely ignores other kinds of writing that were crucial in the formation of German civil society. The vast panoply of "unofficial" Enlightenment writings in theology, literature, philosophy, and history, along with personal letters, diaries, essays, and devotional tracts, were at least as important in laying a foundation for citizenry, and for the intelligence gazettes and encyclopedias that emerged in the wake of the Napoleonic reforms, as were the reams of paperwork produced by scribes and housed in scribal offices.

BENJAMIN W. REDEKOP
Kettering University

URSULA BAUMANN. *Vom Recht auf den eigenen Tod: Die Geschichte des Suizids vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert.* Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 2001. Pp. viii, 407. €39.90.

This book by Ursula Baumann takes up the ambitious task of historicizing one of the most existential experiences in an individual's biography: suicide. Although ending one's life is clearly a profoundly personal decision, Western society has sought to rationalize this human act, which seemingly contradicts the natural order. It is not surprising that during the past two centuries suicide has mostly been considered as a reflection of social, cultural, and moral crises, particularly as suicide rates apparently increased over the course of the nineteenth century. As Baumann suggests, the discourse on suicide echoes Western society's changing perceptions of the self as well as divergent attitudes within the project of enlightenment.

Obviously, any study on suicide might be expected to address many of today's prominent debates, such as assisted suicide, suicide bombers, the high suicide rates among the elderly, or spectacular mass suicides. But Baumann makes it clear from the start that her main focus is how the tension between the supposedly irrational act of ending one's life and the enlightened ideas of reason and personal autonomy can be conceptualized within a larger historical framework. Consequently, she confines her investigation to the issue of individual acts of successful suicide and sidelines related aspects, such as attempted suicide, suicide prevention, and other forms of self-destructive behavior. Baumann pursues the topic from the emergence of the first substantial discourse on suicide in the late eighteenth century until the end of World War II in all its relevant theological, philosophical, legal, sociological, and medico-psychiatric aspects. Although she focuses primarily on the discourse around suicide, she also includes many references to associated cultural practices, such as the burial of persons who committed suicide or the use of their corpses for dissection in the anatomical theater.

Given this broad range of interests, Baumann necessarily approaches her topic from a selective geographical horizon. Her book is confined to Germany, especially Protestant Prussia, and her in-depth case studies mostly come from urban Berlin. Nevertheless, she includes some enlightening references to developments in Germany's less urbanized or Catholic regions as well as to Britain and France. This larger perspective seems all the more necessary because the German discourse on suicide includes several factors, topics, and phenomena specific to Germany's history, such as the country's confessional split, its relatively late urbanization vis-à-vis Britain and France, and the dramatic increase of suicide rates among German Jews after 1933 or among the German population at the end of World War II.

The philosophical discourse on suicide aimed primarily at replacing the previously established prohibition of suicide grounded in Christian moral theology with arguments derived from Enlightenment ideas. This secular transition began with David Hume but was developed further by Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Arthur Schopenhauer, and others as well as by early psychological-psychiatric work on the subject that began appearing in Karl-Philipp Moritz's famed *Magazin für Erfahrungsseelenkunde*. It is interesting to note that, up until Friedrich Nietzsche's radicalism, most arguments on the topic only rarely conceptualized suicide as an act based in the individual's free will; rather they established a secular order of reasoning that simply perpetuated the Christian prohibition on taking one's own life. The major result of the secularization of discourse on suicide was its gradual decriminalization, on the one hand, and its medicalization under the auspices of psychiatry, on the other. This medicalization, which took shape over the nineteenth century, had two significant consequences that persist to this day. First, pathologizing the individual suicidal person legitimated legal-medical interventions. Second, suicide appeared as the individual effect of a supposedly deep-seated social pathology, which almost randomly ranged from socioeconomic crises or the oppressive regime of army life, to urbanization or sociobiological degeneration, depending on the political perspective taken. Thus, for the last two centuries the discourse on suicide has been entangled in the tensions between individual autonomy and the constraints set by the pyschiatrization of society, between the expressions of free will and assumed pathological compulsions.

Baumann's book seeks to reveal these fundamental tensions in the rationalizing discourse on suicide. It deftly guides the reader through the maze of attitudes toward the presumed irrationality of suicide over the course of two centuries. Although compelling reading, this challenging book might have benefited from a more careful presentation of the statistical material and more concise writing. Nevertheless, it will interest not only scholars of cultural studies, philosophy, and German history but also persons who deal professionally with suicide as well as the general public, since

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suicide will always remain a troubling feature of the human condition.

PASCAL GROSSE
University College London and
Humboldt University, Berlin

BRIAN E. VICK. *Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 143.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 283. $49.95.

The deputies of the Frankfurt parliament of 1848 have generally not fared well in the evaluation of historians. In the familiar narrative, the deputies squandered their historic opportunity by bogging down in doctrinaire squabbles even so their social base disintegrated. They also shifted rapidly toward exclusionist and expansionist nationalism, thereby darkening the "springtime of nations" with clouds of war and opening an ominous chapter in German history. Brian E. Vick's exploration of the nationalist ideas of the Frankfurt deputies and the parliamentary debates on the nationality question significantly revises this familiar picture.

Vick argues that across a spectrum of political positions, the deputies shared a "culture of nationhood" whose roots must be sought in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Two main forces shaped the culture of nationhood. On the one hand, the tradition of *Bildung*, with its notions of self-cultivation, autonomy, self-determination, and honor, easily extended from an ideal of the individual person to the ideal of an independent nation of free and active men. On the other hand, the normative value placed on self-formation, growth, and participation dovetailed with a historical outlook common to all schools of post-Kantian thought: namely, a belief that history progresses dialectically through competition and struggle. This was a "culture of nationhood," Vick insists, and not a "nationalist ideology" because "nationhood, as a mental construct, lay embedded in the surrounding cultural matrix, at once shaping it and shaped by it" (p. 208).

Two opening chapters discuss the *Vormärz* culture of nationhood while the body of the book examines key debates of the Frankfurt parliament on the relationship between the German nation and Jewish emancipation, the rights of minority nationalities within the projected German nation, the proper boundaries of the new Germany, and the place of the German nation within a competitive world of other national groups. In each of these debates, Vick finds a greater openness, flexibility, and inclusiveness in the idea of the nation than has generally been assumed. For example, he challenges historians who discern antisemitic impulses in the debate on Jewish emancipation by arguing that by the 1840s, almost all liberal commentators had abandoned an earlier tendency to equate emancipation with the assimilation of Jews into the Christian social body and instead defended emancipation on the grounds of the right of Germans of all "recognized" religions to equal legal protection and equal political participation. Except for smaller groups of conservative Christians who continued with anti-Jewish utterances, criticism focused on an "illiberal, retrograde government policy intent on keeping Jews separate from those who should be their fellow citizens. Talk of assimilation hardly vanished entirely, but it lost its front-and-center position" (p. 95). The crucial question for the deputies in this debate, as in the discussion of the rights of "non-German Germans" within the German state, was whether a specific religious or social group could be shown to be able to fulfill all civic duties and to harbor no teachings or impulses harmful to the state (p. 96). Vick persuasively rebuts historians who would squeeze the nationality debate into a single box or twist its threads into a single line.

Still, this openness and inclusiveness had limits, as Vick clearly demonstrates in his discussion of the Jews and national minorities and in a concluding reference to the way the exclusion of women from active citizenship functioned in the construction of national identity, an aside that one wishes he had explored in the book. The ambiguities posed by questions of membership and the assumed primacy of the German cultural element in *Mitteleuropa* intersected with the bellicose possibilities latent in a historicist view based on competition and conflict among national groups. Vick arrives at a balanced and convincing conclusion that "the 1848 Revolution and its associated political and national conflicts played a crucial role in beginning the fragmentation of the mid-century culture of nationhood. But it was only a beginning, and a slow one. Although the sort of organicist intolerance of cultural difference associated with the Germanizing policies of the post-1871 *kleindeutsch* Kaiserreich could be glimpsed *in nuce* during the Frankfurt debates, to come to fruition it had to undergo an extensive process of development in the intervening decades" (p. 214).

Vick's assessment of the culture of nationhood rests on an important challenge to the familiar typologies that have shaped much of the scholarly literature on nationalism, first and most importantly the distinction introduced by Hans Kohn between "cultural" and "political" nationalism. Rooted in the *Bildung* tradition, the culture of nationhood transgressed Kohn's distinction insofar as it assigned significance to the sources of cultural unity (including but not limited to language) but also gave great weight to the ideal of active citizenship within a community founded on equal rights. Vick does not emphasize that such an idea of nationhood also complicates the distinction championed most recently by Liah Greenfeld between "individualist" and "collectivist" nationalism. Vick questions a further distinction, namely between a Western European nationalism typified by individualism and civic participation and an Eastern European nationalism typified by collectivism, ethnicity, and, eventually, race. The effectiveness of Vick's challenge to these typologies is somewhat mitigated by the fact that he focuses so heavily on high intellectual discourse and formal parliamentary debate; in this sense,

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he does not entirely fulfill his claim to have studied the culture of nationhood from the "ground up" (p. 224). Yet he successfully establishes a decidedly enriched portrait of the national idea among German-speaking elites in the decades leading up to 1848. Doing so, his work invites further study to determine not only the degree of openness and inclusiveness within a wider field of cultural production and social action in Germany, but also the extent to which a mid-nineteenth-century European culture of nationhood transcended the conceptual and geographic markers staked out by scholars of nationalism.

WARREN BRECKMAN
University of Pennsylvania

ANDREAS W. DAUM. *Wissenschaftspopularisierung im 19. Jahrhundert: Bürgerliche Kultur, naturwissenschaftliche Bildung und die deutsche Öffentlichkeit, 1848–1914.* 2d. ed. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2002. Pp. xii, 619. €59.80.

An interesting field of research impinging on the history of science and on social and cultural history, the popularization of science has been the object of path-breaking work in Britain, France, and the United States. In recent years it has become a field of growing interest in Germany as well, offering a wide range of issues to political and social scientists, philosophers, media scientists, and historians. Several major studies have been published that analyze the nineteenth and twentieth-century phenomenon from either a general or a more detailed perspective. These works follow the development of popular science over several decades and deal with specific disciplines or ideas such as natural history and evolution, popularizers such as Alexander von Humboldt, Justus von Liebig, Wilhelm Bölsche and Ludwig Büchner, or media such as exhibitions, museums, popular science books and magazines, zoos, and learned societies.

Andreas W. Daum's study delineates the popularization of science in Germany from the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of World War I as another area of increasing middle-class activity and influence in the "bourgeois" nineteenth century. The fields of science and education gradually acquired a "public" character, mirroring the demand for democratic participation that had been voiced in the revolutions of 1848–1849. The revolutionary period left an indelible mark on the public approach to science, investing the demand for a presentation of scientific knowledge with distinctive political implications. Thus popularization, an instrument to integrate the natural sciences into a larger cultural context, is primarily seen in the light of an emerging middle-class culture and identity.

To tackle the highly heterogeneous phenomenon of popularization, Daum focuses on two issues: the types of scientific information transmitted to a mainly middle-class public, and the persons, institutions, and media active in the process. This goes along with a look at popularizers and the instruments of popular science that concentrates on structures, groups and their profile, and certain key figures prominent in the nineteenth century. Readers are introduced to the subject with a look at the meanings of the terms popular science and popularization, as multifaceted as the phenomenon itself, and the debate on science education and the school curriculum. Drawing on material from a number of archives, the book offers a survey of societies and their activities (chapter three), of the ideological overtones of scientific education within the conflict between science and religion (chapter four), of popular science books reflecting the encroachment of ideology; that is, the continuing debate on Darwinism (chapter five), popular science magazines (chapter six), and the generations of popularizers active in the transmission of knowledge and ideology (chapter seven).

The result is a much-needed overview of the various forms and institutions of science popularization in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century. In consequence, however, in-depth analysis of single aspects such as the careers of popularizers, the contents of lectures organized by societies, or popular books and magazines is not central. In addition, there are certain drawbacks to an approach that is systematical rather than chronological; the reader returns to the early or mid-nineteenth century with each new chapter.

The text of this second edition is identical to the first, with the exception of an additional preface and an appendix listing twenty-five books and articles published since 1998. Given that work on popular science has intensified since the publication of the first edition of this book, the list might easily be extended. It would have been interesting to see a wider range of recent findings incorporated into this probing account of a fascinating subject.

ANGELA SCHWARZ
University of Duisburg-Essen

RAYMOND CHIEN SUN. *Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls: Catholic Workers in Cologne, 1885–1912; A Social, Cultural and Political History.* (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Humanities Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 339.

The subtitle of this book promises somewhat more than it delivers, since in this thoroughly researched, if rather narrowly focused monograph, Raymond Chien Sun concentrates heavily on the small segment of male industrial laborers who belonged to the Catholic workers' clubs in Cologne. His book contributes to the recent literature on the politics and religiosity of imperial Germany's substantial but long-neglected Catholic minority. It also explores the complex interactions among religious, class, and political identities, issues still far from central to the investigations of German social historians. A number of studies of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in the Rhineland highlight its battle against the Center Party for the hearts,

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minds, and votes of Catholic industrial workers, but here the lens is inverted and firmly directed at the Catholic labor milieu's defense against the socialists. To analyze the structure and functions of the Catholic workers' movement in Cologne and its fierce rivalry with the SPD, Sun effectively deploys M. Rainer Lepsius's concept of a "social-cultural milieu" and Antonio Gramsci's "cultural hegemony." He enlists a broad range of sources, many of them archival, primarily official reports, articles from the contemporary labor press, and internal documents of the Catholic labor movement. Arguments are buttressed by considerable quantitative evidence presented in dozens of statistical tables both within the text and in the appendixes.

The book is divided into two parts. Part one treats the creation and development of the Catholic workers' clubs between 1885 and 1902, while part two examines the crisis of Catholic hegemony from 1903 to 1912 as the dominance of the Center Party in Cologne was challenged by the burgeoning and confident socialist labor movement. After establishing the importance of Cologne as the German Rome, a bastion of German Catholicism since the Middle Ages, and sketching the emergence of this Rhenish city as a major industrial center in the nineteenth century, Sun explores the impetus behind the formation of Catholic workers' clubs in the mid-1880s, when the Catholic Church still suffered the effects of Otto von Bismarck's anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf*, and the chancellor's repressive antisocialist laws had failed to erode labor support for the SPD. The clubs were designed to bind laborers to the Catholic Church by ensuring that they participated in the public and sacramental life of the Catholic community while also pursuing Catholic social reform. Thus, as their chief advocate Father Franz Hitze proclaimed, they were to organize Catholic workers "before the enemy is within our walls." From the outset, however, these clubs banned political discussion, promoted self-help rather than conflict with employers, and were led by clerics and supervised by honorary councils composed of middle class Catholics, thereby stifling any assertion of autonomous initiative by laborers.

In three successive chapters, Sun discusses the growth, programs, and problems of these workers' clubs between 1885 and 1902. Initially the clubs' growth looked impressive. By 1902 sixteen clubs with more than 6,000 members were thriving in Cologne and its industrial suburbs. These associations engaged in a wide variety of programs that fostered religious devotion through common participation in communion and church processions, sponsored various forms of sociability such as choral and theater groups, and provided social benefits through burial and supplementary health insurance chests. Despite their solid appearance, Sun argues that the clubs were plagued by numerous internal problems. Clerical leaders were often overburdened and ill informed about labor issues. The clubs encompassed only a small minority of Catholic industrial laborers in the Cologne region. Moreover, members were almost exclusively middle aged. Many were minimally committed and unable to argue Catholic social positions effectively.

These deficiencies and efforts to overcome them are central to Sun's examination of the crisis of Catholic hegemony between 1903 and 1912. The limitations of the Catholic labor movement became manifest in the 1903 Reichstag elections, when the resurgent SPD in Cologne adroitly used the wedge issue of the Center Party's support for agricultural tariffs and, hence, higher food prices to make substantial inroads among Catholic industrial workers. Although the Center Party retained its Reichstag seat, the election spurred the church to adopt a more aggressive approach to organizing Catholic workers. Clubs were divided into smaller units in order to increase the connection of workers to their associations, while workers were given greater, albeit still tightly restricted, responsibilities in governing their own clubs. The church placed greater emphasis on educating an informed laity.

Although the clubs gained new members and certainly became more dynamic, they continued to fail to attract younger workers. Their growth was overshadowed by that of the Social Democrats and their allied trade union and cultural organizations. It is not entirely clear from Sun's account, however, why the clubs did not build more extensive sports and cultural programs that might have appealed to younger workers, especially since some priests believed that it was precisely such activities that drew people to the socialist milieu. The inadequacy of the Catholic response became evident when the Social Democrats capitalized on the Center Party's alliance with the Conservative Party and its support for tariffs and indirect taxes on items widely consumed by workers to wrest Cologne's Reichstag seat from the Center in 1912. The Center Party recaptured the seat during the Weimar Republic, but as the epilogue demonstrates, this victory was attributable to the division between Social Democrats and Communists. The Center Party never regained its hold over most male Catholic industrial workers.

Sun introduces some tantalizing material on Catholic women, such as the Catholic Church's almost exclusive emphasis on the future role of Catholic working women as mothers, the SPD's appeal to Catholic working-class women as consumers in the 1912 election, and the gender gap between the Center Party and the left labor parties during the 1920s. He also mentions the rhetoric of Catholic labor leaders who asserted that workers who failed to defend the church were not men but contemptible wretches. His book would have benefitted, however, from systematic gender analysis. Sun briefly speculates about the grassroots interactions between centrists and socialists on the shop floor, in neighborhoods, and in families, but he undertook no real investigation of these vital micro-processes, in large part a limitation of his sources. There is little biographical information, and hence neither the ordinary members nor leaders of the

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workers' clubs ever fully come to life. This book is a very competent monograph that enriches our understanding of the strengths and limitations of the Catholic labor movement in Cologne, but it fits within a standard story of the triumph of interest politics over religious affiliation and the inability of the Center Party to mediate among the often contradictory material interests of its heterogenous social constituencies. It is doubtful that its conclusions will surprise historians of imperial Germany familiar with political and social developments in the Rhineland.

DEREK S. LINTON
Hobart and William Smith Colleges

ANDREW LEES. *Cities, Sin, and Social Reform in Imperial Germany*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 432. $65.00.

In this book, Andrew Lees takes aim at the already battered target of the *Sonderweg* interpretation. Examining contemporary German commentary on urban social problems before World War I, he finds at least as much evidence of positive engagement with modernity as of an antimodernist path leading ultimately to 1933. To be sure, the Second Empire's burgeoning cities had many vocal detractors, and Lees catalogs their fears of and distaste for big-city life at considerable length in the early chapters of his study. He chronicles the arguments advanced in favor of repressive policies, taking most of the first two hundred pages to get to the reformers who are the focus of the second half of his study. But although far from ignoring negative German responses to urbanization and its attendant problems, Lees throughout chooses to emphasize the positive. He stresses that the empire's fast-growing cities, however worrisome they were to defenders of the old order, actually proved to be fruitful sites of progressive reform, winning for German municipalities the admiration of foreign observers.

Lees surveys a large number of diverse commentators and the organizations through which they sought to achieve their goals, but he gives particular attention to four reformers, each the subject of a separate chapter. The four opinion makers chosen as exemplars of urban-based reformism are Viktor Böhmert, Johannes Tews, Walther Classen, and Alice Salomon. Böhmert advocated the reform of popular sociability with the intent of providing alternatives to tavern-based leisure. Tews sought to improve the urban environment by fostering educational opportunities for adolescents and adults. Classen advocated settlement houses and wholesome recreational opportunities for the young. Salomon focused on training women for social work.

These four reform advocates had much in common. Their initiatives had the positive, proactive character Lees emphasizes as constituting one major strand in Wilhelmine public debate on social issues. All four came from the educated middle class. They were second-rank intellectuals who published extensively and were active in associations devoted to urban reform. Their political sympathies ranged from progressive to conservative liberalism. They preferred, however, to avoid political entanglement. They looked upon cities as generating opportunities and resources as well as dangers for the moral order. While not denying the desirability of state intervention, they nevertheless stressed the importance of voluntarism and local initiatives. Although advocating change, the four were committed to operating within the existing order. They stopped short of challenging, even in theory, the fundamental class and gender divisions of imperial German society.

Following his account of these four reformers, Lees adds a chapter on the Center for Workers' Welfare (founded in 1891), known after 1907 as the Center for Popular Welfare. He discusses this umbrella organization, whose members were drawn from both the public and private spheres, as one among a number of influential associations of middle-class reformers active in Wilhelmine Germany. He focuses on the Center for Popular Welfare because, Lees claims, unlike some of its better-known counterparts it has been almost totally ignored by historians. Discussing this association, he concentrates on the multiple themes debated in its publications and conferences. In the final chapter of his wide-ranging if somewhat loosely structured study, Lees presents a brief summary, based on secondary sources, of governmental reform initiatives.

In his introduction, Lees notes the desirability of historians thinking comparatively in addressing topics like urban reform. However, although himself well read on developments outside Germany, especially in Great Britain and the United States, Lees admits that systematic international comparison is not as fully developed as it might be in the body of his work. In his introduction, Lees also calls attention to the "linguistic turn" as it relates to recent historical scholarship. In his own analysis of the reformist debate in Wilhelmine Germany, he chooses, however, not to investigate language rhetoric and narrative structures. He gives instead a straightforward report of what was argued by whom. As far as the urban lower classes are concerned, they appear in his account only in so far as their activities became the focus of middle-class discussion.

Lees's detailing of the debate over urban reform in imperial Germany reflects an ambitious working through of great masses of the literature of social criticism generated by middle-class authors, activists, and organizations during the last pre-World War I decades. On this basis, he delivers not dramatic new insights but rather well-informed summaries of a significant sampling of exchanges on urban social problems and proposals for dealing with them.

ELAINE SPENCER
Northern Illinois University

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HARRIET PASS FREIDENREICH. *Female, Jewish, and Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women*. (The Modern Jewish Experience.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 296. $34.95.

Working with published autobiographies and memoirs in manuscript collections, Harriet Pass Freidenreich has written a fascinating collective biography of university-educated Jewish women in Germany and Austria. Born in the late nineteenth century and after the turn of the century, these women defied the conventional expectations for the female sex and, with courage and great determination, confronted the discrimination and social stigma facing women who embarked on the path of self-emancipation through higher education. The author investigates how Jewish origins, family influences, and gender affected their lives and shaped their career trajectories. This question has been raised by other historians who have observed the "conspicuous overrepresentation [of Central European Jewish women] among the pioneering generations of professional women" (p. xvii) and the prominent role of these trailblazers in the formation of the "New Woman." In the nineteenth century, Jewish women in Central Europe who studied medical science had to attend universities in Switzerland. When women were finally permitted to matriculate in the universities in Austria in 1897 and in Germany shortly thereafter, Jewish women, in disproportionately large numbers in comparison with Protestant and Catholic women, pursued higher education and careers in traditionally male professions.

With a database of 460 women, Freidenreich discusses prominent as well as lesser-known women and examines their adolescence, attitudes toward sexuality, choices in respect to professional career and marriage, and complex personal identities. Rather than presenting her research findings in an impersonal quantitative analysis, she wisely adopts an analytical approach that follows the life cycle of her subjects. She begins with their family life and early socialization and proceeds to their experiences as university students and their efforts to break through the barriers of sex discrimination and antisemitic prejudice in professional life. The last section of the book describes their painful experience of ostracism after the Nazi takeover, their emigration, and the challenges of reestablishing their professional lives in new lands.

Freidenreich's discussion of the importance of Jewish parentage, socioeconomic status, and the esteem for higher learning and German culture in the homes of acculturated Jews deepens our understanding of why a disproportionately large number of Jewish women from this milieu aspired to higher education and professional careers. More than other scholars who have written on this subject, she emphasizes persuasively the role model and influence of their fathers. She questions Claudia Huerkamp's hypothesis that, owing to a lower Jewish birthrate that began in the late nineteenth century, Jewish families had fewer sons to educate and therefore could spend more money on the education of daughters.

Freidenreich's analysis of the personal identities of university-educated women of Jewish descent in Germany and Austria is discerning and dispassionate. Her analytical framework provides a model for other scholars. She proposes a scale of measurable behavior upon which the Jewish consciousness of these women can be assessed. By and large, Jewish university women grew up in homes that she describes as "liberal, both religiously and politically" (p. 36). Sixty percent of the women in her study population are categorized as "Just Jews," who accepted their Jewishness as a fact of life and remained nominally within the formal structure of the Jewish community. Fifteen to twenty percent were "Former Jews," who were baptized or who officially disaffiliated from the Jewish *Kultusgemeinde*. Freidenreich observes a pattern of generational attrition in religious commitments. Women who remembered the observance of the High Holy Days in the homes of their grandparents or parents did not adhere to traditional Jewish beliefs or religious practices. Women among the younger cohort, who received their higher education after World War I, often derived their primary identity from their left-wing political convictions.

This book presents a convincing analysis for the author's thesis that "being born Jewish shaped these women's lives" (p. 198) both before and after 1933, even though organized religion had little importance for most of them. The epilogue is a weak conclusion for a work with significant research findings. In view of the growing body of historical literature on women in Central Europe, it would have been interesting to see some comparison between Jewish and Christian university-educated women. Are there shared characteristics or notable differences in their professional careers and political commitments? Do the observations about the reluctance of Jewish professional women to identify themselves as feminists confirm or suggest the need to rethink historical interpretations of the women's movements in Germany and Austria? This well-researched and thoughtful study is a major contribution to historical scholarship in women's studies and Jewish studies. The author's assessment that "before 1933, Jewish university women had been even more likely to encounter obstacles and hostility due to their gender than because of their Jewish origins" (p. 165) will very likely stimulate discussion.

MARJORIE LAMBERTI
Middlebury College

ALEXANDER B. ROSSINO. *Hitler Strikes Poland: Blitzkrieg, Ideology, and Atrocity*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2003. Pp. xv, 343. $34.95.

Alexander B. Rossino's book argues that the 1939 campaign unleashed more than blitzkrieg; it was the

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opening act in the ideologically driven National Socialist "people's war." The invasion's goal was to overwhelm and subdue in the most brutal manner a supposedly inferior people as a prelude to making their territory—in Nazi parlance—fit for German habitation. In such a war, distinctions between civilian and combatant blurred quickly, frequently, and as Rossino deftly shows, intentionally. Moreover, Rossino implicates not only the SS but also the Wehrmacht in these atrocities.

Rossino's thesis is obviously intentionalist, although his extensive research in German and Polish sources yielded no documentary smoking gun bearing Adolf Hitler's signature. He did, however, compile a convincing mass of evidence from speeches, directives, and private comments indicating that the Nazi pursuit of *Lebensraum* and ethnic cleansing undergirded the war against Poland from its inception.

While successful at this strategic level, Rossino's more original contribution is in examining the actual implementation of Nazi policy in Poland. He judiciously and thoroughly examines specific German atrocities against Polish civilians and POWs and finds ample evidence that they were largely intentional, condoned by higher authorities, and meshed well with Nazi ideological objectives. For example, Rossino's investigation of the SS-controlled Einsatzgruppen proves that these units' primary purpose was to arrest and execute locally prominent Poles. While these actions might enhance rear-area security by eliminating possible resistance leadership, they also formed the first step in reducing the Poles to permanent subservience.

Rossino also produces strong evidence implicating the Wehrmacht in atrocities, and he shows a consistent pattern of army policy and behavior that dovetailed with the ideological goal—if not the precise intent—of the Nazis. Rossino is even handed here; he notes that there was nothing in 1939 comparable to the notorious *Kommissarbefehl* of 1941, and many army officers complained energetically about atrocities. Rossino also examines the motives behind these objections, finding that many sprang not from legal or moral compunctions but from fear that giving troops free rein against civilians undermined military discipline. While he might have investigated other motivations more deeply, Rossino clearly demonstrates that it was official and often implemented policy for army units to execute civilian hostages in reprisal for anything deemed partisan resistance. In these situations, the army typically targeted locally prominent Poles, exactly as did the Einsatzgruppen. Ultimately the result was the same whether the army executed Polish civilians to stifle tactical resistance or the Einsatzgruppen killed them to subjugate the Polish people permanently.

Rossino also successfully shows that Germans typically viewed their eastern neighbors as culturally backward or even inferior. After World War I, this expanded into a visceral dislike, even hatred, for Poland and its people. While most Germans might not openly advocate the Nazi solution of decapitation and enslavement of the Polish people, few actively opposed it, particularly once combat began. Rossino thus illustrates an important element of the Third Reich: it succeeded when it could gain either active or tacit legitimacy from the German public.

Rossino is less convincing in delineating precisely how Nazi ideology affected the views of average soldiers. For example, he cites as proof of Nazi influence how soldiers frequently employed Nazi propaganda terms. It may, however, ultimately be impossible to ascertain if a soldier called Poles *Untermenschen* because of ideological outlook or merely because he found the term more in vogue than traditional German derogatories. To his credit, Rossino is cognizant of this problem. He acknowledges that Omer Bartov's conclusions about soldiers in the war against the Soviet Union do not fit the 1939 army well and is more comfortable with Klaus Latzel's conclusion that most soldiers only partially identified with Nazi ideas.

This book also addresses the impact of antisemitism. Rossino sees it in the extensive atrocities against Poland's Jews, but he categorically denies that the Holocaust began in 1939. He stresses that Germans directed their intentional brutality at Poles first and only secondarily at Jews—a key distinction. While the brutality in Poland formed "a kind of dress rehearsal" (p. 234) for later actions, Rossino is again judicious and contextual in his claims.

Overall, Rossino's clearly presented book is valuable for its solid application of existing ideas to an important, albeit previously unclear, episode. The author adds evidence to the intentionalist view of World War II by revealing the impact of Hitler's ideological stamp on the war's opening campaign. His book's other significant contribution is in exposing the Wehrmacht's complicity in pursuit of Nazi ideological objectives even at this early date. Although Rossino correctly shows that the military was by no means in lockstep with party zealots, he further demolishes the view that the Wehrmacht consisted entirely of apolitical nationalists who fought honorably and nobly. Overall, this book is a significant contribution to our understanding of World War II.

DAVID K. YELTON
Gardner-Webb University

BRYAN MARK RIGG. *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: The Untold Story of Nazi Racial Laws and Men of Jewish Descent in the German Military*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. xxi, 433. $29.95.

The only trouble with this outstanding book is its title. Those whom it describes were not Jews either by religion or by culture: they were Christian Germans with a Jewish parent or a Jewish grandparent. Because only a minority among the so-called *Mischlinge ersten und zweiten Grades* (half-breeds and quarter-breeds)

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had a Jewish mother, the majority were not Jews by rabbinical law either. To be sure, as Bryan Mark Rigg explains, a handful of "full" Jews also served in the German ranks, but these men had either managed to falsify their records or were ignorant of their ancestry. German race laws were based on the religion of one's ancestors, and it was not always possible to find the proper parish records. What is important here is that there were some 150,000 partly Jewish soldiers in Adolf Hitler's armed forces—Rigg's precise investigation is very convincing in this respect—which is the theoretical equivalent of seven or eight infantry divisions. Note that a large proportion of these soldiers were combat officers!

We have all heard rumors of Hitler's and the SD-leader Reinhard Heydrich's partly Jewish origins, and Brigg devotes considerable attention to the question, not completely excluding either possibility. We have also heard of the partly Jewish ancestry of Field Marshal Erhard Milch, and here Rigg makes clear that this ardent Nazi and war criminal was indeed a half-Jew. It is more astonishing to learn about the others, from general and admiral down to ordinary soldiers, a few among them members of the Nazi Party. The career soldiers and reserve officers among them suffered the devastating experience of being suddenly transformed from Germany's most respected citizens into real or potential pariahs. Most responded by inundating the authorities with memoranda aimed at demonstrating their unflinching loyalty to the fatherland; surprisingly, their efforts were generally not unsuccessful. It is true, however, that the proceedings were slow; meanwhile family members may have been deported; moreover, some of those in authority wished to see all half-breeds and even the quarter-breeds exterminated. Yet an even greater number of military commanders and fellow soldiers protected those in danger. This corroborates what Victor Klemperer has already demonstrated in his famous diaries, namely that many of the wildly antisemitic Germans relented at the sight of a persecuted individual known to them, especially when that person appeared to be a "good German."

As Rigg shows, Hermann Göring, who was the initiator of the Final Solution, proved particularly lenient when it came to his partly Jewish officers; Hitler himself agonized over individual dossiers, exempting hundreds and granting to others the coveted *Deutschblütigkeitserklärung*, equivalent to stating that although this person was not completely of German blood, it was as if he were. Some of the many fascinating documents and photographs reproduced in the book show Hitler's signature under various exemption certificates. In sum, the Nazi leadership could never come to an overall decision whether a *Mischling* was theirs or belonged to the enemy.

Younger men who had either been drafted into service or had volunteered because the military seemed to offer a refuge from persecution generally tried to show that they were no worse than their full-Aryan comrades; often they outdid others in sports and in combat. All those who lived in those years with some "bad blood" in their veins remember what a blessing it was not to look Jewish, and, indeed, some of the *Mischlinge* resemble Nordic gods. Half-Jew Werner Goldberg's portrait appeared in a Nazi propaganda newspaper as that of the "Ideal German Soldier." Others, however, tried to push their noses upward or walked so as not to appear flat-footed, a notoriously "Jewish" characteristic in popular imagination. Amazingly, even officers with a markedly Semitic appearance, or those with such names as Cohn and Mendelssohn, were kept in service and were sometimes promoted. Others were thrown into the labor battalions of the Todt Organization, ended up in a concentration camp, or were executed. Incongruously, toward the end of the war, when every fighting man was desperately needed and when Slavs and other *Untermenschen* were readily admitted into the Waffen SS, the armed forces got rid of an ever-increasing number of partly Jewish soldiers.

Rigg's research is wide ranging and impeccable; the 430 detailed interviews he conducted with former partly Jewish soldiers and their relatives now form a permanent part of the military archives in Freiburg. His book enjoys popular success. The conclusion to draw from all his analysis is that the Nazis were not as categorically radical as they claimed regarding the danger of infection by Jewish blood. The fate of the partial Jews varied enormously, as did the human characteristics of the 150,000 who lived perhaps the maddest of all lives in the madhouse that was Nazi Germany.

István Deák
Columbia University

Zeev W. Mankowitz. *Life between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 12.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 335. $35.00.

After the defeat of Germany in World War II and new pogroms in Poland in the summer of 1946, more than two hundred thousand Jews, mainly from Eastern Europe, lived in new installed camps for "Displaced Persons" (DPs) in the areas of the three Western zones of occupation in Germany. They called themselves *She'erit Hapletah*, the "surviving remnant," and within the DP camps cultivated their ancient traditions, spoke Yiddish, and created cultural centers where religious life flourished and Zionism helped not only to overcome the trauma of Nazi persecution but also to create the state of Israel. Jewish relief organizations furnished the survivors with financial support, medical aid, and food as well as urgently needed psychological support.

The story of the Jewish DPs in Germany, which did not end until the last Jewish DP camp at Föhrenwald, near Munich, was closed in 1957, is still largely un-

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known to the public. Therefore Zeev W. Mankowitz's study is a major contribution to our understanding of the survivors, their sufferings, and their struggle to reassert themselves as human beings. Mankowitz offers a view on the initial responses of Holocaust survivors to the Shoah in a hated country where they were forced to remain until finally the doors of Palestine and the United States were opened for them.

Mankowitz's analysis is based on a broad range of archival material and integrates important studies on the DPs published during the last years. But there are some aspects that might have been better explained. "Occupied Germany" included not only the American zone but also the British zone of occupation, which was quite significant in the lives of the Jewish survivors in Germany. In the largest DP camp (Belsen-Hohne), 10,000 Jewish DPs founded a Central Committee of Liberated Jews with one of the most important leaders of that time, Josef (Jossel) Rosensaft, as its head. There were essential differences between the two central committees (they never united). Above all, the DPs living in the British and the American zones experienced totally different living conditions because of the restrictive policy of the British military government and the later, quite liberal attitude of the Americans. Jews were recognized as a special group only in the American zone. The British military government refused to allow Jews their own nationality, meaning that they refused to accept that the Jewish survivors needed special help, such as additional food rations. More important, refusing such a status meant the Jewish DPs were housed with Polish, Rumanian, and Baltic DPs who were known as being antisemitic, and some of them as Nazi collaborators.

Despite these criticisms, Mankowitz's book tells the moving story of the rebirth of the *She'erit Hapletah*. The special merit of his work lies in its research and analysis of the Zionist aim that affected the daily life of the survivors in a much broader way then previously published studies have indicated. There is, for example, the story of "Kibbutz Buchenwald," founded in the former concentration camp and then transferred to a village near Fulda (Geringshof), which "became a focus of inspiration for the young survivors" (p. 29). What the leaders of the kibbutz wrote to the Jewish Agency in Paris in mid-1945 could serve as an epigraph to Mankowitz's study: "Through our physical labor in the kibbutz, we have meant to demonstrate that we are not destroyed, but that we have the will to live and build" (p. 29).

JULIANE WETZEL
Center for Research on Antisemitism, Berlin

ANNA BELLAVITIS. *Identité, mariage, mobilité sociale: Citoyennes et citoyens à Venise au XVI^e siècle*. (Collection de l'École française de Rome, number 282.) Rome: École française de Rome. 2001. Pp. 419.

In this important book, Anna Bellavitis explores the intricacies of citizenship in Venice. She demonstrates persuasively and with fascinating detail that even during its presumed glory days in the sixteenth century, the republic's leading men experienced more frustration than privilege in upholding their status and succeeded better at selective exclusion of pretenders than at true integration of an elite class. Money counted, and outsiders could buy their way in. Women were another problem, especially widows, with their longevity and their shrewd stewardship of conjugal property.

Bellavitis's study is old fashioned, scientific in the European sense, unabashedly close to the documents, and organized more in accord with archival bundles than with theoretical concerns. She concedes that the history of citizenship is generally the "history of men" (p. 6) but over the next 400 pages proceeds to demolish this generalization with a nuanced, painstaking, cautious presentation of a wide range of records showing how things actually worked, or failed to work, for men and for women. Graduate students interested in early modern women's history should be required to read the book and urged to go forth and do likewise in their dissertation research.

The opening section mines data reaching back to the early fourteenth century and forward to the seventeenth, tracing how the privileges of citizenship, as well as obligations such as residence, changed in support of Venice's gradual shift from a sea power to a land-based republic, especially after the Chioggia War (1378–1381). A brief but excellent chapter provides a summary appraisal of the rise and then decline of the *Scuole Grandi*, Venice's confraternities charged with responsibilities for social welfare, once the exclusive work of a narrow range of wealthy citizens but later open to the more democratic inclinations of parvenu merchants and even artisans who liked to flagellate themselves. The chapters in this section build upon work by Luca Molà, Reinhold Mueller, Brian Pullan, Lia Sbriziolo, and Domenico Sella, among many others, and may appeal primarily to specialists in Venetian history.

Part two, on marriage, is the centerpiece of this study and deserves the attention of historians both within and beyond Europe, from ancient to contemporary times. It begins, fittingly, with a passage from Moderata Fonte's *Il merito delle donne* (*The Worth of Women*, now available for students in a modern translation), in which the feisty widow Leonora argues that it would be wiser for a woman to use her dot to purchase a fat pig each year at Carnival—the better to keep herself nicely oiled until the next season—than to buy a husband and a lifetime of stings. Following this jovial advice, Bellavitis treats us to a careful reappraisal of the legal framework governing marriage and property. She concludes that while statutes accorded men and women bilateral rights to inherit and to leave inheritances, the gender balance remained imperfect, as the legacies of Roman law governing the state trumped the private rights developed by Venice itself.

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Nonetheless, women appear with great frequency in the testamentary files of the notarial archives, and, most notably, many women remade their wills several times, suggesting ongoing and active management of their assets.

Beginning in 1505, new legislation required the registration of marital contracts at the *Avogaria di Comun* by "patricians, citizens and inhabitants with the same traits," apparently to clarify and enforce restitution of dots to widows. There are no laundresses or silk spinners in these documents, only a relative handful of elite women whose fathers had amassed many ducats. Cautiously, Bellavitis advances the hypothesis that in Venetian society of the sixteenth century, a less viscerally misogynous environment than Florence, these very rich women truly exercised responsibility and power during their frequent and lengthy periods of widowhood. A careful analysis of 979 contracts drawn during the period 1501–1616 (875 before 1575) provides many details, and although the author eschews powerful summary statistics that might allow facile comparison with widows in other times and places, the subtlety of the specifics should allow other scholars to frame their own queries concerning the data. For example, the preponderance of mobile over immobile property and how that balance shifts in marital contracts after the first marriage invites comparison against the recent influential work of Martha Howell for Douai. Apart from a few brief references to earlier work such as that by Barbara Hanawalt for London and Barbara Diefendorf for Paris, Bellavitis does not address the comparative dimension beyond the Italian peninsula, but the way she casts her findings will allow others to do so.

The third section of the book is perhaps less successful. A promising potential for using marital contracts to analyze familial alliances and social mobility drifts instead into anecdotal treatments of questions that, while individually interesting, do not come together very well. The closing chapter looks at family memorials, finding them far less numerous and rather less compelling than the better-known Florentine examples. True, the memorials do enrich otherwise dull numeric facts, but they call for more than treatment as an appendage. Still, the fine things in this book far outweigh the small matters that might have been done otherwise.

RUDOLPH M. BELL
Rutgers University

CHRISTOPHER DUGGAN. *Francesco Crispi 1818–1901: From Nation to Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 777. £75.00.

Francesco Crispi (1818–1901) was arguably as important to Italy's birth as a nation-state as any of the other nineteenth-century figures, like Giuseppe Mazzini, Camillo Cavour, and Giuseppe Garibaldi, who are typically associated with that event. Much more than most of these, however, it was Crispi who, for several decades following unification, was the key actor in the political and institutional development of the new nation. This important role notwithstanding, circumstances have conspired to relegate Crispi, if not to history's dustbins, then certainly to its darkest recesses. Left-wing Italian academics and intellectuals are principally responsible for this neglect. It is they who have created the impression, hardly supported by solid evidence, that it was Crispi—his ideas and his political behavior—who inspired the Italian fascist regime.

Christopher Duggan's superb, richly documented biography, the first full-length treatment of Crispi, provides a much more objective and incisive recounting of the man's life, times, thoughts, and deeds. For this reason, it will help to assure this towering figure of nineteenth-century Italy and Europe the recognition he so obviously warrants. The book is mercifully free of the dreary reductionism that has been the fashion of historical and other scholarly writings, particularly in Europe, in the decades following World War II. Crispi's manifestly powerful impact on his country, as well as his influence on European political and diplomatic affairs, are not minimized as mere manifestations of "deeper" economic or social historical forces. Duggan brings to light a vain, complex, ambitious, often willful but also profoundly thoughtful man. He delineates how and why Crispi's ideas and energies often appeared to be at war with each other. These were almost invariably guided by what Massimo d'Azeglio famously identified as the unfinished business of the Risorgimento, namely, the making of Italians, as opposed to the legal creation of a new nation-state named Italy.

Crispi lamented that he was not markedly successful in meeting this challenge, but neither have been those, including Benito Mussolini, who followed him at Palazzo Montecitorio. Il Duce indeed was known to fall into fits of rage on those many occasions when he discovered that, politically speaking, he could not, after all, change the "Italian character." It was a series of similar experiences, as Duggan effectively shows, that led Crispi to modify several of his most deeply held ideological, political, and institutional beliefs.

Crispi was a liberal democrat whose earliest political views favored limited government, federalism, individual freedom and broadly extended political participation. He was also profoundly anticlerical. Although he was never as republican in his beliefs as were many of the Risorgimento's other leaders, he had no love of monarchical government, but he willingly used the monarchy and, indeed, understood that, without Victor Emmanuel as a symbol, unification itself would not have materialized, at least not at that time. Had circumstances been different, Crispi would readily have done without the House of Savoy.

Thus, the many shifts in Crispi's thinking and behavior were consistently directed at improving the probability that Italian unification would succeed and endure, and that a nation would then develop, capable of holding its own in a Europe dominated by Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. Far from being a person of weak principle or, even worse, of shabby political

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opportunism, Duggan makes a very strong case that Crispi was a quintessentially pragmatic leader, ready to recast his own thinking in the interest of such overarching goals. Were it not for this aspect of Crispi's character, it is unlikely that the critically important 1860 military campaigns against the Bourbons, led by Garibaldi and his "Thousand," would have taken place (pp. 170–85).

Crispi also understood—indeed, he was obsessed by the fear—that the creation of a new nation-state, recognized as such in international law and circles, would not suffice. Without emotional and moral legitimacy directed to the state, he predicted that Italian national identity would remain hollow, shallow, and rootless. The monarchy, he believed, would provide some symbolic basis for instilling the deeper sense of legitimacy he was after. And a unitary, as opposed to federal, state would take steps (for example, in public education and military training) that would lend substance to such symbols. When the chips were down, when events seemed to be leading in the opposite direction, Crispi, as prime minister, did not hesitate to prorogue parliament itself and take matters of government directly into his own hands (p. 676).

Side by side with this type of often-brutal pragmatism, Duggan shows us an equally important aspect of Crispi: that of a wise and liberal leader who knew that a material basis for a democratic state, and loyalty to it, must be established. Thus, as an equally strong-minded reformer, Crispi championed free public education (p. 345) as well as the obligation of a strong state to educate the public (p. 393). He was a strong and early advocate of universal male suffrage (pp. 415–22). It was under Crispi that Italy's first law granting municipal autonomy was enacted (pp. 548–50). He was responsible for a pioneering public health law (pp. 575–80), as well as another law that removed public welfare activities from the near-exclusive aegis of the Catholic Church (pp. 584–86). Above all, Crispi sought a radical reduction, through administrative reform, in the number and kind of abuses that citizens suffered at the hands of Italy's public servants (pp. 576–77). If, as Duggan also shows, he fostered something like a cult of personality, not just for himself but for King Victor Emmanuel as well, it was persistently in the interest of more fundamental and enduring goals.

In this same regard, Crispi was uncompromisingly hostile toward *trasformismo*, the truest bane of Italian politics and government, still very much in evidence today. This "system" for negating, through shifts in parliamentary allegiances, what the voters may have expressed at the polls evoked outspoken, strident, even despairing criticism from Crispi. From the outset, he wanted strong political parties that would be and remain distinctive from each other, thus providing voting citizens with meaningful choice (e.g. pp. 303, 358, 431). Even the most recent political and parliamentary events in Italy attest that no such configuration has materialized there.

Crispi was also the first Italian prime minister who derived from the Mezzogiorno, or the South. A native of Sicily, where separatist sentiments were always rife, he had perhaps a keener understanding than others of how important it was to instill in persons across such a diverse peninsula a strong sense of the fatherland. It was perhaps also this beginning that led him, later as prime minister, to pursue colonialist policies in Africa, and with farcically disastrous consequences, for example at Adua. Indeed, one of his most serious faults, easily recognized by Otto von Bismarck (who also admired Crispi), was the idea that Italy could become a major European power on the cheap, so to speak, without investing the material wherewithal to create a genuinely strong military. If Crispi was a precursor of fascism, it was in this sense as well.

These pages tell us much about Crispi's private life, beginning with quite complicated relationships with his parents, and extending through long-term affairs, as well as a bigamous marital relationship, with several women. One value in such revelations lies in the fact that Crispi wrote voluminously every day, not just for the press or to his friends and professional peers but also to his women. We glean from these writings some of his deeper feelings about the existential problems that he had to confront. What remains frustratingly obscure in this outstanding biography, however, is what influence, if any, these affairs of the heart may have had on Crispi's thinking and public life.

Joseph LaPalombara
Yale University

Rudolph Bell and Cristina Mazzoni. *The Voices of Gemma Galgani: The Life and Afterlife of a Modern Saint*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 320. $30.00.

Gemma Galgani (1878–1903, canonized 1940) was the first Catholic saint to live in the twentieth century, yet her short life and intense piety were marked by features familiar from the lives of medieval and early modern holy women. Although never accepted into a formal religious order, Galgani fasted, mortified her flesh, and engaged in extended prayer vigils and physical combat with the devil. She experienced Christ's wounds on her hands, feet, side, and head and talked on a daily basis with her guardian angel, Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and various saints. Galgani also produced texts, both directly and indirectly. At the request of her advisor Father Germano, a Passionist from the Rome area who took up Galgani's cause in 1900, she wrote a brief autobiography recounting her life up until the autumn of 1899. Under the advice of her regular confessor in Lucca, Monsignor Giovanni Volpi, she kept a diary during the summer of 1900. She also wrote hundreds of letters. And finally, from September 1899 until her death, the words she spoke while in ecstasy were copied down by those with whom she lived and worked.

Rudolph M. Bell and Cristina Mazzoni do an enor-

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mous service in making a significant part of these texts available in English. Included in the volume are the autobiography, the diary, and selections from the letters and recorded ecstasies. The latter focus on the summer of 1902, giving readers a glimpse into a period of intense spiritual activity as recorded by those around Galgani and by Galgani herself. Bell provides a general introduction detailing the historical setting in which Galgani lived, as well as more detailed introductions to the three groups of texts. The second part of the book includes two essays, one by Bell on the process of canonization and another by Mazzoni in which she explores the theological and feminist implications of Galgani's life and writings.

Bell and Mazzoni are clear, however, that their own historical and theoretical interventions should take second place to Galgani's words. Bell, author of an important study of medieval and early modern holy women, *Holy Anorexia* (1985), recalls that he first encountered Galgani in the course of researching that book. Unable then to resolve the issue of how to bridge the gap between the "living saints" of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and Galgani, he left her out. Most troubling for Bell were the enormous differences between Galgani's life and those of other modern women saints. Bell and Mazzoni go on to argue that "fifteen years ago Bell had not seen how to place Gemma Galgani within a study of her pious kin from the late Middle Ages primarily because he failed to appreciate adequately the timelessness of her spiritual journey. The setting matters, for the modern context in which Gemma lived inevitably shaped the meaning of her individual religiosity, for herself as for others; but the limits of historical analysis also deserve candid acknowledgement. The *trans*cendency of Gemma's life calls for a *trans*disciplinary strategy" (p. xv).

This transdisciplinary strategy involves, first and foremost, an emphasis on Galgani's texts and recorded utterances. Working on the presumption that "no one knew more about Gemma than Gemma" (p. 22), Bell and Mazzoni eschew both the hagiographical approach of her religious followers and what they imply are reductionist modes of secular scholarship. Although I wholeheartedly endorse Bell and Mazzoni's focus on primary texts, two problems arise in part as a result of their methodological assumptions. First, Bell and Mazzoni never provide an overview of Galgani's life, rendering it difficult to follow the texts themselves and to understand the relationship between these texts and Galgani's later canonization. We are told little or nothing, for example, about the last year of Galgani's life. At the risk of moving beyond the evidence of Galgani's own writings to that provided by her followers, advisors, friends, and other witnesses, a timeline or general biographical sketch would have been extremely useful for the reader not already familiar with Galgani's story (precisely the readership Bell and Mazzoni want to reach).

More importantly, Bell and Mazzoni work on the assumption that the commonalities between Galgani and late medieval and early modern holy women like Columba of Rieti, Catherine of Genoa, Catherine of Racconigi, and Maria Maddalena de'Pazzi provide evidence for a *trans*historical piety. They take Galgani's differences from her contemporaries in other parts of Europe as further evidence for this claim. And yet, is it not also possible that Galgani, together with her friends, confessors, and advisors, rather than unreflectively and unconsciously living out and describing a timeless piety actively looked back to medieval models of sanctity? Much of the evidence provided by Bell and Mazzoni suggests this is the case. The crucial question then becomes why Galgani and those around her chose this particular mode of spirituality at this particular moment in the history of Italy, of Europe, and of the Catholic Church.

AMY HOLLYWOOD
University of Chicago

MARIA SOPHIA QUINE. *Italy's Social Revolution: Charity and Welfare from Liberalism to Fascism*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xv, 429. $78.00.

This well-researched and informative book covers a great deal of territory in considerable detail examining the evolution of charity and welfare attitudes and provisions in Italy from the period of national unification to fascism. A host of charitable institutions under ecclesiastical control ministered to the poor in Old Regime Italy, from hospitals of the incurably sick to homes for foundlings and parturient women. Instead of replacing them with the secularized system of public assistance, which had been the dream of enlightened reformers, in 1862 the new state limited itself to asserting its role as supervisor (mostly on financial matters) while letting most Roman Catholic institutions run their affairs as they did in the period before unification. According to Maria Sophia Quine, even the centralizing Francesco Crispi reform of 1890 did not change things dramatically. Far from being interventionist in social matters, Italian liberals preferred a hands-off approach, only slowly and reluctantly introducing "protective" factory legislation (limiting the working hours of children and women), accident and unemployment insurance, and old age pensions (limited mainly, until World War I, to state employees). Not even under the "new" liberalism of Giovanni Giolitti did the "insurer state" stretch its provisions much. In the area of assistance to abandoned children, liberal reform was also limited, and in some cases it was accompanied by rather negative results: the closure of the old rotating boxes in some northern provinces contributed to bringing about an increase in rates of neonatal mortality and stillbirth, at least in the first decade after the closing. Conditions in foundling homes and orphanages also remained appalling.

Fascism, too, for all its talk about the "ethical" corporative state, was quite stingy with workers, obliging them to contribute to all sorts of insurance schemes but at the same time giving back substantially

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less than they paid—and using some of that money to finance public works and invest in private industry. However, fascist concerns for the health of the Italian "race" and a new, pronatalist ideology translated into policies that attempted to deal more aggressively with the problem of assisting motherhood and illegitimate children. Through a new, semipublic agency called the National Organization for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy (ONMI), unmarried mothers and their children received more help and in fact a statutory entitlement to it. In this respect, according to Quine, fascism came close to implementing a "social revolution" in Italy in the sense of changing focal values and establishing institutions that would bring some "real benefits" to the people entitled), but the dictatorship's policies were marred by class and gender biases and financial problems and eventually did not deliver the promised goods even to its favorite welfare targets (i.e. mothers and children).

In her comprehensive account, Quine effectively shows continuities and changes between the "old charitable order" and the system of public beneficence in the liberal state as well as the specificity of the fascist "style" of welfare. She is sensitive to the many facets of welfare legislation, especially to its class and gender dimensions. She very usefully details and accounts for the shifts in the treatment of child abandonment and unwed mothers, even though her account would have benefited from an engagement with recent work on the subject by David Kertzer that shows how, in the Papal States, poor unwed mothers were at times forces to wetnurse their babies in the foundling home.

Quine seems less intent on writing a history of the origins and characteristics of the welfare state in Italy than on assessing the performance of the Italian state and its ruling elites vis-à-vis a variety of "people in need." In her analysis, the main focus is on the extent and impact of assistance policies on those who were supposed to benefit from them, and thus the issue of the actual implementation of welfare legislation occupies a great deal of her account at the expense of problematizing the effects of these various types of intervention in terms of the construction of subjects. Because of her emphasis, what Quine ends up discovering is not especially new: it is the familiar story of the Italian state's delays and failures to modernize fully of which there are so many examples. This does not mean that Quine is wrong in pointing out the Italian state's shortcomings, yet the story plot is a bit too confining even for her evidence. One wonders, for example, why the pro-worker reforms introduced by the liberal government right after World War I get to be mentioned only in a chapter devoted to fascism (is that because they do not fit with the author's insistence on the "failure of liberalism"?). One also wonders what a comparison of Italy with other southern European countries, instead of the usual comparison with the more developed northern Europe, here again elevated into the "norm," would yield.

In any effort to organize a vast amount of material, some simplifications are inevitable, but one should avoid introducing misleading ones, such as the idea of the "social mission" of nineteenth-century liberalism. Quine makes a lot of the writings of the young Camillo Cavour to claim that he had a keen sense of the problem of poverty and of the need for social reform accompanying political reform. Yet, as she herself recognizes, his recipes were very moderate, and he was not at all inclined to see the state actively intervene on behalf of the poor. If so, then liberal policies after unification were not so much a "betrayal" but followed from the premises.

SILVANA PATRIARCA
Fordham University

JANE C. SCHNEIDER and PETER T. SCHNEIDER. *Reversible Destiny: Mafia, Antimafia, and the Struggle for Palermo*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 339. $24.95.

Most analyses of politics in Palermo, Sicily, published in the early 1980s concluded on a note of despair about the enduring strength of machine politics, boss rule, and violence. They had hardly reached the cold finality of print when unprecedented initiatives reversed this state of affairs. Magistrates and police in Palermo began a vigorous anti-mafia campaign. The very seat of the Palermo commune was transformed into an institutional force for checking machine politics and boss rule—and under a Christian Democratic (DC) mayor! Leoluca Orlando eventually left the DC to form his own party, but he continued to head the administration that governed Palermo between 1985 and 1990 and between 1993 and 2000. The assassination of some magistrates in the early 1990s stiffened rather than weakened the resolve of judiciary, police, and elected officials. True, these initiatives did not completely eradicate machine politics, boss rule, and violence, but they did marginalize them to the point that, when Hilary Clinton visited the city in 1999, Palermo resembled more the New York of Rudi Giuliani than the Chicago of Al Capone.

Anthropologists Jane C. Schneider and Peter T. Schneider have dedicated many years to studying these transformations, and this book is the welcome outcome. The title is puzzling. The authors speak of the destiny of (all?) Sicilian citizens without specifying what it is; they refer to the destiny of the mafia in equally ambiguous terms. When they are clear enough—the mafia is Sicily's destiny (p. 3)—what they say is untenable, to say the least.

The authors give more weight to economic factors and social class than to political institutions as determinants of human behavior. Curiously, they do not bring together the variables they privilege to give theoretical focus and direction to the inquiry. A disregard for the properties of the regionalist state in Sicily leads them to repeat tired journalistic clichés about Sicilian public life. They ignore—at considerable cost to their research—almost all the theoretical and sub-

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stantive advances about the study of organized crime, illegal and criminogenic markets, the mechanisms that make these markets work, and the legal remedies against them that can be found in the criminology literature. When they cite Diego Gambetta's study of the Sicilian mafia they misrepresent it, unwisely lumping it together with Robert D. Putnam's analysis, which attacks different problems. The authors do not even confront the question that magistrate Giovanni Falcone raised before he was killed: "Why is it that men, some even endowed with real intellectual abilities, are compelled to devise for themselves a criminal career in order to survive with dignity?" This is anthropology without history, political science, or the economics of crime and punishment.

The narrative divides into two parts. The first part, chapters two to five (pp. 22–126), is devoted to the mafia. Since the book is on Palermo, I expected that the chapters would trace and assess the rise and fall of different Palermo mafia groups since World War II. Instead, the authors offer an unnecessarily detailed overview of the phenomenon throughout the island, all the more difficult to follow as it relies on works of dubious quality and does little to advance the substantive aim of the study.

The Schneiders do not seem to have had the intellectual patience to unravel the intricate structure of criminal opportunities available to offenders in different criminal enterprises and markets that have existed in Palermo over time. Their work has none of the illuminating comparisons between the business of protection and ordinary industries like insurance that has made Gambetta's work stand out. Equally troubling, the authors assume criminal and corruption opportunities to be a plentiful constant in Palermo (and the rest of western Sicily) over time and across settings. As a result, they cannot detect and measure variations in illicit enterprises and markets and the availability of corruptible officials. In Palermo such opportunities have shrunk considerably since the late 1980s.

To support the argument about the indestructibility of the mafia in Sicily, the authors fuse times and places. This raises more questions. They ignore facts that do not fit their presumptive knowledge. The mafia has ceased to exist, for more than thirty years, in once notorious mafia towns like Villalba. The Schneiders cite evidence from the 1960s about Sambuca di Sicilia—the town they call "Villamaura"—but omit some important facts. Postwar Sambuca was known as "the Moscow of Sicily." We are left to wonder what kind of mafia system was there and for how long. Were Sambuca mafiosi in competion or collusion with the communists, in providing protection? What struggle, if any, took place there between the mafia and the anti-mafia?

The second part, chapters six to eleven (pp. 127–289), is devoted to the anti-mafia struggle in Palermo between the 1980s and 2000. The fight against organized crime came from three distinct but interrelated groups: the judiciary and the police; the Orlando administration; and nongovernment groups consisting of Left intellectuals and Catholic grass-roots activists. The book is unsympathetic to the institutional challenges that law enforcement officials faced, misrepresenting the competition between Giovanni Falcone and Antonino Meli for the post of investigating magistrate. The discussion of alternative projects for the restoration of the historic center under the reformist Orlando administration is interesting and well written. This strength does not compensate for the tendency to minimize the success achieved by the Orlando administration in motivating local bureaucrats to make government services work well: making the city cleaner and safer, modernizing the bus services, eliminating double shifts in schools, and circumventing as much as possible corrupt practices and criminal infiltrations. These are no mean feats. The Orlando administration demonstrated that George Washington Plunkitt's characterization of reformers as "mornin' glories" does not always apply.

The Schneiders excel in sympathetically describing a declining, but politically visible, intelligentsia in Palermo—what they sometimes call "the antimafia professionals." The particular "antimafia values" this group promote draw on radical feminism, Christian love (but also contempt for the teachings and traditions of the Catholic Church), the free market and international trade as the prisons of the rich (a synonym for the United States), New Age environmentalism, and solidarity with the oppressed, especially the Palestinians. Orlando was hardly a middle-of-the-road reformer, but he had the good sense to realize that the struggle for Palermo based on such values would be as self-defeating as the people who espouse them. Eliminating their subject matter does not seem to be a high priority either for some anthropologists or for some anti-mafia professionals.

Smaller inaccuracies can also be detected, and they include the persistent misspelling of Villa Igiea; the misidentification of Genco Russo's town, which is not at all near Palermo (p. 49); the rehashing of accusations against Judge Corrado Carnevale about being soft on mafioso defendants (pp. 148, 309–310), which were conclusively proven wrong by the Supreme Court of Cassation; and the mischaracterization of Giulio Andreotti as a "former head of state" (p. 292).

FILIPPO SABETTI
McGill University

JOLANTA T. PEKACZ. *Music in the Culture of Polish Galicia, 1772–1914.* (Rochester Studies in Central Europe.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2002. Pp. x, 252. $85.00.

In Roman Polanski's recent film, *The Pianist* (2002), the protagonist, Polish Jewish pianist Władysław Szpilman, survives the war and concludes the film with a performance of Frederic Chopin's *Andante Spianato* and *Grande Polonaise*, played as a sort of spiritual anthem of both national and personal survival. In 1860

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in Cracow, the *Andante Spianato* was performed with a quite different sense of occasion as a transitional entertainment between the acts of a comic operetta, and a reviewer remarked that "the selection of pieces was more for connoisseurs than for a broader public" (p. 138). This rather limited appreciation of Chopin by Polish audiences in the nineteenth century emerges as one of the surprising historical circumstances in Jolanta T. Pekacz's remarkable study of music in Galicia, that is, Habsburg Poland. Although Chopin was not only Polish but notably identified with the Polish national cause, national considerations, Pekacz suggests, were far less potent than might have been supposed in shaping public taste in music. She suggests that this followed in part from the very nature of Galicia, where cultural and political affiliations with the Polish nation were mediated, moderated, and metamorphosed by the conditions of Austrian rule.

What emerged was a musical life dominated by operetta, with an emphasis on imports from Vienna and Paris, dance music, whether the supposedly Polish forms of the polonaise and mazurka or the distinctly Viennese waltz, and the open-air performances of the Austrian military bands stationed in towns all over Galicia. A Polish journal of 1901 noted the absence of musical life in the small town of Gorlice: "It was necessary to wait for the Galician maneuvers [in 1900] to have the military band play in the Gorlice market place something from *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser*" (p. 142). In fact, even in the larger town of Rzeszów, it was an Austrian regimental band that introduced Richard Wagner's music in 1888, but the ensemble also performed Chopin for the Polish public—arranged for military band.

Pekacz argues that musical culture was not polarized between elite and popular domains, although urbane reviewers throughout the nineteenth century were busy deploring the trashy taste of the public; rather, according to Pekacz, popular music was hegemonic but flourished according to strategies of complex appropriation from the elite sphere—like the military band arrangements of Chopin—and circulated through every level of Galician society. Noble patronage did not preside over any ennobling of Polish public taste, argues Pekacz, but nobles were rather "oriented downwards"; the Potocki family music library at Łańcut was filled with dance music for piano and scantily stocked with the nineteenth-century classics, including Chopin (p. 177). Pekacz describes in detail the production and commercial distribution of sheet music, as well as the domestic purchase of pianos as status symbols. She attempts to document the relative weakness of an orchestral symphonic tradition. She also notes considerable musical convergence between the two major urban centers of Cracow (Kraków, Krakau) and L'viv (Lwów, Lemberg). Musical matters concerning Jews and Ruthenians/Ukrainians in Galicia are mentioned, but the principal focus, as stated in the book's title, is on music in Polish Galician culture.

Dating back to the creation of Galicia and the introduction of public elementary education by Empress Maria Theresa in the 1770s, there prevailed, according to Pekacz, a pedagogical concern with music as the bearer of ideological messages, often sacrificing the quality of purely musical education for the sake of instructive purpose. The messages might include loyalty to the Habsburgs or remembrance of the Polish national tradition, but, in a fascinating survey of nineteenth-century school songbooks, Pekacz also demonstrates the importance of singing for affirming class values. In the songbook of Wojciech Wojnarski, published in 1862, singing lessons for children were urged for this reason: "The more people cling to their fundamental simplicity, the less they come under the influence of a dirty, corrupted world, and the bigger impression a song can make upon them, the deeper it can sink into their hearts" (p. 70). The songs themselves, from such songbooks, celebrated peasant pride and the pleasures of village life, as well as gratitude to God and contentment with daily work. In the pedagogical vision of the songbooks, Galicia, one of the poorest regions in Europe, emerged as an idyllic Arcadian refuge from the corrupted world.

The messages of music could be far more grandiose, as in the musical works that directly celebrated Austrian rule in Galicia, like the cantata celebrating Emperor Francis I in 1817, sandwiched between acts of Wojciech Bogusławski and Jan Stefani's Polish national opera, *Krakowiacy i Górale*. In a perfect cultural maneuver of political mediation, the Polish patriotic drama framed the Austrian loyalist cantata. After 1867, when Galicia achieved political autonomy and Polish cultural concerns could be more freely expressed, musical compositions frequently accompanied the historical anniversaries that were celebrated as Polish national occasions. There was, for instance, a cantata for the Polish Romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz on his centennial in 1898. Yet, more ambivalent Galician political undercurrents were evident at such a moment as the bicentennial in 1883 of Jan Sobieski's saving Vienna from the Ottoman Turks; this could be commemorated as a historical occasion both of Polish glory and of Habsburg salvation, inseparably linked, and appropriately marked with a cantata by the composer Władysław Żeleński (father of the writer Tadeusz "Boy" Żeleński who would later be famous for his cabaret songs in Cracow). Pekacz has done remarkable scholarly work in capturing the complexity of cultural circumstances in Galicia. She includes some beautiful reproductions of the ornamental title pages of sheet music. It would be marvelously interesting to see some of the scores of actual music created and performed in Galicia—and more marvelous still to hear it!

LARRY WOLFF
Boston College

IMMANUEL ETKES. *The Gaon of Vilna: The Man and His Image*. Translated by JEFFREY M. GREEN. Berkeley and

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Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 299. $45.00.

The rabbinical sage, Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon of Vilna (1729–1797), commonly known in Jewish culture as the *Vilna Gaon* (genius of Vilna), is widely considered to have been the greatest Talmudic authority in Eastern European Jewish history. Although he never held any official rabbinical position and spent most of his years in an intensely isolated pursuit of Talmudic studies, by virtue of his astonishing intellect and unparalleled rabbinic erudition, the *Gaon* left a remarkable legacy that has shaped traditional Judaism in the modern period. Most significantly, he typified an intense devotion to Talmudic studies that, largely as the result of his towering personal influence, became the hallmark of Jewish piety and the model for Orthodox rabbinical seminaries, or yeshivas, to this day.

The *Gaon*'s life coincided precisely with the advent and rise of Hasidism across Eastern Europe. Hasidism's emphasis on popular mystical piety as opposed to ecclesiastical scholarship and its rapid spread to the Jewish masses of Poland, Ukraine, and Russia were perceived as serious challenges to the established Judaism of the day that threatened the authority of the rabbis charged with its propagation. Due to his unparalleled scholarly stature, it was the *Gaon* of Vilna who became the standard bearer and titular founder of the Jewish religious movement that rose against Hasidism in order to protect traditional rabbinic Judaism and whose followers became known as the *Mitnagdim* (Hebrew for "opponents").

Immanel Etkes has written extensively about both the Hasidim and the Mitnagdim, including, most recently, a definitive Hebrew biography of the founder of Hasidism, R. Israel Baal Shem Tov. Etkes's many important articles about the *Gaon* of Vilna and his Mitnagdic followers have appeared in Israel's leading scholarly journals over the past three decades and have largely shaped contemporary understanding of the intellectual history of the traditional sector of Eastern European Jewry in the early modern period. In 1997, as part of the worldwide commemorations of the bicentennial of the Gaon's death (*"yortsayt"* in Yiddish), Etkes was commissioned by Merkaz Shazar, a leading Israeli academic publisher, to produce a volume about the man and his legacy. That volume, consisting mostly of previously published Hebrew essays, has now appeared in English. Its somewhat misleading title notwithstanding, the book is not a biography; in fact there is precious little strictly biographical content in any of Etkes's writings on the *Gaon*. This is fortuitous, since it would be nearly impossible to produce a readable biography about this profoundly private man who spent almost all his days in scholarly isolation, never held a job, maintained minimal contact with his own wife and children, published nothing during his lifetime, and had no real students. Etkes wisely focuses instead on the posthumous legends regarding the *Gaon* and the influence of his largely hagiographic image on Jewish intellectual history. Most of the chapters in this book therefore deal with the variety of ways in which the *Gaon* was perceived and represented by subsequent generations of Eastern European Jews.

The book begins with a finely nuanced study of the posthumous legends concerning the *Gaon*'s scholarship and personal piety, published mostly by his descendants and disciples. While earlier Jewish historians have tended cynically to dismiss such worshipful accounts out of hand, Etkes carefully mines them for historical data, skillfully separating the wheat from the considerable chaff. Etkes then goes on to elucidate the leading role the *Gaon* played in the Mitnagdim's battle against Hasidism, challenging the generally accepted notion that he was naïvely manipulated and misled by the established Jewish communal leaders who feared Hasidism for largely political reasons. The Mitnagdim, led by the *Gaon*, not only polemicized against Hasidic doctrine; they waged an uncompromising war against its practitioners, placing them under the rabbinical ban of excommunication and, when possible, denouncing their religious leaders (*Zaddikim* in Hebrew) as subversives to the Tsarist authorities.

Among the most prominent Hasidic leaders active during the *Gaon*'s lifetime was Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Lyadi (1745–1813), the founder of the Habad school (today known as the Lubavitcher sect), who was jailed several times in St. Petersburg as a consequence of the Mitnagdim's denunciations. In the most original chapter of this book, Etkes probes the complex attitudes of his Hasidic antagonists toward the *Gaon*, which combined political resentments with pious admiration. Given the immense stature of the *Gaon* as a rabbinical authority, Etkes shows that it was in Rabbi Shneur Zalman's best apologetic interests to insist that his opponent was duped into opposing Hasidism.

Beyond his obvious role, for Orthodox Jews, as a model of personal piety and devotion to traditional scholarship, the *Gaon* also served posthumously as a convenient authority for the radical changes to Jewish learning and culture advocated by the pioneers of the late nineteenth-century Eastern European Jewish enlightenment. In need of rabbinical authorization for their program of religious change, these enlightened rabbis and Jewish scholars recreated the *Gaon* as a harbinger of intellectual openness to secular studies and non-Jewish culture. But, as Etkes ably demonstrates, it was only the *Gaon*'s determination to master the entire rabbinic literature that led him to delve into unconventional (for a rabbi of that time) disciplines such as geometry and astronomy; his unusual "secular" interests were purely utilitarian in nature. For the *Gaon*, all non-Judaic studies were never more than handmaidens to the Talmud.

Etkes is a gifted intellectual historian with the rare ability to cull from a vast range of intricate, obscure, and difficult rabbinical texts in presenting a vivid tapestry of the major trends of traditional Jewish thought in the nineteenth century. This book, like his

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earlier studies, is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of Judaism in the early modern period.

ALLAN NADLER
Drew University

VJEKOSLAV PERICA. *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav State*. (Religion and Global Politics.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xxvii, 332. $35.00.

A brutal indictment of the three established religions of the former Yugoslavia, Vjekoslav Perica's monograph holds the activist clergy of the Orthodox, Catholic, and Islamic faiths responsible for both inspiring and legitimating much of the nationalist violence that devastated the Balkan peninsula at the end of the twentieth century. While admitting to the beneficial activities of these churches in trying to create interfaith dialogue and provide humanitarian aid, Perica argues that the results of those efforts were often dubious and cannot compensate for the damage caused by the three religious hierarchies in establishing themselves as "hallmarks of nationhood" (p. 165). As examples of ethnoclericalism, Perica claims, the Serbian Orthodox, Croatian Catholic, and Islamic religious organizations within the territory of the former Yugoslavia are not so much religions as "ideologies or nationalistic (i.e. political) organizations" (p. 242) that compete for influence and resources. Hence, the Balkan wars of the 1990s were not about religious faith per se but were nationalist conflicts in which the three traditional religions of the region participated, seeking to reestablish their privileged positions following the collapse of communism.

Perica provides a vast array of evidence concerning the activities of the three religions in mobilizing nationalist sentiments during the 1980s. He describes how Catholic and Orthodox clergy in particular used religious symbols, ceremonies, holy sites, and commemorations to connect the fate of their church to that of the nation and to create a sense of national and religious exclusivity. For example, he delineates the steps taken to reestablish the Serbian Orthodox Church as the key feature of Serbian nationalism, including the construction of the Church of St. Sava, the national tour of the holy relics of Prince Lazar, and the innumerable pilgrimages, jubilees, and festivals organized for the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. Similarly, in dealing with the Croatian Catholic Church, he provides a fascinating description of the political and national significance of the Marian apparitions of Medjugorje and of the Catholic Church's decision to beatify the controversial Archbishop Alojziji Stepinac. Finally, Perica explains the link between the Islamic faith and national identity of Bosnian Muslims, clarifying distinctions between the pro-Yugoslav Islamic community and radical anticommunist fundamentalists.

Perica's material on the role of the three religions at the outbreak and during the wars of the 1990s is less complete but does offer several intriguing theses, including the Serbian Orthodox Church's designation of the World War II Ustasha concentration camp at Jasenovac as a Serbian holy site and the role of the Catholic Church in securing the victory of the right-wing Croatian Democratic Community in the 1990 and 1997 elections. Finally, Perica comments on the three established religions since the wars' end, anticipating that, in their ongoing attempt to increase political and social influence, each will continue to promote nationalist exclusivity and will oppose the reform efforts of liberal and secular regimes.

Perica accessed an impressive array of sources, including Communist Party archives on the Commission for Religious Affairs, interviews, newspapers and periodicals, and secondary works. Perica is strongest in his work on Croatia and then Serbia, while his sections on Islam and Bosnia are less detailed. Nonetheless, Perica is to be commended for his balanced portrayal of the respective roles of the three religions. While the Islamic faith was initially less inclined toward nationalist exclusivity, none of the three emerges unscathed.

Indeed, the strength of the book is its overwhelming evidence that Serbian Orthodox, Croatian Catholic, and to a lesser degree, Bosnian Muslim clerics consciously contributed to the processes of nationalist mobilization. In so doing, they facilitated and legitimized expressions of hatred and demands for revenge and must bear some responsibility for the resulting violence. Regrettably, Perica may have weakened his position by his own overtly leftist and pro-Yugoslav attitudes. The chapter on the Titoist "civil religion of brotherhood and unity" (p. 89) not only detracts from Perica's primary focus but seems intended only to show that Yugoslav communist society, however flawed, was better than anything that either preceded or followed it. Perica may well be correct here, but the point is out of place and may damage his credibility among certain readers.

That credibility may also be damaged by his bias against established religion. Perica argues that the apparent religious revival after the fall of communism in Yugoslavia did not represent real spirituality and that "the only genuine revival in Yugoslavia would have been a rise of the influence of minority faiths" (p. 221). Perica seems to be suggesting that membership in an established religion is inconsistent with true spirituality, a position that I suspect many would challenge. Moreover, Perica's position raises an important question about his argument. For if there was no real religious revival in the former Yugoslavia, how can one explain the extraordinary successes of the three established religions in using their symbols, celebrations, and rites to support nationalist mobilization? This is the same question that has confounded many who attribute the rise in nationalism solely to the manipulative policies of corrupt politicians. Why did it work? Here again, while Perica has convincingly shown that the activist clergy carefully promoted the identity

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of religion and nation to support their institutional power, the question remains.

CAROL S. LILLY
University of Nebraska, Kearney

SERHII PLOKHY. *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 401. $74.00.

Serhii Plokhy reconstructs the influence of religion on the political and social behavior of Ukrainian Cossacks from the early 1590s through the tumultuous events of the Khmelnytsky Uprising (1648), culminating in the Cossacks' alliance with Orthodox Muscovy in the mid-1650s. Drawing primarily on official documents of Cossack governing bodies, letters and proclamations by Cossack leaders, polemical writings of Ukrainian churchmen, and diplomatic exchanges with Muscovite and Polish authorities, Plokhy seeks a new perspective on the "general outlook of the Ukrainian Cossacks" (p. 4), thus purporting to go beyond previous historians' study of religious slogans. Plokhy argues, in particular, that Orthodox religion gave the Cossacks a new sense of identity and thus transformed sporadic revolts, which were inspired by social and territorial grievances, into a general religious war commonly known as the Khmelnytsky Uprising. This transmutation of "Orthodoxy into a rebel faith" (p. 344) among Ukrainian Cossacks is the central focus of Plokhy's book.

The first two chapters provide the necessary background information for understanding the Cossacks' embrace of Orthodoxy. Plokhy traces the Cossacks' evolution from a group of freebooters into a corporate estate. This introduced the idea of sovereignty and led to the quest for an independent Cossack state. Plokhy then discusses the complicated religious developments in Ukraine before and after the Union of Brest (1596), highlighting the division between Orthodox and Uniate churches. The renewal of the Orthodox hierarchy by the Greek Patriarch Theophanes in 1620 and the reluctant recognition of this hierarchy by the Polish crown in 1632 are identified as the pivotal events that set the beleaguered Orthodox Church on a course of reform (or as Plokhy puts it, "on the path of confessionalization" [p. 97]).

The next two chapters introduce the Cossacks as "warriors for the faith" (p. 100) who protected the Orthodox bishops consecrated by Theophanes and resisted the Polish-Lithuanian state as well as the favored Uniate Church in the name of Orthodoxy. The Cossacks thus replaced the old aristocracy (which had converted to Catholicism and become Polonized) in "representing the interests of the Ruthenian Church and nation" (p. 163). Plokhy takes issue here with eminent scholars such as Panteleimon Kulish and Kazimierz Chodynicki who argued that the Cossacks were primarily guided by secular aspirations and were not much interested in religious affairs. However, a careful reader might wonder if this previous scholarship is not discarded too quickly, because Plokhy draws largely from literary sources composed by Ruthenian churchmen and intellectuals, while downplaying Cossack petitions that do, in fact, demonstrate a considerable lack of interest in religion. Plokhy's sources, which include the Metropolitan Iov Boretsky's protestation and Kassiian Sakovych's verses on Hetman Petro Sahaidachny, idealized Cossack leaders as well as the rank-and-file as religious fighters and bearers of Kievan Rus' traditions. Given the nature of Plokhy's evidence, this reviewer questions if there really was a "general consensus among the Cossacks on their intervention in religious strife in defense of the 'Greek faith'" (p. 116).

Plokhy devotes the remaining four chapters to the Khmelnytsky Uprising and its aftermath, arguing that allegiance to Orthodoxy was the uprising's dominant feature. He maintains that the Cossacks led Ukrainian peasant masses in "a war of religion" (p. 176) against the Catholic Church and "a 'holy war' against the Jews" (p. 339). Both Cossacks and other Ruthenians were guided by the idea of restoring the legacy of Kyiv, "the historical center of Ruthenian Christianity" (p. 263). Plokhy further contends that the Cossack leader, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, was "a hetman sent by God" (p. 207) who "showed unquestionable loyalty to Orthodoxy" (p. 248). Plokhy concludes that foreign policy under Cossack leadership was inspired by the idea of pan-Orthodox solidarity and the "search for an Orthodox monarch" (p. 274), by which the Cossacks meant Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich of Muscovy (1645–1676).

Plokhy again supports his interpretation with the religious rhetoric of the educated elite (e.g. Greek Patriarch Paisios's sacralization of Khmelnytsky as the new Emperor Constantine). However, less learned sources (e.g. Cossack administrative records and Khmelnytsky's letters) present contradictory evidence that includes the surprising fact of Cossack attacks on Orthodox clergy and institutions; Khmelnytsky's use of entirely secular arguments to support the Cossacks' right of self-defense against the Polish crown; Cossacks' preference for the provincial town of Chyhyryn as their capitol instead of Kyiv, the legendary religious capitol of Rus'; and, finally, Cossacks' close diplomatic relations with non-Orthodox states such as Islamic Crimea and Protestant Transylvania.

This book presents a new, primarily religious interpretation of the Ukrainian Cossacks' revolts of the seventeenth century. In the opinion of this reviewer, Plokhy overemphasizes the importance of the religious dimension at the expense of social and political factors.

GEORG B. MICHELS
University of California, Riverside

CHRISTOPHER ELY. *This Meager Nature: Landscape and National Identity in Imperial Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 278. $42.00.

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Christopher Ely's fine book is further proof that in terms of both subject and approach, historians of Russia are catching up with colleagues in more thoroughly cultivated fields. The title is a quotation from the poet Fedor I. Tiutchev (1803–1873): "This meager nature/Long-suffering land/Land of the Russian people!" It is meant to capture in words the Russian landscape of "overgrown corners and boundless space" that, Ely argues, "embedded itself in the national consciousness over the course of the nineteenth century as the special characteristic portrait of the native land" (p. 228). "Landscape" is understood, following standard authorities, as both a picture of natural scenery and an actual terrain that can be so viewed—and as a visual art, and term, that emerged in sixteenth-century Holland (the Italian Renaissance origins of the landscape are not mentioned). One point of departure is the author's own, initially puzzled reaction to nineteenth-century Russian landscape painting as "consciously unbeautiful" (p. ix); another is an 1802 essay by one of the "fathers of Russian nationalism" (Nicholas Karamzin, the distinguished writer and historian), which asserted rather defensively that " 'the beauty of its landscapes' " was " '*not* the main foundation' " of one's love for one's country (p. 3, italics added). The book's conclusion is marked by a quotation from the composer Piotr Tchaikovsky (died 1894), in whom " 'the miserable Russian landscape' " induced " 'inexpressibly sweet and intoxicating sensations' " (p. 223). The task is to explain how Karamzin yielded in this respect to Tiutchev and Tchaikovsky.

In six well-balanced chapters, Ely first investigates the origins of the landscape in eighteenth-century Russia and then documents a process whereby rural Russia was variously aestheticized by writers and visual artists until it achieved, around 1880, a standard or typical representative form and a special emotional charge (at least for literate Russian consumers of high art who recorded their feelings in this regard). His sources include Russian fiction, poetry, and criticism of the relevant periods, travel books both Russian and foreign, Russian art journals and postcards, some folklore, and the memoirs and correspondence of some of the artists and writers involved as well as a large selection of the relevant scholarship, in addition to a selection of the classic Russian landscape paintings themselves, more than a dozen of which are reproduced in fairly passable half-tones and subjected to some remarkably incisive commentary. The distinctive contribution of photography to the development of a unique national landscape imagery in Russia, however, minor though it perhaps was, is largely ignored.

Ely's book is more than an account of the rise of the Russian landscape. The evolution and problematics of the Russian national idea are equally at issue. Ely agrees that "the creation of a special mystique of Russian rural space" was, and remains, "one of the foundations of Russia's national identity" (p. 20). But this large claim is never pushed too far, lest it overburden the sources adduced or confound the issue itself. Indeed, the complexities of the posited relationship between landscape and nationality in a vast, geographically homogeneous but ethnically diverse empire are nicely presented. Students of modern history are thus offered an engagingly written, thoughtfully argued case study of the vital role of the visual, and specifically of the landscape, in the construction of nationality, a study that makes no pretense at definitiveness even as it alternately provokes and persuades. For Russianists of any stripe, and for lovers of those great Russian novels and splendidly "miserable" landscapes, actual or painted, the book is a must.

James Cracraft
University of Illinois, Chicago

Austin Jersild. *Orientalism and Empire; North Caucasus Mountain Peoples and the Georgian Frontier, 1845–1917.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 253. $75.00.

Austin Jersild's work on the Russian Empire's relationship to the peoples of the North Caucasus fits into three bodies of literature that have developed or matured over the last ten to twenty years. First, this monograph addresses most directly the Russian Empire with respect to its categorization of native peoples and the process of imagining and constructing an empire. Second, the work provides a wealth of information (drawn from Russian and Georgian-language materials) on the Caucasus and the indigenous peoples there, establishing an important context for subsequent history and for understanding the clashes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Third, as indicated in the book's title, Jersild's work is informed by the rich body of material on Orientalism. With this book, he contributes a thoughtful case study to the literature in that field. For all scholars interested in these issues, this book will be valuable reading.

Jersild tells us succinctly at the outset that his book is about "the transformation of the conquest of the North Caucasus into a story" (p. 4). Indeed, he illustrates how the conquest and policies that followed were fitted into the imperial narrative as it was constructed by administrators, colonial officials, travelers, publicists, and others in the nineteenth century. The transformation of this brutal conquest into "a story" for the Russian public and empire builders entailed valuable scholarly work including the recording of native languages and folklore, the study of local customs, and mapping the terrain. Russians and non-Russians in imperial service strove to implant Christianity while making use of native languages. (Jersild draws appropriate parallels with the work of N. I. Il'minskii, missionary and scholar of the Volga and steppe regions.) Eventually the scholars, writers, and missionaries imputed to the inhabitants of the Caucasus an ancient culture, replete with a lost adherence to

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Christianity, regarded by the Russians as more worthy of salvation than their current way of life.

Jersild makes use of the writings of both Russians and Georgians, and it is the latter element that makes this book distinctive. Jersild describes the role of the Christian Georgians as partners on the Caucasus frontier, a role emerging from "a world of discussion and debate" (p. 7) of educated Georgians that was parallel to the Russians' own. Both defined the mountaineers as the "savage other." Jersild argues not only that the Georgians saw Russia as their bridge to Europe and themselves as the representative of the West on this eastern frontier, but also that the Georgian contribution was "crucial to the viability of a discourse that made colonial expansion and control possible" (p. 8). He extends his discussion of this question in a section on the cooptation of Georgian elites into Russian state service in chapter two. Other themes loom larger in the book as a whole. The most persistent and fruitful theme is the Russian (and Georgian) view of Islam as an enemy and the various ways in which successive regimes strove to combat its influence. In this regard, Jersild's chapter on Sheikh Shamil, a key leader of anti-Russian warfare from the 1830s to the late 1850s, is one of the best. He shows how Shamil was fought, captured, and finally imagined as a benign figure. Yet he and his family stubbornly refused to cut their ties to the Muslim world.

Jersild's treatment of Russification is appropriately nuanced. He notes at one point that the drive for bureaucratic uniformity should not be confused with blatant Russification, for it was really an attempt to "extend the imperial legal norms of the European-educated bureaucracy to everyone" (p. 107). Elsewhere he points out that Russification was "not so much a particular policy" as a series of trends (p. 126) that he relates to the other processes of imagining empire, such as intellectual history and memoir writing. One may criticize this interpretation as failing to appreciate the prejudice and brutality involved in restricting and suppressing non-Russians, but it is a useful contribution to any reassessment of both Russian imperial and Soviet policies on nationalities.

Jersild closes with an all too brief discussion (though this was clearly not meant as his subject) of the Soviet use of imperial ideas and policies. This is one aspect of his study that I hope he, or others, will develop.

AUDREY L. ALTSTADT
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

IAIN LAUCHLAN. *Russian Hide-and-Seek: The Tsarist Secret Police in St. Petersburg, 1906–1914*. (Studia Historica, number 67.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2002. Pp. 405.

Based on excellent research, Iain Lauchlan's study demonstrates that the "sinister features" traditionally attributed to the Russian secret police, the Okhrana, were "common . . . to government intelligence agencies of all political complexions throughout the twentieth century" (p. 143). Moreover, certain protective tactics employed by the Okhrana and vilified by its contemporaries were predetermined by the grave need of the old regime to protect itself against its multiple adversaries—a "sad necessity" indeed (p. 228).

Paradoxically, Lauchlan's conclusions emphasize the "game aspect" of this relentless struggle. Underscoring the Marquis de Custine's famous commentary on the importance of outward appearance in Russian statecraft, Lauchlan confirms a tendency of the Russia's leaders to "change decoration," wear masks, and put on theatrical performances aimed to mislead others and perhaps also themselves (p. 366). These were defense mechanisms routinely utilized to minimize detrimental political and psychological consequences of regressive or abusive policies. Accordingly, Lauchlan characterizes as "hypocritical charade" the "paternalistic posturing" of the enlightened Okhrana officers, who pretended to be "defenders of the weak" yet were in fact "motivated by an innate conservatism and an eagerness to get on in life" (p. 367).

Does their alleged altruism tell us anything about these guardians of the Old Regime, except that, like people of every culture and every epoch, they readily resorted to lofty rationalization of mundane motives and rigid behavior? Lauchlan argues that the self-imposed mythology of the police officers compelled them to play the part of bona fide idealists, taking into account and actualizing in their work such avowed values as moderation and morality. "The line between seeming and doing was very thin indeed," and consequently, the Okhrana officers approached their struggle against revolutionaries as if they were engaged in "a kind of duel" (p. 368). Since dueling was but a risky game, "a ritualistic social action . . . protecting external appearance above all else," the *okhranniki* were required by its rules (especially those concerning honor) to show certain restraint and humanity toward their opponents. For their part, the radicals were also forced to adopt the "duellist mentality," for "it takes two to tango" (p. 368).

Lauchlan's interpretation (suggestive of a postmodernist discourse on game-like rivalry) seems somewhat artificial, evoking the feeling of unreality of the situation. The battle between the Okhrana and the revolutionaries, represented as performance, lacks authenticity. Instead of "history come alive," the reader witnesses an intellectually exciting game of chess with pieces, not individuals, moving across the historical chessboard. This surreal aspect of the narrative may be intrinsic to the author's "game approach," which leaves little space for strong emotions on either side of the make-believe barricade. The police officers engaged in mere "role-playing" demonstrated, in Lauchlan's view, little genuine anger against their radical adversaries. The reader may also infer that the extremists showed similar lack of passion vis à vis their political enemies.

Lauchlan is entirely justified in pointing out the

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civility of the Okhrana personnel in comparison with the behavior of their successors in the Bolshevik Cheka, arguing that, in fact, "the Okhrana was the most notable case of discontinuity between tsarist and Soviet regimes" (p. 52). Yet it would seem more appropriate to attribute the Okhrana's leniency to the relative morality of the age, especially in view of Lauchlan's allegation to the lack of benefit in subjecting the tsar's security system "to anachronistic condemnation as a totalitarian police in embryo" (p. 368). Furthermore, the few examples of restrained language employed by high-ranking Okhrana officers with regard to the radicals do not invalidate scores of other instances demonstrating extreme negative emotions, especially numerous in cases where the *okhranniki* had first-hand contact with the subversives. Sources reveal the radicals' hatred of "the watchdogs of the old regime" even more clearly.

Lauchlan's explanation of the liberals' persistent refusal to collaborate with the government was that of the Kadets themselves—an alleged lack of "the cement of hypocrisy" in their mentality. Yet, the liberals' covert encouragement of the terrorists during the 1905–1907 crisis shows precisely their very hypocritical stand, in which they sought to extract political benefits from extremist tactics while professing their aversion to violence. Nevertheless, the book's main argument is well taken: the Okhrana did contribute to "the slow but steady evolution of a parliamentary system" because its "*apparat*, despite its manifold evils, assisted political reforms by maintaining a degree of control" over the radical Left (p. 379).

ANNA GEIFMAN
Boston University

DONALD J. RALEIGH, editor. *Provincial Landscapes: Local Dimensions of Soviet Power, 1917–1953.* (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 407. $34.95.

Although quite diverse in specific subjects, several themes run through the essays in this excellent volume on the provincial Soviet Union between the revolution and Joseph Stalin's death in 1953. One is center-periphery relations. Most essays focus on how local officials fought to protect their interests, defended local characteristics, or adapted central policies to local conditions. Another recurring theme is Bolshevik "modernizing" or ideological demands and local resistance or accommodation. The essays also illustrate the kinds of intense debates possible within the broader rigidity of the Soviet system. They also have a nice geographic diversity: two each on Ukraine, Central Asia, and the Urals-Siberia region, and eight spread across cities and provinces of European Russia. One should also note the extensive use of local archives, reflecting a type of research possible only since the collapse of the Soviet Union. In addition, editor Donald J. Raleigh provides a succinct but insightful introduction to and justification for the collection.

Four articles deal with the revolution and civil war. The two revolution articles by Michael C. Hickey and Roberta T. Manning on Smolensk, city and province respectively, are two of the best pieces in the volume (although they are less interested in explicit center-periphery conflict than most of the articles). Hickey examines the "Rise and Fall of Smolensk's Moderate Socialists," bringing out the complex role of political and class rhetoric in 1917. He shows the importance of "social geography" and how the moderate socialists' politicizing of daily life worked first in their favor and then against them. Manning contributes a rich essay on Sychevka district of Smolensk province that illuminates many aspects of the revolution. One of the most striking is how the Bolsheviks won the vote for the Constituent Assembly in a rural district despite not having a local party organization until after the October Revolution. Turning to the civil war, Delano DuGarm chronicles the Bolshevik food supply policies in Tambov, noting the turnover of personnel and rivalries among local officials and the brutal and ultimately self-defeating nature of grain requisitioning. Raleigh's article on Saratov province shows how persistent were the aspirations of 1917 and how widespread was hostility to the Bolshevik regime by 1921. Although the Bolshevik Party responded to the discontents with repression, Raleigh concludes that ultimately famine conditions were as important as direct repression in preventing popular discontents from exploding in renewed revolt.

Five articles look at the 1920s, three of them focused on Bolshevik "modernizing" policies. Douglas T. Northrop notes that Communists in the 1920s struggled with questions of how to modernize Central Asia. Turning to women as a "surrogate proletariat," they launched a major attack in 1927 against "moldy old ways" of female seclusion and inequality. Tracing patterns of Uzbek responses, he concludes that not only was the 1927 campaign unsuccessful, it strengthened Uzbek cultural identity and increased use of the veil as a symbol of anticolonial and cultural defense. Irina Korovushkina Paert's rich essay also examines the clash between the Soviet vision of modernity and local religious culture, in this case that of the Old Believers of the Urals region, while David Shearer seeks to examine "socialist modernity" through efforts to transform Western Siberia. He compares the Soviet officials involved to colonial elites elsewhere in their belief that they were conquering backwardness and in their attitude toward the local population.

James T. Andrews and Mark B. Tauger explore other issues of the 1920s. Andrews offers a fascinating look at how the revolution affected established provincial scientific societies such as the Iaroslavl Natural History Society. He finds not only a Bolshevization of local scientific institutions during the 1920s, but also an important shift in policy after 1928 as the regime changed from encouraging the development of the

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scientific outlook already promoted by these organizations to a more prescribed utilitarian economic paradigm. Tauger focuses on famine and famine relief activities between 1928 and early 1929 in Ukraine, set within the context of the third major famine of the 1920s in the Soviet Union. He concludes that there was a genuine grain crisis grounded in severe, weather-induced crop failures; that the regime undertook a genuine if inadequate relief effort; that Ukraine received more in food supplies during this crisis than it exported to other republics; and that this famine reinforced the regime's conviction that Soviet agriculture had to be changed and thereby helped lead to collectivization (itself, one might argue, a Soviet version of attempted modernization).

Five articles look at the war and postwar Stalin era. Paula A. Michaels explores the mobilization of medical cadres in Kazakhstan during World War II and Kazakh attitudes toward the regime and professional values. Jeffrey W. Jones's fine article examines both party and popular thinking about goods shortages and especially about private entrepreneurial activity ("speculation" in the regime's and popular usage). He finds that although the population responded to the party's anti-speculation rhetoric by condemning "full-time speculators," they simultaneously "saw small-scale speculation as a crucial part of an overall strategy of survival" (p. 254). In an excellent essay, Serhy Yekelchy examines the Zhdanovshchina in Ukraine, pursuing a "reconceptualization of the interaction between ideological pronouncements from Moscow and their interpretation by republican ideologues and intellectuals" (p. 256). Rather than the anti-Western and anti-liberal campaign seen by Moscow-Leningrad intellectuals, the Zhdanovshchina in Ukraine was a campaign that criticized specifically Ukrainian features and the nationalist past while glorifying commonality with Russia and the Soviet present. Using the city of Sevastopol as a model, Karl D. Qualls traces how, faced with the enormous task of postwar reconstruction, the Soviet regime came to allow unexpectedly extensive local autonomy in the rebuilding process that in turn led to some recognition of unique local features in rebuilding damaged cities. The volume ends with an attempt by Elena Iarskaia-Smirnov and Pavel Romanov to examine issues of power and identity from 1940 to 1953 through oral history interviews that is less successful than other essays.

It is impossible within the framework of a book review to describe, much less engage, the many insights and ideas raised by the essays in this volume. By looking at important chapters of the country's history from a local perspective, we often can see important issues and developments more clearly than from the perspective of the capital, where "high politics" gets mixed in and sometimes muddies the water. This book provides many such insights and will repay careful reading by a wide range of scholars.

REX A. WADE
George Mason University

SLAVA GEROVITCH. *From Newspeak to Cyberspeak: A History of Soviet Cybernetics*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 369. $37.95.

The standard account of Soviet cybernetics is that Joseph Stalin proclaimed it a "pseudo-science," setting back research and computing by decades, much in the way Trofim Lysenko retarded genetics. The prevailing view of Soviet scientists is that they were obliged to conform to Communist Party dictates. Slava Gerovitch demonstrates that Soviet cybernetics was far less constrained than earlier studies suggest. More important, he shows the ways Soviet scientists were able to use the language of the Cold War and dialectical materialism to fashion a vocabulary for serious debate of important issues. Discussions that appeared impenetrable to outsiders were intense disputes with important consequences.

Gerovitch has produced an excellent first book, drawing on an intimate knowledge of the language of Marxism and science, archival material, extensive Russian and Western literature, and recent social theory. It is a fascinating study that richly rewards the effort it takes to follow all of the historical and theoretical balls that Gerovitch successfully juggles. And the reward is not only a much greater understanding of Soviet cybernetics but a better comprehension of the history of scientific ideas and institutions in both Russia and the United States.

Gerovitch is able to explain complex scientific ideas and issues in a language accessible to nonspecialists, while rendering the politics of science in a manner that should make this book required reading for scientists. He casts cybernetics as a social movement with its own language, aspiring to radical reform. This language, "cyberspeak," represented an alternative to Soviet "newspeak" that would free scientists, and eventually everyone, from the ideological tutelage of political controllers. Yet, perhaps inevitably, as Soviet proponents of cybernetics overcame the Stalin-era condemnation ("reactionary pseudo-science") and began to jockey for support, funding, and institutional recognition, the result was the loss of their reformist ethos. A science of control/administration embraced by the party could not simultaneously be a carnivalistic counter culture.

Gerovitch begins with an analysis of "newspeak," the discourse of Soviet scientific life. Deconstructing disputes in the fields of mathematics, linguistics, and physiology, he shows how the competing goals for scientists to "overtake and surpass" capitalist competitors while simultaneously "criticizing and destroying" Western scholarship created a discursive matrix manipulable by those who mastered its intricate nuances. Chapter two is an excellent account of the early history of cybernetics, including a highly illuminating parallel treatment of the early work by Norbert Wiener and Andrei Kolmogorov. Where Wiener became identified with an important new discipline, Kolmogorov backed away from controversy, an episode demonstrating how

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the Soviet environment influenced scientists' research agendas, dissuading them from pursuing interdisciplinary topics. Yet Kolmogorov survived to write the "missing" article on cybernetics for the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* supplement in the late 1950s.

The layers of irony in Gerovitch's story are rich and richly detailed. Chapter three shows that the Soviet "campaign" against cybernetics, far from being a centrally directed product of Stalinist totalitarianism, was essentially a "bottom-up" response to prevailing Cold War ideological campaigns fostered by minor players whose contradictory criticisms of cybernetics were based on ignorance of its seminal texts. Yet these attacks resulted in cybernetics texts being removed from library shelves at the very time Soviet military specialists were striving to overcome their lag behind American control and communication systems. When one of the poorly informed Soviet critics of cybernetics, Mikhail Iaroshevskii, praised Soviet accomplishments, he was summoned by the KGB to explain the sources of his knowledge. Lest Western readers gloat over these escapades, Gerovitch uses Western archives to document Joseph McCarthy's persecution of Roman Jakobson, the eminent emigré linguist and Harvard colleague who influenced Wiener's linguistic theories.

Chapter four, "Cybernetics in Rebellion," may be the reason Gerovitch chose this topic for his doctoral thesis. He carefully chronicles the ways Soviet cyberneticians sought to promote a rational and scientific approach to all fields of knowledge during Nikita Khrushchev's thaw. They hoped that rational scientific cyberspeak might displace Soviet newspeak, providing an "objective" language for all communication.

The final two chapters describe the pyrrhic triumph of cybernetics in Soviet science. When it came to be a dominant discipline, it also became a tool of communist ideology in the service of the regime's time-serving supporters. Gerovitch's account of the cybernetics community's influence in economics and public administration has particular resonance today as a cybernetic economist, Sergei Glazev, seeks to replace Gennady Zyuganov as leader of the left wing in Russian politics.

Gerovitch's approach is consistently subtle. He convincingly demonstrates that Soviet scientists, far from being pawns moved by totalitarian masters, were active participants in political as well as scientific life in the USSR. At the same time, he shows how the Cold War made the discourse of newspeak and cyberspeak a trap, and that Soviet scientists were hardly its only victims.

HARLEY BALZER
Georgetown University

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

THOMAS PHILIPP. *Acre: The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730–1831*. (The History and Society of the Modern Middle East Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp. 299. Cloth $52.00, paper $17.50.

In the eighteenth-century, geographic Syria, including Lebanon and Palestine, gained much more political autonomy from the Ottoman central government in Istanbul than it had previously enjoyed, although this trend would be reversed in the nineteenth century. Another important trend, which would not be reversed, was the growth in importance of the port towns on the eastern Mediterranean, eventually at the expense of the historically more influential inland towns like Aleppo and Damascus. The rise and fall of Acre in northern Palestine was arguably the most visible expression of both trends.

Acre, a prominent fortress during the period of the Crusades, had been reduced over the centuries to a fishing village of less than 500 inhabitants. In the eighteenth century it re-emerged, becoming after Aleppo and Damascus the third most populated town in greater Syria, with 25,000 inhabitants, more than half of whom were Christians. No other town in the region grew as rapidly. Acre also became the most influential political and commercial center on the eastern Mediterranean, and its local rulers even enjoyed political sway over Damascus. Acre's heyday, however, barely lasted 100 years. Thomas Philipp seeks to explain why.

Philipp argues that, in the context of increasing political autonomy, Acre's growth was directly tied to the development of high-demand cash crops, first cotton and then grain. "Acre and its realm," which included the Galilee and the coastal areas to the town's south and north, was the first region in geographic Syria to become tightly linked to an expanding international economy dominated by Europe. The new economy enabled Acre's local rulers to achieve and maintain their ascendancy over "a unique territorial and political entity—often independent but never sovereign—that did not exist before and was never to emerge again" (p. 18).

Philipp describes the new Acre as a "frontier city and society," heavily populated by immigrants who had come to work in the export-oriented economy. Its rulers may have practiced familiar forms of political behavior by constructing tribal and military alliances, but their commercial practices were new. They imposed a system of state-controlled monopolies over cotton and grain that stimulated economic and demographic growth but that also created a distance between them and their subjects. Because Acre was largely populated by immigrants, there were few of the familiar social and religious institutions found in other towns that could knit together a fragmented local society and link it to its rulers. Philipp argues that Acre's atypical development was a major factor behind its short-lived influence. Its new economic system prompted its rise, but its fall correlated with the failure of its rulers to promote a general social welfare. Acre's system of state monopolies, rather than disadvanta-

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geous physical or geographic factors, contributed to its demise as the leading port town of the eastern Mediterranean. Beirut, whose own growth was far more dynamic and lasted much longer, replaced it.

Philipp devotes considerable attention to the political lives of Acre's three principal rulers: Zahir al-Umar (1730–1771), Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar (1775–1804), and Sulayman Pasha (1805–1819). Each rose to power in a different manner and each relied on either Christian (Greek Catholic) or Jewish advisers to develop Acre and maintain his rule. Zahir was a local merchant who launched Acre's political star by tying its commercial future to the European economy. Philipp draws an interesting comparison between Zahir's state monopoly system and the one Muhammad Ali imposed on Egypt in the early nineteenth century and notes that both rulers began their careers as merchants.

Jazzar, who was best known for resisting Napoleon's two-month siege of Acre in 1799, was a Mamluk of Bosnian origin and had no family of his own. Philipp presents a partially revisionist explanation of Jazzar's legendary reputation as an irrational and violent governor. He argues that, at least in the first half of his rule, Jazzar (the name means "butcher") exhibited rational economic behavior and a serious interest in trade, and that contemporary French accounts exaggerate Jazzar's irrationality and tyranny owing to his determination to maximize his profits from trade with the French. He also explains that in spite of his ruthlessness and hunger for power, Jazzar accepted the Ottoman central government's ultimate authority and played by its rules.

Sulayman Pasha, who hailed from the Caucausus, shared a military background with Jazzar and had been in his employment. For the most part, he eschewed Jazzar's confrontational approach and excessive use of violence, turning instead to diplomacy, negotiation, and alliances with local leaders such as Amir Bashir Shihab in Lebanon or one or another influential family in central Palestine. Like Zahir and Jazzar before him, Sulayman had an especially complicated relationship with Damascus, over which he served as governor and as a trustee at different times.

Philipp relies on two main sources to construct his history: Arabic eyewitness accounts of the lives of Zahir and Sulayman (there are no similar accounts of Jazzar's life), which provide many useful insights into Acre's political and administrative development, and French consular correspondence mainly from Acre and Sidon for the economic and commercial picture. He makes selective use of European travel literature. He does not consult the Ottoman archives in Istanbul, relying instead on A. Cohen's *Palestine in the Eighteenth Century* (1973). Regrettably, he was unable to locate religious court registers for Acre. These exist for other Arab towns and are probably the most useful source for the study of urban social and economic life and the transfer of wealth from generation to generation.

Philipp writes for specialists, and he can be repetitive. His narrative would have flowed more smoothly had he placed his numerous translations from contemporary French travelers' accounts and commercial documents in the body of his text rather than in a separate section after the appendixes. His appendixes contain useful maps that highlight trade routes and trace the territorial expansion of local rulers' political authority. On balance, Philipp has mined his limited sources intelligently and judiciously to capture Acre's moment in history.

PHILIP S. KHOURY
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

CAESAR E. FARAH. *The Sultan's Yemen: Nineteenth-Century Challenges to Ottoman Rule*. (The Library of Ottoman Studies, number 1.) London and New York: I. B. Tauris. 2002. Pp. xxii, 392. $59.50.

This book provides a cautionary tale for foreign regimes that think they can bring order, stability, and reform to religiously diverse, tribal-based Middle Eastern societies. Caesar E. Farah's military-diplomatic study covers in considerable detail the Ottoman Empire's attempt, after an absence of almost 200 years, to reassert its sovereignty over Yemen, the most distant of its provinces. The distance from Istanbul, the rugged terrain, the division of society into competing tribes and religious factions, as well as interference by the British and Italians made the task especially difficult for the Ottomans, who with good intentions attempted to provide Yemen a centralized and stable government.

Farah exploits an impressive range of Ottoman and British archival sources, including reports by Ottoman generals/governors in the field, the observations of British, German and Yemeni observers, a selection of available secondary sources, and a wide range of international and local newspaper reports from the period. He juggles a considerable number of variables in recounting Ottoman efforts for the period 1817–1911. In separate chapters, and in considerable detail, he deals with three distinct regions: the Tihama, or lowlands, where Ottoman power was secure only after several decades of pacification; the highlands, where San'a and other strategic towns and fortresses frequently changed hands during the period; and the southern territory where, after their occupation of Aden between 1837–1839, the British sought to legitimize their intrusion by inducing a paramount sheik of the region to recognize their presence by signing a treaty he could not read.

Making matters as difficult for the Ottomans as the terrain and the interference by the British and the Italians, whose base in Eritrea permitted them to smuggle arms and other goods to rebellious tribes, was the religious division of the local population into three distinct and often mutually hostile factions. The Zaydis, a unique brand of Shi'ites, and the Isma'ili Shi'ites lived in close proximity in the highlands but often

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warred against each other. Sunni Muslims of the Shafi'ite rite generally occupied the southern highlands and the Tihama. A struggle among contenders for dominance of the imamate, the politico-religious leadership of the dominant Zaydi group, made the task of dealing with the highland tribes even more difficult. To complicate matters further, Yemen remained divided into a patchwork of tribes and subtribes, each having loyalty to its sheik and remaining hostile to central authority. Farah also emphasizes the corruption of Ottoman administration and the ineptitude of Ottoman generals and governors in dealing with the tribes of the highlands.

The Ottomans tried several methods to reassert their authority over their coreligionists. When extended military action proved unsuccessful, Ottoman governors, at the behest of the central government in Istanbul, resorted to bribery and flattery. Yet Ottoman efforts were frustrated at almost every turn as tribal leaders often switched their allegiance in protesting Ottoman policies. Even well-intentioned Tanzimat reforms were labeled infidel innovations by the suspicious Yemenis.

Farah's study explains in great detail the various attempts made by a succession of Ottoman governors to fend off Italian influence and to counter Britain's growing influence over the tribes of the south while they tried to pacify the Tihama and the highlands. But in sticking close to his sources, he seems to recount every skirmish between Ottoman troops and local tribal forces or the change of hands of countless mountain fortresses, and sometimes even enumerates the goods seized in tribal attacks on passing caravans. These incessant military conflicts, the drumbeat of names of Ottoman commanders, subcommanders, units, Yemeni tribes, and their sheiks, and the frequent references to shifting alliances make for difficult reading. The text could have been improved with the help of a skilled editor. Yet Farah provides us with the most full and accurate account yet of the unsuccessful attempt by the Ottoman government to reestablish its sovereignty over Yemen in the nineteenth century. It will be useful to scholars for years to come.

Farah argues that the attempt to reestablish control over Yemen proved too costly in men, material, and expenditures for the Ottomans to sustain. Neither the Ottoman administration in Yemen nor the central government could raise the funds to pay for the government's ambitious programs. There was frequently not enough money even to pay the troops, much less the cost of administration or services. In the end, therefore, after decades of failed efforts, the central government accepted a truce with the Zaydi Imam in 1911, giving him virtual autonomy in return for his continuing loyalty to the Ottoman state, which survived only to the end of World War I.

DANIEL CRECELIUS
California State University, Los Angeles

ADEED DAWISHA. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. vi, 340. $29.95.

Arab nationalism was a product of the twentieth century, and in spite of competition from contested communal identities—territorial patriotism, state nationalism, religion, tribe, sect, family, and gender—for mainstream, educated Arab publics it provided a framework for their hegemonic imagined community. This book is not the first to deal with the historical drama that determined the fates of so many in the Middle East; an entire corpus of literature is devoted to the subject. Adeed Dawisha, however, is the first to attempt to study Arab nationalism from the angle of the end of the story and, thereby, to provide us with a solid picture of what Arab nationalism was and why and how it emerged and declined.

One of the merits of this book is Dawisha's ability to integrate the detached view of a historian with the sensitive view of an insider who experienced the aura of Arab nationalism in its heyday. The work is an excellent and up-to-date synthesis of a large body of Western scholarly literature and studies written in Arabic, as well as memoirs and accounts composed by the historical actors themselves. Dawisha carefully navigates between various, contested historical narratives to create a balanced, authoritative historical work. He relates the many angles of this rich, complex, and multifaceted subject in a readable, lucid, and economic manner that nonspecialists will appreciate. His book is a comprehensive account of the evolution of Arab nationalism and an insightful evaluation of the role it played in shaping the modern Arab Middle East.

After an exhaustive discussion of the diverse definitions of Arab nationalism, Dawisha locates it within the context of the general, theoretical study of nationalism, underlining its political dimension. He then traces Arab nationalism's historical roots, in particular its ideological and organizational origins. His approach is minimalist; Arab nationalism, in his assessment, became a historical force with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of a new Middle East during and after World War I. In the interwar era, Arab nationalism reached full-fledged ideological maturity. Dawisha offers an excellent summary of a commonly held approach that assigns critical, perhaps somewhat exaggerated, importance to the ideological activity of Sati al-Husri, who gave Arab nationalism intellectual coherence and transformed it into an increasingly popular political agenda.

But Arab nationalism's road to hegemony was neither an easy nor a simple one. It had to compete with a variety of identity frameworks and foci of loyalty. Dawisha follows the struggle of the proponents of Arab nationalism against localized identities grounded in territorial patriotism, state nationalism, religion, tribe, colloquial-Arabic dialects, and Middle Eastern languages other than Arabic. He shows how Arab

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nationalism overcame some of these communal forces, simultaneously highlighting the ways they also constrained and frustrated it.

For Dawisha, from the end of the 1930s through the beginning of the 1950s Arab nationalism was in a process of consolidation and ascent. The Palestinian revolt of 1936–1939 and the sympathy expressed by many Arabs for the Palestinian cause, the emergence of the middle-class *effendiyya* as the major social bearer of Arab nationalism, and the escalating all-Arab struggle against imperialism reinforced this ascent and helped assure its dominance in the 1940s. It was during the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s that Arab nationalism reached its peak. The emergence of "Arab Egypt" after the July 1952 revolution, led by the charismatic and electrifying Gamal Abdel Nasser, gave great impetus to the Arab nationalist agenda. Here Dawisha is at his best. He vividly recaptures the "Nasserist moment," and the unique role the *rais* played in fomenting among both elites and the masses the redemptive expectation for the "here and now" realization of the pan-Arab nationalist vision. He recovers the euphoric atmosphere created by a commonly held Arab belief that Nasser's successful crusades against imperialism would bring about a profound transformation in the life of modern Arabs.

Dawisha simultaneously exposes the weaknesses of this redemptive project and clearly shows how pan-Arabist Nasserism was confounded by its clash with political reality. He analyzes Nasser's painful failures to bring about unity during the late 1960s, culminating in the 1967 defeat. In the last third of the century, as he shows, the narrow interests of state nationalism strengthened considerably, effectively overshadowing Arab nationalism and dictating a new structure for inter-Arab relations and regional political arrangements. Toward the end of the century, territorial state nationalism won out, and the aspiration for Arab unity was undermined. The relevancy of the united struggle against imperialism, which nurtured an earlier urge for Arab unity, was eclipsed. The reassertion of radical Islam, its growing impact on many groups and populations in the Middle East, and its rejection of secular Arab nationalism as paganism further eroded Arab nationalism and hastened its "demise."

This important book is not without weaknesses. Dawisha's discussion of the development of Arab nationalism tends to focus on the official mind and governmental elites. Likewise, Arab nationalism in both idea and practice is, in effect, presented as a game of official elite powers: governments, kings, presidents, and state-oriented idealogues. Except for his chapter about Nasser's pan-Arabism, broader sectors of society and their attitudes toward Arab nationalism do not receive due attention. Expressions of Arab nationalism in cultural fields, including literature, poetry, drama, and art, receive scant mention. Women's voices are absent. Although Dawisha repeatedly argues that it was pressure from below that, in many cases, prompted elites to adopt Arab nationalist strategies and rhetoric, he neglects to include nonelite voices and patterns of behavior. His focus on governmental elites creates a further problem. Although it works well to bolster his argument that the pan-Arab national project was a complete failure, the emphasis on the political leads Dawisha to overlook the cultural achievements of Arab nationalism. It created a new universe of print-culture discourse that united educated Arabs more fully than they had been in the past.

More generally, this work suffers from its exclusion of the social history of ideas. For example, Dawisha discusses the *effendiyya*, which formed and was consolidated in the 1930s and 1940s, as a major social force propelling Arab nationalism. The growth of the *effendiyya* was also a result of the expansion of modern education, literacy, and the print media. If the urban, educated middle classes played such a crucial role, what happened to them in the last part of the century? They continued to grow and gain strength while Arab nationalism declined and collapsed. Dawisha does not explain this. These faults aside, Dawisha has provided us with a comprehensive study of Arab nationalism to date. The work is an authoritative reference for students and scholars and will also be attractive to nonspecialist readers.

ISRAEL GERSHONI
Tel Aviv University

MADAWI AL-RASHEED. *A History of Saudi Arabia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 255. Cloth $55.00, paper $20.00.

Until comparatively recently, it was customary for American administrations to depict the relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia in almost reverential terms. Apparently the "desert kingdom" had advanced from something close to prehistory to modernity (of sorts) in the space of a couple of generations. Its kings and princes were tribal aristocrats, somehow transmogrified into defenders and lovers of freedom. They were also the traditional defenders of Islam, the guardians of its Holy Places, and the pillars of Islamic probity. Of course, they were different from Americans in many ways, but in their aristocratic, lords-of-the-desert way, they shared the same lofty goals, the same noble objectives.

Madawi Al-Rasheed has written a refreshingly iconoclastic book that makes it clear that this view is just so much pious claptrap. It will not, one may guess, be available in the English-language section of the bookstore of Riyadh or Jedda's international airports, but Saudis and others who would like to know more about the country's history than the official version (parroted, until recently, by its American ally) would do well to get themselves a copy. As far as I know, the "true story" has not been previously told in quite such critical and well-footnoted detail.

Al-Rasheed's first two chapters take the story of Saudi Arabia up to the proclamation of the state (the Kingdom of Hijaz, Najd, and Dependencies), which

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took place with British help in 1932. The Saud family, who had neither noble tribal descent, religious legitimacy, or wealth, were the rulers of the small settlement of Dara'iyya, near Riyadh. In 1744, Muhammad ibn Saud made an alliance with the "fundamentalist" religious reformer Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab; the ruler agreed to embrace and enforce the principles of Wahhabism, and in return 'Abd al-Wahhab agreed to place his movement at the service of the expansion of the Saudi polity. In 1801, Wahhabi forces plundered the Shi'ite holy city of Karbala', and Wahhabi ulama ordered the destruction of the tombs of the Prophet and the early caliphs in Madina in 1804. Wahhabism forbids visits to, or veneration of, the tombs of saints, and was, and still is, fervently anti-Shi'i. In general, it has always been profoundly intolerant of other versions of Islam than its own.

The nineteenth century saw constant fluctuations in the fortunes of this new religio-political entity, partly because of a revival of Ottoman interest in the Arabian peninsula, and partly because of dissent within the Saudi family, which encouraged some of its members to seek the help of various tribal confederations to advance their own claims. The nadir of the Saudis' fortunes came in 1891, when the head of the family, 'Abd al-Rahman Āl Sa'ud, was obliged to flee from Riyadh to Kuwait after his defeat at the hands of the Rashids of Ha'il (the ancestors, incidentally, of the author of this book). Late in 1901, 'Abd al-Rahman's son, 'Abd al-'Aziz (Ibn Saud) set out from Kuwait with a small force, and recaptured Riyadh from the Rashids in a surprise attack on January 15, 1902.

Over the next thirty years, as a result first of Anglo-Ottoman rivalry and then of British patronage, Ibn Saud gradually extended his rule over much the rest of the Arabian peninsula, in his guise as the guardian and proponent of the Wahhabi version of Islam. In his campaigns, little distinction was made between submission to the will of God and submission to the political authority of Ibn Saud (p. 52). In 1925, the Saudis captured the Hijaz from the Hashimites, and thus became de facto guardians of the sanctuaries of Mecca and Madina; hence the Saudis' role as "defenders of Islam" dates back all of seventy-eight years. Most of the conquests were carried out by the *Ikhwan*, a group of "ignorant and ferocious" Islamic/Wahhabi militants (p. 62). The first oil concession was signed in 1933 ("treated [in the official narrative] as a function of Ibn Sa'ud's political wisdom and foresight" [p. 196]). In 1938, the revenues of the Saudi state (mostly customs receipts and dues from the pilgrimage to Mecca) were about $5.2 million. Oil was first exported in 1939, and by 1952, oil revenues had reached $212 million (p. 93).

The last three chapters take the story of the state from 1973 to the present, culminating in the "centennial" celebrations (in January 1999) of the capture of Riyadh in January 1902 (thus establishing this event, rather than the proclamation of the kingdom in 1932, as the date of the foundation of the state). Not the least bizarre aspect of the festivities, and the "ancestor cult" they promoted, was that they were preceded by a *fatwa* (legal-religious opinion) from the kingdom's leading religious authority denouncing such secular commemorations as an "imitation of [the practices of] non-believers" (p. 205).

One of the major tensions in Saudi Arabia is that between the generally pragmatic princes and technocrats who run the state on behalf of a prolific and largely parasitic royal family, and the religious extremists that its educational system produces. Since there are no democratic institutions, and no forums for political debate, these tensions only occasionally come to public notice. In many ways Saudi Arabia is hoist on its own petard; its legitimacy is based on a very public insistence on upholding its own ahistorical and intolerant version of Islam, which makes it open to attack from graduates from its own educational system for not living up to the values it is attempting to propagate. It has taken a tragedy of epic proportions to bring some U.S. policy makers to question the wisdom of perpetuating a close alliance with a polity so profoundly and precariously divided against itself.

PETER SLUGLETT
University of Utah

MATTHEW CONNELLY. *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 400. $45.00.

In June 1999, the French government acknowledged, for the first time in forty-five years, that the Franco-Algerian conflict of 1954–1962 was a war and not, as it had hitherto euphemistically been called, an "operation for security and the maintenance of order." The trauma of the war seared the populations of both France and Algeria and each country, in its own way, obscured its realities in an attempt to heal wounds and bind internal divisions. Scholars and writers did not share the politicians' reticence, and works on the subject began to appear within months of the signing of the Evian peace accords. In spite of archival prohibitions, historians have been creative in their attempts to shed light on the extensive ramifications of the war. To date, well over 1,000 works have been published with some aspect of the war as their subject; among the latest is Matthew Connelly's very fine contribution.

Connelly's interest in the war goes beyond its Franco-Algerian ramifications to its international significance and, in particular, to the way it was shaped by and helped to shape the Cold War. Starting from the recognized premise that the war was as much diplomatic as military in nature, as its decisive battles were fought and won in the international arena, Connelly argues that it was the "epicentre of the nascent North-South conflict" and that by focusing on it one can analyze the shifts in superpower competition. The richness of this book, however, is that it is not just a straightforward diplomatic history; it takes into ac-

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count the wider cultural impact of the war and stresses the importance of Algeria as a site for innovation. The author points, for example, to its importance in giving rise to some of the metaphysical problems that influenced the pioneers of poststructuralist and postmodernist theory.

Connelly divides his work into five chronological sections, which analyze and develop three paradoxes of the war: namely, the inverse relationship between France's military strength and successes in Algeria and the progressive deterioration of its bargaining position with the nationalists; the fact that France's attempts to contain the conflict and reduce it to a domestic affair only triggered repercussions in the international arena; and the way in which "globalization" aggravated cultural conflicts and intensified political fragmentation.

By setting the diplomatic stage for the insurrection in the opening chapters, Connelly demonstrates that the prospects of the nationalists were not as bleak as they might have appeared at the time, or indeed as some analysts have hitherto stated. The shifting relationships among France, the United States, the North African territories, and the rest of the world highlight what Connelly describes as "the ambivalence of power." In this vein, one of the fascinating insights of the book is the elucidation of the role the situation in North Africa played in encouraging the United States to assume its position as leading superpower.

American policy toward North Africa shifted in accordance with local events and the exigencies of the Cold War. In the early 1950s, the United States backed the French presence in North Africa. Engaged militarily in Korea, it had no desire to destabilize the region by encouraging "premature" independence. Furthermore, American bases in Morocco were armed with nuclear warheads, the first to be deployed outside of the United States. Even after it eventually shifted the bulk of its military to Spain, ever wary of a strategically important North African country without a Western presence, the United States continued to maintain Moroccan bases for nearly a decade. By the 1960s, however, the rationale behind the fear that the Arab world would join the Soviet camp had changed. At the outset of the war in 1954, the United States had refrained from endorsing the idea of Algerian independence; by the end of the decade, it was supporting it.

Key events in this development were the Suez Crisis, when the United States decided that backing France and Great Britain might tip the whole of the Arab world into the Soviet camp; the massacre of Tunisian civilians by the French at Sakiet in 1958, after which the U.S. press and much of Western opinion turned against France; and, of course, the collapse of the Fourth Republic and the coming of Charles De Gaulle, whose goal it was to restore France to a position of global importance. Realizing that the war did nothing to promote his aim, he eventually let go of Algeria.

Equally important are Connelly's discussions of French responses to the steady internationalization of the war: De Gaulle's erratic advance to the negotiating table and his eventual acceptance of the Algerian government in exile; France's use of propaganda showing the war as a struggle against pan-Islam and international communism; and, of course, its use of adherence to the North Atlantic Treaty Orgranization as a bargaining chip.

The importance Connelly places on the international dimension does not prevent him from paying close attention to developments in both Algeria and France. Throughout the book he highlights the important Algerian stepping stones to independence, as well as drawing attention to French domestic concerns. His extensive use of North African, French, and U.S. sources, both archival and published, is evident in his attention to detail and thorough examination of the war's key issues.

It is impossible to do justice to the wealth of material in this book in the short space provided. Suffice it to say that, beyond its scope as a history of Algeria, France, and the Cold War, it is essential reading for anyone interested in the development of Franco-American relations and attitudes toward the Arab world.

PATRICIA M. E. LORCIN
Texas Tech University

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JAMES F. SEARING. *"God Alone is King": Islam and Emancipation in Senegal; The Wolof Kingdoms of Kajoor and Bawol, 1859–1914.* (Social History of Africa Series.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2002. Pp. xxxiv, 293. Cloth $65.00, paper $27.00.

"God Alone is King" was a phrase or watchword used by the Murid Brotherhood in Senegal and a significant indicator of the opposition of that Muslim order to the Wolof chiefs, allied with French colonial rulers, who controlled the country between 1859 and 1914. In his discussion of the Murid order and Wolof society during this period, James F. Searing goes beyond the standard writings on Senegalese history, which rely on the point of view, and facts as presented by, the French colonial rulers of the era. Searing, in contrast, presents a history based on Wolof interpretations of people and events. The result of this approach to Senegalese history is a correction of some misinterpretations of the meaning of specific events and a much deeper and more comprehensive picture of the cross currents in Senegalese society of the period. For example, Searing indicates that it was the traditional chiefs, threatened by the emigration of Wolof peasants and slaves to Murid villages, who tried to turn the French against the new Muslim order and its founder, Ahmad Bamba. Where French sources claim that Bamba was inciting a holy war, there is little or no solid evidence to this effect. Searing shows there was, however, much evidence that the accusations and rumors upon which this interpretation was based were deliberately passed to

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the French by Ibrahima N'Diaye, *bour* (king) of the Ngambur province, among others.

In another intriguing discussion, Searing shows that the Murid order itself has been severely misinterpreted because Wolof and Murid sources were not studied closely enough. Common knowledge holds that the Murids commanded blind devotion of all disciples to their *marabout* (leader), demonstrated through work, with education and prayer given little or no importance. Yet Searing shows that this attitude was only one strand of a much more complex fabric of Muridism. Ahmad Bamba recommended that his disciples, according to their interests and abilities, follow different paths including those of scholar and/or mystical ascetic. The "way of all work" is one extreme path among many.

For those readers who have read the numerous published works on Senegalese history, Searing's book, while perhaps overly critical in some places of earlier scholarship, is fascinating and a welcome addition. The book, moreover, should also be of interest to a more general audience. Of particular note are its detailed vignettes of Senegalese society, its presentation of slaves and slavery in the traditional kingdoms, and it analysis of the role of Islam in the final ending of slavery as cash-crop agriculture changed the Senegalese economy. It provides a valuable and interesting portrait of the colonial period, not only in Senegal but also in West Africa (although circumstances and actors differ in other places). The book is well written and highly readable.

LUCY E. CREEVEY
University of Connecticut

SEAN HAWKINS. *Writing and Colonialism in Northern Ghana: The Encounter between the LoDagaa and "the World on Paper."* (Anthropological Horizons, number 18.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 468.

This book contributes to the historical literatures focusing on the impact of writing and the invention of tradition in colonial Africa. Sean Hawkins pushes beyond previous works to analyze the ways in which a "world on paper"—(mis)representations in colonial maps, photographs, ethnographies, and administrative records—not only constructed ethnicity and customs but shaped social processes among Dagaare-speaking populations living in the northern territories of the British Gold Coast (today's Ghana). Hawkins argues that writing brought tools for social control and psychological dispositions to the colonial encounter, setting the terms of interaction in which local actors could try to reconfigure or subvert the world on paper but could not fundamentally alter the new social order. Much of the book concerns written legal codes and the rhetoric used in court proceedings, but along the way it offers illuminating commentary on a range of social transformations in various contexts.

The British were befuddled by the complex social formations that they governed in northwestern Ghana: Dagaare speakers lived in autonomous communities that had not been incorporated into centralized polities before British colonialism. Officials came to distinguish between "Lobi" and "Dagarti" villages based on their initial reactions to British rule (the Lobi were "wild" because they often resisted militarily, whereas the Dagarti merely were "sullen") and demeaning stereotypes about cultural progress (much was made of the use of bows and arrows, and local preferences for bodily adornment were dismissed with comments about nakedness). Hawkins argues that the colonial distinctions are baseless and notes that peoples across the Dagaare-speaking areas of northwestern Ghana recognized a shared constellation of patriclans and held a large number of cultural practices in common. He chooses to refer to these groups collectively as LoDagga (an ethnographic term used to subsume into one the multiple referents employed by Dagaare speakers); LoDagaa is not commonly used by Dagaare speakers, but Hawkins argues that his use of it serves to underscore the invented nature of identity.

British officials imposed chiefs in the region and actively eroded the influence of local Earth priests and elders. In this context, Catholic missionaries were successful in converting Dagaare speakers in part because they offered refuge from tyrannical chiefs. Hawkins also demonstrates that the Catholic discourse about the unseen world may well be responsible for the creation of a Dagaare neologism for god and certainly stimulated a debate about the meaning of revelation. Local resistance to colonial rule took other forms as well: the continued use of cowry shells for local transactions stymied British efforts to promote their currency for over fifty years. At the same time, labor migration introduced changes, such as the acceptance of Western-style clothing.

The British and their chiefs established courts in which written laws replaced negotiation. Hawkins notes how British officials actively repressed knowledge of local conflict resolution by prohibiting community self-defense and belittling local rituals. He also explores how court proceedings changed the nature of disputation by shifting the focus to written codes of conduct defined by outsiders. For example, Dagaare views of conjugal unions were much more ambiguous than the categorical definitions of marriage and adultery that the British imposed, but these external terms became the rhetorical bases for making claims in the courts. When judgments defied local practices, losing parties (usually women and young males) often did not comply, and the number of court cases increased significantly over the twentieth century.

This is an ambitious work that brings writing to the center of analysis and provides a sophisticated reconstruction of colonial encounters. The discussion of court proceedings is particularly rich. There are a few questions left unanswered in the work. The influence of Islamic religious beliefs and practices (especially literacy) is not addressed, despite centuries of Muslim

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presence in the area and Hawkins's own scattered references to the use of Muslim charms (pp. 174–75) and Muslims living in the region (pp. 186, 211).

Epistemologically, Hawkins works in the world on paper, relying almost exclusively on written sources, but on what basis can he assert that colonial authors misapprehended or actively subverted local practices? Hawkins makes the case for accepting some colonial and ethnographic accounts as more reliable sources than others, and he usually provides clear arguments for his conclusions, but occasionally readers are asked to accept statements without evidence. A more extensive and thorough engagement with information gathered orally from local informants would have enhanced the research significantly. This book nevertheless is a strikingly original contribution to the cultural history of colonial rule in Africa.

JOHN H. HANSON
Indiana University, Bloomington

JONATHAN SADOWSKY. *Imperial Bedlam: Institutions of Madness in Colonial Southwest Nigeria*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 169. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.95.

Madness raises questions about the nature of reality. It brings into sharp focus the thin line separating the normal from the pathological. It interrogates the ambiguities of the firm distinction between the physical and the surreal realms of the mind. What do we mean when we apply psychiatric labels such as "madness," "insanity," and "lunacy" to someone? What is a "lunatic"? Who decided who was insane, and how did they come to that decision? In this book, Jonathan Sadowsky attempts to grapple with these and other questions that have for years been at the core of cross-cultural psychology. Sadowsky's intention is not to discover what constitutes the essence of madness, an ahistorical encumberance and an elusive reality over which much energy has been dissipated; rather his objective is a historical inquiry into the ways madness has been construed, defined, treated, and challenged through a focus on colonial southwestern Nigeria.

In 1906, after warding off the request for many years, the British colonial government reluctantly adopted the policy of confining vagrant Africans in insane asylums. For decades, however, the new policy succeeded in ridding the society of the nuisance posed by wandering lunatics but did little to alleviate the suffering of those incarcerated. The insane were viewed and treated more like prisoners than patients. The emphasis was on social control rather than comprehension or cure. Far from being panoptic, and built more for the people outside than for those within, the colonial asylums served as custodian institutions where conditions were lamentable, to say the least. Treated as wild beasts, the Nigerian insane were "chained like felons in the dank, pestilential shelter" and "crammed together in tight quarters" that were "alarmingly bad" (p. 25). Calls for reform were treated with disdain and indifference by the colonial administration until the late colonial period, when the push toward decolonization began to bring Nigerians into the saddle of power.

However, the significance of Sadowsky's book is not in its exposition of the culpable neglect of the welfare of the insane by the colonial order; rather it is in his successful representation of asylum institutions as the veritable exemplar of the colonial order. The British adopted a "hands-off" approach that justified parsimony as a means of cultural preservation, disdained reform, and disavowed interference as an imposition on the African way of life. But this was an irrational logic, a kind of self-deception based on the faulty reasoning that one could have colonialism without imposition. Against this background, Sadowsky rejects Anthony Appiah's warning against adding "the colonial mental hospital to the long bill of indictment against colonialism" and insists that the indictment must stand. Thus, created as an expedient after years of stasis and in response to the mounting scandal of troublesome lunatics, the asylums become enduring scandals of the colonial era.

Beginning with Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), apparently the most biting critique of the late colonial social order, critical studies of mental pathology in colonial Africa are not new. However, this book expands the frontiers of our knowledge of colonial psychiatry in many ways. While acknowledging the contribution of Fanon, Sadowsky rejects the inconsistency of his interpretation, acknowledging that, although Fanon correctly stresses the specificity of the vivid and powerful case histories he draws from the French-Algerian colonial wars, he ultimately makes bold generalizations that go beyond what his data can support. Sadowsky's subsequent analysis is, nevertheless, in many ways consonant with Fanon's thesis that colonialism strongly determines the nature and content of its own mental pathology. (The most wide ranging of the scholarship following Fanon's is that of Jock McCulloch's *Colonial Psychiatry and the African Mind* [1995], which argues that even though colonial psychiatry is a useful window for understanding colonial mentality, it provides only limited insight into the African mind.)

Sadowsky's answer to the elusiveness of African pathology is to suggest that a methodological shift will focus more attention on the patients' representation of the illness experience, an approach that is only beginning to gain currency in the wider historiography of medicine in the last few years. While understandable in other areas, in the realm of mental illness this is a problematic proposition. It is like pursuing an elusive quarry, comprehending the incomprehensible, believing the insane to be sensible, and making sense of irrationality. In this regard, Sadowsky rejects an exclusively biopsychiatric approach, not so much because it is wrong but because it is incomplete, and most especially because in its most reductive form it alien-

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ates the afflicted from the social context in ways that are profoundly depersonalizing. Responding to the criticism that the content expressed in madness varies according to context, Sadowsky insists that focusing attention on this content is as crucial as recognizing the cultural and political significance of that content. Arguing that what the lunatics *said* is as important as what they *had*, he treats "raving" as a valid object of social analysis. In so doing, he suggests that beneath the seemingly incoherent and cryptic language of the mad are buried messages worthy of excavation.

Sadowsky's strengths are also the source of his biggest weakness. Carried away by his focus on the patients' perspective, he tends to underestimate the elusive reality of the visions, voices, and utterances of his most valued "informants," the criminally insane. His argument that insanity was not more prevalent but, rather, more visible under colonialism, and that the perceived prevalence of African lunacy was a mere projection of the colonialists' own apprehensions, remain unproven in the face of overwhelming evidence validating the jarring dislocations of imperialism. In the same vein, Nigerian healers blamed the "increase" in mental illness on the breakdown of the traditional family system and the loss of respect for authoritarian figures that came with colonialism.

Probably hampered by the limitations of his sources, Sadowsky makes no attempt to pursue this line of inquiry, in spite of its potentiality, while questioning the claim, although on what basis we are not told. Similarly, while his attempt to contextualize the lunatics' testimony within the framework of the colonial milieu of socioreligious conflicts, economic deprivation, and political alienation is insightful, his articulation of the significance of the concept of "juju" or "witchcraft" from his patients' perspective is weak because it fails to recognize the centrality of the paradigm of "juju" in the Yoruba perception of the etiology of insanity.

Finally, while Sadowsky succeeds in effectively situating his study within the conceptual framework of colonial psychiatry, his analysis lacks a comparative perspective. No serious attempt is made to compare and contrast the Yoruba experience with those of other African groups that have been studied. Hence, apart from the Yoruba, the only other African group mentioned in the index is the Kikuyu, and this only in connection with the psychology of the Mau Mau uprising.

Nevertheless, these criticisms should not take away from the significance of Sadowsky's contribution. It is in providing us with a distinctive perspective, both perceptive and original, which privileges the "insights" of the insane, while showing the extent to which the ambiguities of asylum policy and psychiatric theories are emblematic of the inherent contradictions of colonialism, that Sadowsky makes a valuable contribution to the literature on colonial psychiatry in Africa and beyond.

FUNSO AFOLAYAN
University of New Hampshire, Durham

JÜRGEN ZIMMERER. *Deutsche Herrschaft über Afrikaner: Stadlicher Machtanspruch und Wirklichkeit im kolonialen Namibia*. (Europa-Übersee, Historische Studien, number 10.) Munster: Lit. 2002. Pp. xiv, 329. €35.90.

In the midst of a number of interesting books recently published in German on Namibia, historians of Africa and German colonialism can now tout the arrival of yet another significant study by Jürgen Zimmerer. This resurgence of interest in the old German colonial empire seems strange at first, because that empire does not seem capable of a liberal, free trade, globalization refit like the British Empire, a trend now in vogue with some historians. What is it then? Guilt perhaps, or maybe a desire to tell the story from the perspective of the indigenous inhabitants, although there seems to be a minor backlash against postcolonial and postmodern studies of empire in the United States, Britain, and the latter's former "white" colonies. The brief German occupation of Namibia, then known as German South West Africa, has never gone down easy in history. In 1903, there were between 60,000 and 90,000 Herero people; in 1906, only 16,000 were left alive. Such statistics invoke the charge of genocide by the Germans, and the more controversial idea that this genocide contributed to the later actions of the Nazis. The African writer Aimée Cesaire goes further and argues that genocide was a tool not merely of the Germans but of Europeans generally in the age of imperialism. But who benefited from the killings of the Herero War and the starvation policies employed after the war by German authorities? British land speculators and concession companies as well as white settlers come immediately to mind. Older works by Helmut Bley and Horst Drechsler showed how Germany wanted to make the colony profitable, or at least self-sufficient. This meant that, in the end, the German government in Namibia had little choice but to support the policies of German companies toward the Hereros and other indigenous peoples. Making profits directed German colonial policy in Namibia. This realistic and practical assessment of the nature of colonialism would lead inevitably to the virtual destruction of the Herero people.

But Zimmerer goes beyond this crude, quasi-Marxist argument to argue that the principle goal of the entire German colonial apparatus in Namibia was to erect a new *Rassentrennung* or race division between white colonial settlers and Africans involving not only genocidal policies but also specific racial laws that would create a pool of cheap African labor with no legal rights and an exclusive white settler caste. Zimmerer does a particularly good job in pointing out the

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centrality of the labor question in Namibia. He traces the history and origins of racial, labor, and population regulations throughout the entire history of the German occupation, showing that they were not peripheral but absolutely central to the entire enterprise. The Herero War of 1904–1907 was just another piece in a long crime committed against the Namibian people. Zimmerer builds on Bley and Drechsler but goes beyond them by showing in detail how consciously German authorities implemented a racially divided state. In the current climate, where imperialism and racial policies get light treatment, Zimmerer does not hesitate to state that the Germans were creating an oppressive apartheid state in Namibia. While Bley and Drechsler focused on the capitalist companies as culprits, Zimmerer shows that the entire German bureaucracy operated with an apartheid mind set.

The book is densely researched with new material from the Windhoek archives in Namibia. It presents the most detailed view to date of the operations and mind of the German colonial administration before South Africa conquered the territory during World War I. Maps, tables, and charts provide a wealth of detail concerning the administration of German South West Africa. However, a very helpful and complete bibliography is offset by the lack of an index. Zimmerer's study makes a fine addition to an already rich trove of new work on Namibia and reminds historians that European empires were not just vehicles for universalizing "liberal capitalism" and "world government" and that, while they had a hypocritical Christian gloss of redemptive, civilizing mission, they were at heart venal, evil, oppressive, and racist. During South Africa's occupation, the natural resources and labor of Namibia remained under the control of foreign interests, including the United States. Zimmerer makes it clear that this system of exploitation had already been well entrenched during the period of German colonial rule.

RICHARD A. VOELTZ
Cameron University

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Film Reviews

NAPOLEON. Directed, produced, and written by David Grubin. 2003; color; 240 min. Distributed by PBS Home Video.

NAPOLÉON. Directed by Yves Simoneau. Produced by Jean-Pierre Guérin and Gerard Depardieu. Written by Didier Decoin. 2003; color; 280 minutes. Distributed by A&E Home Video.

Thirty years ago, Louis Bergeron published a history of the First Empire—*L'épisode napoléonien, aspects intérieurs, 1799–1815* (1972)—that scarcely mentioned Napoleon Bonaparte. One cannot expect a television documentary to attempt the equivalent; if any figure in modern times deserves Great Man treatment, surely it is Napoleon. Still, one would hope that, two centuries after his rise to power, we would have progressed beyond the "man of destiny" approach that too evidently shapes David Grubin's documentary. "He doesn't die, he will never die": these closing words, voiced by Jean-Paul Bertaud, may have been intended to laud Bonaparte's success at crafting his posthumous legend. But they suit all too well an awestruck documentary whose picture of Napoleon's significance is blinkered to exclude all but his own blazing light.

The format of Grubin's documentary (part of PBS's "Empires" series) will be familiar to anyone who has caught a glimpse of the History Channel. It features a large cast of talking heads. Its historical reenactments star actors whose faces are off-screen, except when in crowd or battle scenes (shown, as a rule, in slow motion). Visual images are used simply as illustration and are hardly ever mentioned—let alone analyzed—by the script. Francisco Goya's paintings and etchings flash by during the very brief discussion of Napoleon's Spanish wars, but not a whisper is given to the artist's name or his mission.

It would be a great shame if the documentary shows up in high school or college classrooms. This is the tale of Napoleon as fighter and lover. Military and personal history overwhelm any political or social content. Twelve minutes are spent on the battle of Austerlitz, and twelve on Waterloo, but considerably fewer than twelve, over the course of the documentary's four episodes, on matters of state such as Napoleon's administrative and legal reforms. Attention is doled out in strange proportions. The Eighteenth Brumaire does not arrive until nearly halfway through the 225-minute documentary (one reason so little time is left to discuss Napoleon's policies as consul and emperor). The Napoleonic state is reduced to the Napoleonic person: Joseph Fouché and Charles Maurice de Talleyrand each gets a brief mention (Fouché so that Napoleonic France may be branded "a police state") and then vanishes, never to reappear. Germaine de Staël and Benjamin Constant are notable no-shows. With no mention made of the Confederation of the Rhine or the Cisalpine Republic, it is no wonder that the documentary fails to discuss Napoleon's catalyzing influence on German and Italian nationalism. Besides noting that the Civil Code (barely introduced) was spread across Europe and that the Venice ghetto was opened, no attention is given to the effects of French conquest on other lands. We could use more of this, even if it required paring down the discussion of Napoleon's liking for macaroni.

Remarkably little time is given to events preceding Maximilien Robespierre's fall—apparently, the revolution will not be televised—and the attempt to sketch the revolutionary prelude in a few minutes leads to simplistic and misleading condensation. (The crowds storming the Bastille were *not* "crying 'liberty, equality, brotherhood' "; nor, I think, was the "monarchy . . . totter[ing] at the edge of destruction" on that day.) Inadequate attention to events of the 1790s makes certain later developments mystifying. The documentary ignores the religious history of the revolution (including egalitarian liberalization, de-Christianization, and the Cult of the Supreme Being) and thus ensures that viewers will not understand the significance of Napoleon's 1801 concordat with the papacy, mentioned in passing.

What really saps the life out of this documentary is the hackneyed, constricting format itself. A procession of authoritative talking heads, talking authoritatively, gives the viewer no reason to *think*. Why not pit one head against another, or at least work to convey that historical inquiry is a dialogue, inspired by questions? The diverse assemblage of heads, twenty-one by my count, is dominated by two military historians, John R. Elting and Owen Connelly. Buttressing the documentary's over-emphasis on Bonaparte's personal life are Sandra Gulland, the author of a trilogy of novels about

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Josephine, and the Comtesse Hugues de Livonnière, descended from Josephine. Jean Tulard, Alistair Horne, and Antoine de Baecque are welcome presences. But insufficient use is made of Isser Woloch, who might have been allowed to convey that others beside Bonaparte assisted in constructing the First Empire.

To turn from Grubin's *Napoleon* to the miniseries *Napoléon*, directed by Yves Simoneau from a script by Didier Decoin, is something of a relief. One encounters a richer, fuller picture of Napoleonic Europe in Simoneau's epic than in Grubin's documentary. In a historical drama, political debates may be crystallized into moments of interpersonal exchange; motivations may be subtly speculated upon by the mere raising of a character's eyebrow. One might stop short of recommending this miniseries for the classroom (except, perhaps, as part of a course devoted specifically to investigating the challenges of adapting history to the screen). But it would certainly spur more interesting discussion of Napoleon's personal and political ambiguities than would Grubin's documentary. The appropriately epic dimensions of Simoneau's cast ensure that no viewer will fall into the trap of viewing the First Empire as simply an extension of one man.

Napoléon is a French-British-Canadian production with an international cast. Accents are a mishmash (most remarkably, Napoleon and Josephine seem to have traded French and Italian origins). But the performances are strong, and some are splendid. Christian Clavier makes a surprisingly acceptable Napoleon, once one succeeds in forgetting Astérix, the other Gallic icon he has recently played. Isabella Rossellini as Josephine is charming and savvy. Pushing fifty during production, Clavier and Rossellini are practically the age at which the emperor and empress died; they look far too old (Clavier laughably so) in the opening scenes of early flirtation. Blink and you miss a prominent face: Julian Sands as a steely Count Metternich, Anouk Aimée as a steely Letizia Bonaparte. Gerard Depardieu is Fouché. The star turn is by John Malkovich, perfectly cast as a laconic Talleyrand.

As in the documentary, war and love (with a pinch of diplomacy) prevail. But Decoin's script manages to include important themes and moments missing from Grubin's documentary. Napoleon's decision to kidnap and execute the duc d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince—an important development not even mentioned in the documentary—is given center stage in the miniseries. After a failed assassination attempt on Napoleon, Talleyrand asks Bonaparte whether he would have voted for the death of Louis XVI. (This is a nice way of voicing a central question: was Napoleon the revolution's creature or its betrayer?) Napoleon says that he does not know; now, Talleyrand replies, is his moment to decide. Bonaparte orders the execution. Simoneau treats Enghien's execution as a moment of high drama: the camera pans smoothly between rifles, Napoleon's face, and Enghien's (despite the fact that the two men are separated by hundreds of miles), as if they occupy the same dreamspace. A lock of hair cut by Enghien for his fiancée will be echoed by a lock that Napoleon cuts at the film's end for the young English girl to whom he has told his life story—as if finally, after years of confinement on St. Helena, he has succeeded in paying the price for his crime. (The film conflates two assassination attempts: the 1800 "infernal machine" and the 1804 Cadoudal plot: while the former was admittedly more dramatic, it was the latter that inspired the revenge on Enghien.)

Simoneau's film is stunningly visual, beginning with the opening image of Napoleon's back as he surveys the Atlantic from St. Helena (this quotes Benjamin Robert Haydon's once-famous 1829 painting, *Napoleon Musing at St. Helena*). And when Bonaparte visits Jacques-Louis David's studio to view the canvas of his coronation and tells the painter to include his mother, despite her absence from the ceremony itself, the miniseries, in a stroke, leaps ahead of the documentary by conveying that visual sources should be treated with caution rather than viewed as simple windows onto the past. Then, in a lovely touch, as the painter and the emperor walk away, the camera remains on the canvas, which becomes gradually saturated with color as, off-screen, David's voice tells Napoleon how very long such a work will take to finish.

STUART SEMMEL
University of Delaware

EXILE IN BUYUKADA. Written and directed by Turan Yavuz. Produced by Ayda Yavuz. Turkey. In Russian, French, and Turkish, with English narration and subtitles. 2002; color; 72 min. Distributed by Pathfinder Home Entertainment.

In the eleven years following his expulsion from the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik leader and Marxist revolutionary Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) exposed the crimes of Joseph Stalin through his writings, tried to organize a worldwide current of opposition to capitalism and Stalinism alike, and lived with the dark foreboding of his own eventual demise at Stalin's machination. *Exile in Buyukada* is a plausible cinematic evocation of Trotsky's time of persecution and frustration. A hybrid of documentary and drama based on Isaac Deutscher's celebrated biography, *The Prophet Outcast* (1963), and narrated enchantingly by English actress Vanessa Redgrave, the film depicts Trotsky in his Turkish exile. Its earliest shots show Trotsky standing on the deck of the ship Ilych (V. I. Lenin's middle name) on a cold February day in 1929, heading from Odessa to Constantinople. His wife Natalia Sedova is at his side, white-capped waves roll below, and GPU agents peer ominously from the stern.

Russian actor Victor Sergachev is a dead ringer for Trotsky, albeit the Trotsky of 1940 rather than 1930. His understated performance conveys well Trotsky's brilliance, concentration, rigidity, and conviction. Sergachev surpasses the meager performances of Richard Burton in *The Assassination of Leon Trotsky* (1972) and

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Geoffrey Rush in *Frida* (2002), although the latter film is a visual feast at gourmet level, far beyond the humble production values and somewhat dry delivery of *Exile in Buyukada*.

A pronounced line of meditation in *Exile in Buyukada* involves the history of modern Turkey and its capital Constantinople (after 1930, Istanbul). Trotsky, unfamiliar with the language, did not seek out Turkey. But exiles do not usually choose their destination, and Trotsky's visa requests were rebuffed everywhere else, including the United States. His exile in Turkey depended on the good will of the government formed by Kemal Ataturk in 1923, which ended the decrepit Ottoman Empire and created the Republic of Turkey. The film locates the basis for Turkish tolerance of Trotsky's presence in a revolutionary nationalist modernity. This democratic strand of Turkish nationalism has been battered by military repression and Islamic fundamentalism, although the film makes no mention of these more recent developments, perhaps because of its remarkable sponsorship by the Istanbul Stock Exchange and assistance from the Directorate General of Press and Information.

Initially, Trotsky resided in the Soviet consulate in Constantinople, then moved to a nearby posh hotel, and finally departed to the nearby island of Prinkipo (today Buyukada), the largest of the Princes' Islands in the Sea of Marmara and once a home for aristocratic exiles under the Byzantine Empire. Trotsky's safety was a constant preoccupation for Turkish officials, who did not want a political assassination to occur on their soil. The capital was teeming with exiled Russian czarists, including veterans who hated Trotsky for his command of the Red Army. Meanwhile, Stalin's intelligence applied hostile pressure from another direction, penetrating even the oppositionists' ranks within the Prinkipo household. The images of the island's pine-covered beauty, the cry of gulls, the soft clip-clop of horses (the only mode of transport permitted on Buyukada), and the rustic fishing expeditions make for a tranquil natural setting at variance with Trotsky's anxious political situation.

Exile in Buyukada is as much documentary as drama. It contains extremely rare motion picture footage of Stalin, Trotsky, and Ataturk, many photographs of historical Constantinople and the Russian Revolution of 1917, images of Trotsky's original correspondence, and contemporaneous Turkish headlines. The dramatic scenes mostly depict Trotsky's entourage and family, including his interactions with his trusted son Leon Sedov (Lyova), who was eventually murdered by Stalinist agents in Paris, and his troubled daughter Zina, whose suicide in Berlin after Trotsky pushed her away from Prinkipo left him devastated and guilt ridden.

Despite the good quality of the film, a few criticisms regarding translation into English are necessary. The title, suitable for Turkish viewers, does not work in English. "Buyukada" is anachronistic; *Exile in Prinkipo* is historically exact and would have won greater recognition among potential viewers versed in the English-language literature on Trotsky. There are further problems: Deutscher's name, regrettably, is misspelled in the opening credits, and some subtitles are awkward.

The complexity of Trotsky's thought makes him a difficult subject for the screen. *Exile in Buyukada* demonstrates his great concern about the rise of fascism in Germany, but it might have better explored some additional controversies. Were there appreciable political differences between Lenin and Stalin, for example, or between Trotsky and Stalin? Viewers who interpret Bolshevism as uniformly totalitarian will not be satisfied by the clever joke that merely scratches the issue's surface in this film. Someone is said to have asked Trotsky, "If Lenin were alive today, would you be in the Kremlin right now?" His reply: "If Lenin were alive today, he would also be fishing in Turkey with me."

CHRISTOPHER PHELPS
Ohio State University, Mansfield

DEACONS FOR DEFENSE. Directed by Bill Duke. Produced by Robert Rehme. Screenplay by Richard Wesley and Frank Military, based on the book by Michael D'Antonio. A Showtime Original Production. 2003; color; 99 min. Distributed by DEJ Productions.

Deacons for Defense, a feature-length film originally made for cable television, dramatizes civil rights activism in Bogalusa, Louisiana, during 1965. The film showcases a little-known but historically significant group known as the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a band of armed black men who united in Bogalusa (and in other pockets of white terrorism) to combat the Ku Klux Klan. Until recently, most civil rights scholars and historians have overlooked the Deacons, who were seemingly out of step with a social movement characterized by nonviolent direct action. The film boasts an impressive cast, including Forrest Whittaker as the protagonist, Marcus; Ossie Davis as Reverend Gregory; and Joel Silverman as Deane, a white civil rights organizer from the North.

The film proceeds along a predictable trajectory. Civil rights organizations, represented by high-minded white northerners, move into the area, where they step up confrontations with local authorities. Tension mounts, particularly at the local paper mill where most townspeople work. Marcus, a hard-working family man, fears reprisal and opposes any type of defiant behavior, even as his children become involved in civil right protests organized by Deane. The physical abuse of Marcus's daughter by a white police officer at a local demonstration transforms him into an activist who organizes his neighbors to fight back, literally as well as figuratively. These black men, not only churchgoers but also veterans of the armed services, call themselves the Deacons for Defense. Protected by the Deacons, local African Americans continue their protests even

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as the Klan increases its terrorism. Like James Earl Ray or Byron de la Beckwith (the infamous assassins of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Medgar Evers, respectively), a sniper stalks Marcus as confrontations reach a fevered pitch. Finally, the Justice Department pressures state and local authorities to intervene on the side of the Deacons, who emerge triumphant in the face of white supremacy.

In the tradition of *Forrest Gump* (1994) or *JFK* (1991), *Deacons for Defense* juxtaposes clips of real-life documentary footage with its own recreated scenes. Director Bill Duke creatively mixes color footage with black-and-white footage to dramatize what happened in Bogalusa. The final product blurs the lines between Hollywood and history. Shots of Whittaker and other actors are depicted along with actual footage of civil rights demonstrators being attacked and arrested by police, often in places other than Bogalusa; similar use is made of actual and recreated news broadcasts that detail the escalating tensions. The director asks much of his audience when he asks viewers to accept the familiar scene of a German shepherd tearing the pants leg of a black demonstrator in Birmingham in 1963 as having happened in Bogalusa in 1965. Few savvy viewers will overlook such anachronisms.

More troubling is the film's limited character development and reliance on stereotype. What little character development that occurs is staccato and abrupt. Whittaker's character instantly transforms from a complacent Negro into an angry, gun-toting black man. Marcus, a shoe-shuffling Uncle Tom who "yasuhs" and "nosuhs" his white employers, bears no resemblance to Charles Sims, the real-life founder of the Deacons for Defense and Justice in Bogalusa; by most accounts, Sims was a hard-nosed, gruff man who never kowtowed to anyone, black or white. Relatedly, all of the characters, regardless of race, are reduced to stereotype: the Klansmen are one dimensionally racist and the Deacons robotically intrepid. There are no sympathetic whites, other than the idealistic Deane, whose pacifism blinds him to the reality of those black people he is trying to help.

In attempting to portray black men as defiant heroes in a historical milieu that seems to celebrate the softspoken and the nonresistant in achieving racial justice, the film should be commended, and, undoubtedly, it will challenge many viewers to reconsider traditional renditions of the civil rights movement. However, it does oversimplify the events that transpired in Bogalusa, and exhibits some of the same imperfections characteristic of other Hollywood renditions of the civil rights era. In *Deacons for Defense*, the catalysts for civil rights activism are not local blacks but white outsiders, and, not unlike *Mississippi Burning* (1988), in which FBI agents save the day, the Justice Department serves as a *deus ex machina* to swoop in and set things right (while preserving peace and order) in the film's final scenes. Perhaps the film's greatest shortcoming is that it sensationalizes a story that needs no aggrandizement from Hollywood; accordingly, the twenty-minute documentary *Defending the Deacons*, which Showtime aired as an accompaniment to the film, proves to be more informative than (and as equally entertaining as) *Deacons for Defense*, a film better viewed as an action movie than as an instructive work of historical fiction.

CHRISTOPHER STRAIN
Florida Atlantic University

CARANDIRU. Directed by Hector Babenco. Produced by Walter Salles. Written by Hector Babenco, Victor Navas, and Fernando Bonassi. Brazil. 2003; color; 146 min. Distributed by Sony Pictures Classics (U.S.) and Mongrel Media (Canada).

Hector Babenco's film *Carandiru* is a powerful visual recreation of life in the São Paulo penitentiary system in the early 1990s. Through the narrative voice of the prison's medical doctor, ample use of flashbacks, and impressive cinematography by Walter Carvalho, Babenco has invented a new genre: the "Brazilian prison epic." The film gives viewers a picture of what life was like for inmates in the grim Brazilian prison system and ends with the bloody massacre of 111 prisoners by the military police's shock troopers on October 2, 1992. Unfortunately, Babenco misses the opportunity to engage viewers emotionally with the rich political and social historical material, and instead has created a visual text that often meanders without any clear direction.

Babenco's choices are surprising because the film is based on Drauzio Varella's compelling nonfiction work, *Estação Carrandiru*, which captured the author's experience as a volunteer medical doctor trying to bring about AIDS awareness and prevention in the São Paulo prison system for nearly twelve years. In addition, the film follows in the tradition of many of Babenco's socially conscious films such as *Pixote* (1980), *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (1984), and *At Play in the Fields of the Lord* (1991), all of which focus on the marginalized sectors of American societies.

Before its demolition in 2002, Carandiru was the largest penitentiary system in Latin America and the site of several rebellions, raids, and human rights atrocities, including the massacre that was widely criticized by activists, journalists, intellectuals, and artists. The 1992 atrocity also inspired singer-songwriters Caeteno Veloso and Gilberto Gil to create the song "Haiti," one of the most profound commentaries on the interconnection of injustice, race, and violence (issues that are present in Babenco's work, although never really explored). Babenco has claimed that he neither analyzes nor provides solutions but simply offers filmgoers a glimpse into the inner world of a Brazilian prison and the people condemned to live there.

This view rings partly true since the film can be viewed as an audio-visual ethnography of the Carandiru prisoners. The lack of a coherent plot and the choice not to focus too deeply on any of the burning

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social issues, such as AIDS or racism, results in a social history that, however powerful, at two hours and twenty minutes pushes the limits of most viewers. As the film moves from one prisoner to another, viewers glimpse many individual stories without necessarily receiving deeper insights about any particular one. Babenco has chosen to present too many stories, although far fewer than those presented in the book that inspired him. However, this choice certainly gives audiences a sense of the enormity and complexity of the prison facilities.

Some of individual stories of the inmates are compelling, as are the recreations of the internal patterns of organization and operation within the prison walls. There are also powerful moments, particularly when inmates dialogue with symbols of Brazilian nationality, such as the scenes of prisoners singing the national anthem and the scene of one of the soccer games played inside the compound. In the case of the latter, Babenco connects the genuine joy and passion of the inmates for soccer with that of the outside world. Ironically, the emotions in the aftermath of the soccer game serve as the catalyst to the riot that ultimately ends in massacre.

Despite Babenco's claim that his films are more about compassion and less about political discourse, *Carandiru*, like *Pixote*, is an explicit criticism of Brazilian political forces in general and the political authorities in São Paulo, under then-governor Luiz Antonio Fleury Filho, in particular. In one scene, for example, Babenco juxtaposes television footage of a clean-cut President Collar, who was impeached in 1992, giving a political speech with a scene of a prisoner shooting up drugs.

While Babenco's humanistic approach to his subject allow us to understand that the inmates are complex individuals trying to survive in a cruel world, he never really addresses the issue of culpability, even when it is clear that many of the prisoners have committed horrible acts. Moreover, the film makes a distinction between the atrocities committed by the inmates and the state-sanctioned mass murder that is dramatized by changes in the film's tone, color, and musical score. The powerful final scene, after the massacre, when the naked inmates are summoned to the courtyard underscores Babenco's view: robbed of all humanity, they sit face down before the state.

This is certainly a film that students of history should see, but they should approach it as an example of visual social history and be prepared to discuss its promises and shortcomings.

DARIÉN DAVIS
Middlebury College

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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IBN AL-ATHĪR, 'IZZ AL-DĪN. *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks: Selections from al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rīkh of 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr.* Translated and annotated by D. S. RICHARDS. (Studies in the History of Iran and Turkey.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. vii, 311. $85.00.

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Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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ADORNO, THEODOR W. *Can One Live After Auschwitz? A Philosophical Reader*. Edited by ROLF TIEDEMANN. Translated by RODNEY LIVINGSTONE *et al.* (Cultural Memory in the Present.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2003. Pp. xxvii, 525. Cloth $75.00, paper $29.95.

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PUCHALA, DONALD J. *Theory and History in International Relations*. New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xi, 271.

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BRAGUE, RÉMI. *The Wisdom of the World: The Human Experience of the Universe in Western Thought*. Translated by TERESA LAVENDER FAGAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 297. $35.00.

BURKE, JAMES. *Twin Tracks: The Unexpected Origins of the Modern World*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2003. Pp. 276. $24.00.

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LI, XIAOBING, and ZUOHONG PAN, editors. *Taiwan in the Twenty-First Century*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2003. Pp. 323. $49.00.

LYONS, THOMAS P. *China Maritime Customs and China's Trade Statistics 1859–1948*. With CD-ROM. Trumansburg, N.Y.: Willow Creek. 2003. Pp. viii, 171. $34.95.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

While not a specialist in colonial Mexico, I have long had an interest in how the Spanish were able to conquer the powerful Aztec empire in the early 1500s. As one who teaches World History to college freshmen and who works with social studies education majors, I very much appreciated Camilla Townsend's close attention, in "Burying the White Gods: New Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico" [*AHR* 108 (June 2003): 659–87], to what she calls the myth of the Aztec belief that the invading Spaniards were gods. Townsend correctly notes that this version of the conquest narrative, in which the Aztec religion was a major factor in preventing full military resistance to the invaders, is pervasive in the secondary schools, and deserves to be investigated more critically in college classrooms. Townsend's observations that Hernando Cortés himself never claimed that the Aztecs considered him to be a god, and that the first documented accounts of such claims came decades after the conquest, constitute powerful evidence for her thesis.

I suggested in graduate school a decade ago that the retrospective Aztec account of the conquest, as published in the popular book, *The Broken Spears*, edited by Miguel Léon-Portilla, might reinforce student perceptions of Aztec cultural backwardness because of its passages describing the Spanish as gods. I wrote then that such passages might lead students to believe that the Aztecs, and by extension other Amerindians, "deserved" their fate at the hands of European invaders. Townsend articulates these same fears, as she notes that this text, which on one level celebrates Aztec resistance, also "traps [the Aztecs] in stereotype" (p. 663), and presents "memory" as historical reality.

Nevertheless, I use *The Broken Spears* in my classes; and a close reading of the text, even in English, can help students raise some of the same questions that Townsend addresses. Passages in Bernal Díaz's *The Conquest of New Spain*, mentioned in passing by Townsend, can also provide clues to an alternate explanation of the myth of the Aztec reception of the Spaniards as gods.

In *The Broken Spears*, when Moctezuma, before the Spanish arrival, related to his magicians the omens he had "seen," the latter averred (p. 14) that they had not noticed such omens, and they provided the king with what can only be called deliberately vague and evasive answers. Thus the religious authorities were not providing these prophecies to the king. Later, the text presented Moctezuma's feelings upon the arrival of "our prince Quetzalcoatl" in the following terms: "This is what he [Moctezuma] felt in his heart: He has appeared! He has come back! He will come here, to the place of his throne and canopy, for that is what he promised when he departed! . . . It is said that our lord has returned to this land" (p. 23). With coaxing, my students can soon identify this phrasing, and a similar passage on page 64, as quintessentially Christian, indicating that the narratives produced in the decades after the conquest had assimilated ideas of the Spanish priests about the prospective second coming of Jesus. The double meaning in English of "lord" as both earthly master and god helps point up for my students in a basic way the difficult issues of meaning and translation that Townsend discusses with regard to Nahuatl and Spanish.

Another important passage in *The Broken Spears* that sustains Townsend's thesis, and to which she alludes only indirectly, is the account of the debate among Moctezuma's advisers about whether to welcome the Spaniards to Tenochtitlan or to resist. In the English version, the Spaniards are referred to as "Christians," as "ambassadors of another great prince," and as "visitors," but never as "gods." Indeed, Moctezuma's brother, Cuitlahuac, explicitly rejected the idea that they could be gods when he presciently warned: "I pray to our gods that you will not let the

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strangers into your house. They will cast you out of it and overthrow your rule" (p. 61). While most advisers, we are told, agreed with Cuitlahuac, Moctezuma fatefully decided otherwise. The point for students here is that the supposed religious preconceptions played no role in the debate over strategy, which is also a point that Townsend makes in her article.

The Spanish soldier Bernal Díaz, meanwhile, provided some evidence to explain the emergence of premonitions among various Nahuatl groups that changes might come from the east. In his account of the Spanish expedition along the coast of Mexico in 1519 (the relevant portions of which are reprinted in Stuart Schwartz's 2000 collection of documents, *Victors and Vanquished*), Díaz described the encounter with a Spanish priest, Jerónimo de Aguilar, who had been shipwrecked in the area a decade before, and who had been living among the Amerindians. One may speculate (though Díaz himself does not) that the priest had spoken to his hosts of Spanish ships, guns, horses, beards, and God, thus planting the seeds of what later would be regarded as "prophecy." Perhaps Townsend takes up this thread in her forthcoming book on Malintzin, or "La Malinche," who with Aguilar served as Cortzés's translators.

It is worth noting that at least one recent anthology of North American Indian accounts of interaction with whites both reproduces and questions supposed prophecies of the coming of the new group. Peter Nabokov writes in *Native American Testimony* (expanded edn., 1991): "It is possible that some tribes received advance word of early Indian-white meetings, then turned these rumors into predictions" (p. 6). Thus "pre-contact" prophecies in North America, like the "prophecies" Townsend analyzes, may not really have been from the pre-contact period at all.

Townsend and the *AHR* deserve praise for revisiting this important historical issue, which should be of interest not only to specialists but to all teachers of world history, and even of U.S. history. This attention, I hope, will spur changes in how we teach the Spanish conquest of Mexico not only at the college level but in elementary and secondary schools as well.

ROBERT SHAFFER
Shippensburg University

CAMILLA TOWNSEND REPLIES:

As a comparativist, it is gratifying to find myself in conversation about the conquest of Mexico with a scholar of U.S. foreign relations. A journal of the scope and caliber of the *American Historical Review* makes meaningful interchange between historical fields, so often isolated from each other, a genuine possibility.

It seems to me that Robert Shaffer is certainly correct that the apocryphal first half of Book Twelve of the Florentine Codex is replete with discrepancies, obvious overlays of Christian imagery, and sticky translation problems that together undermine a careful reader's confidence in the text as an actual record of events. It is not even necessary to wait for the second part (concerning the military conflict that ensued), the strikingly different tone of which can only be called business-like, before allowing oneself to begin to doubt. In a separate vein, a careful study of varying omens later reported not only by the Nahuas but also by numerous other indigenous groups, most of whom had been exposed to rumors about exploring Europeans, and all of whom held their own complex narratives of political history, might well prove illuminating: I hope to see such studies in future.

I appreciate Shaffer's reading for other reasons as well. He immediately zeroes in on the two major themes of my article that surround the central question of the white gods. First, he shares with me a belief that this issue is important to historians in our relations with both our subjects and our students. It is not merely a yes/no question of fact (i.e., the Indians did think the Spanish were gods, or they did not). It is, rather, a question of human dignity—of allowing it to our subjects and teaching it to our nation's young. In this case, as in most instances of objectification, the objectifiers (those who imagine a less powerful Other) have by no means hated or despised those whom they have rendered less real by denying them complicated views and agendas of their own. On the contrary, they have often been fascinated by the indigenous, even loved them. But in the long run, we do any people an injustice not to allow them to be ordinary or angry or calculating or rational—in short, real. In a worst-case scenario, as Shaffer points out, teaching anything less might allow some of our students to convince themselves that certain peoples "deserve" to be conquered. It seems to me that in light of recent international events—not just sixteenth-century ones—we would do well to give this thought serious consideration.

Secondly, Shaffer recognizes in his first sentence that "how the Spanish were able to conquer the powerful Aztec empire" is ultimately at issue here. Our lack of a completely satisfactory answer to that question has held many of us tongue-tied in the past. The theories of causality that we have advanced have been too full of holes to make it possible thoroughly to discount Aztec religious fatalism as a major factor. We can't, for example, have it that disease was the deciding factor, even as we argue that the Aztecs were effectively defeated not by Spaniards but by their Indian allies, for Indian allies were hit as hard by the microbes as Indian enemies. Traditionally, even those who have brought up technology (one corollary of which is, of course, a greater previous exposure to a range of diseases) have had perforce to beg the question of *why* the Europeans had superior technology in the first place. Plant biologists studying the remains of ancient seeds may be able to liberate us from this conundrum if we will let them. That thought, I know, is anathema to some of my colleagues who understandably fear a return to ridiculous environ-

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mental explanations for human behavior. (It was the fertile soil, the warm air, the cold air, etc.) But many who have read the new literature carefully recognize that science is offering us something quite different this time, a theory that merits historians' closest attention. It effectively explains the earlier rise of farming and therefore of technology in Eurasia, providing a context for the drama of conquest that played itself out over and over again throughout the Americas.

In short, we now *can* have it both ways: the Indians had to lose a technologically unequal contest, and yet they were at the same time every bit as intelligent and savvy as any of the Spaniards. Indeed, in some ways, they were more discerning than the newcomers about the importance of the technological differential. This is demonstrated in my article in my close reading both of the Indians' actions and of their forms of expression in the more prosaic and reality-bound sections of Book Twelve—considered in the original Nahuatl, before problematic translations enter into the matter.

For those who are interested in the kinds of questions raised by my article or by Robert Shaffer's commentary, I would like to point out that two major works on related themes appeared within a month of my piece: Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Oxford, 2003), and Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 2003). They were unavailable to me at the time I wrote but deserve the close attention of anyone concerned with these issues. Though not in agreement on all counts, our three works, taken together, would seem to indicate that early Mexicanists are relatively united at present in insisting on a rethinking of old assumptions about conquest.

CAMILLA TOWNSEND
Colgate University

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In his perceptive review of Klaus Larres's *Churchill's Cold War: The Politics of Personal Diplomacy* (*AHR* 108 [June 2003]: 918), John Dumbrell overlooks that work's neglect of the World War II years, a neglect that serves to minimize the significance of alternate policy choices presented to the postwar world. As Warren Kimball has pointed out, in contrast to the ever-friendlier approach of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Soviets during the war, Winston Churchill's long-standing hostility, however muted, persisted (*The Juggler*, 28–31, 37). As the Soviet Union bore the brunt of Adolf Hitler's might, there was an ongoing anti-Bolshevik flavor to Churchill's repeated opposition to the proposed second front, his promotion of secondary alternatives in Africa, Italy, and the Balkans, his stinginess with decoded military information, his foot-dragging on aid to Russia, and his advocacy of a race to beat the Soviets to Berlin. In all of these matters, he was at odds with Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin.

Toward the end of the war, postwar political concerns intensified Churchill's anti-Soviet posture, as revealed in his interference in developments in Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Belgium and his "secret hopes" for a German capitulation in Italy allowing Allied troops to move to the east (Warren F. Kimball, ed., *Churchill and Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence*, vol. 3, 609). By early 1945, Churchill openly "suggested to the Americans that military forces be positioned so as to limit Soviet expansion" (Kimball, 523). This and further efforts to establish an Anglo-American alliance directed against Stalin were repeatedly, if carefully, blocked by a Roosevelt anxious to preserve the decisive understandings reached at Yalta. While, on March 1, 1945, Roosevelt called upon Congress and the American people to concur in and support the Yalta accords, a mere six days later, in what Kimball entitled "A British Reversal on Eastern Europe," Churchill "moved away from the spheres-of-influence settlement" reached with Stalin and sought Roosevelt's participation in an attack on Soviet policy in Poland (Kimball, 545). This was the beginning of a campaign that would serve only to discredit Yalta and one that Roosevelt continued to oppose for the few remaining weeks of his life. On March 29, he cabled Churchill, "I consider it essential to base ourselves squarely on the Crimea decisions themselves and not allow any other considerations, no matter how important, to cloud the issue at this time. I have this particularly in mind with respect to the Polish negotiations" (Kimball, 592). The day before he died, he wrote Churchill, "I would minimize the general Soviet problem as much as possible" (Kimball, 630).

There was a crucial distinction between these two national leaders. Roosevelt welcomed the Soviet Union as a true partner, accepted the legitimacy of the Soviet system, anticipated its liberalization over time in a non-threatening world, and placed the wartime alliance at the heart of his postwar hopes. He believed that these differing systems could actually learn from one another, and he envisaged a postwar world of friendly cooperation in which the major powers, while remaining dominant in their own sphere of interest, would work together in an international organization dedicated to human rights, the independence of all nations, and the prevention of wars of aggression. To Churchill, on the other hand, the wartime alliance appears to have been an opportunistic interlude in an ongoing battle against a Bolshevism that threatened Britain and its colonial empire. Churchill's approach was increasingly one of hostile confrontation, and while it is true that this did not necessitate war, it did deny the legitimacy of the Soviet system. Churchill would justify his own use of military force to impose governments on other nations while denying a repeatedly invaded and now devastated Russia the right to

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guarantee friendly nations on its very borders because "the Russian version of democracy" was not a legitimate one (Kimball, 588). While Roosevelt lived, Churchill lacked the support he needed to implement his anti-Soviet policies. A promising new opportunity was presented, however, when Harry Truman became president. Urged on by Churchill and others, Truman immediately abandoned Roosevelt's friendly and cooperative approach to the Soviet Union and, focusing on the Polish question, initiated a bluntly antagonistic relationship. The domestic and international results of the lengthy Cold War that followed seem central to many of the problems that plague the nations of the world today.

OTTO H. OLSEN
Gainesville, Florida

EPHRAIM SCHULMAN
Valdosta, Georgia

John Dumbrell does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

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CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Director at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. General e-mail address is: aha@theaha.org. Our home page is http://www.theaha.org.

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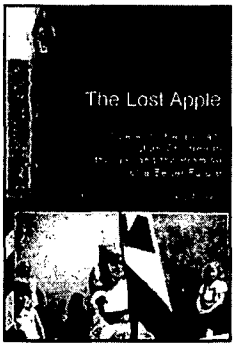

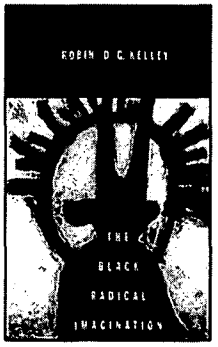

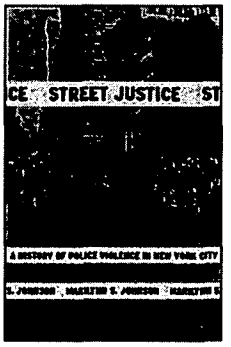

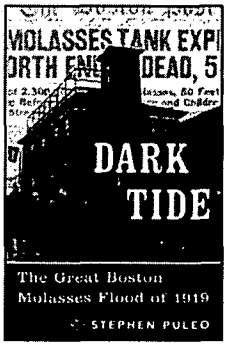

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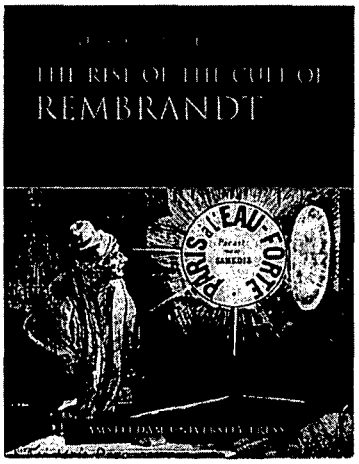

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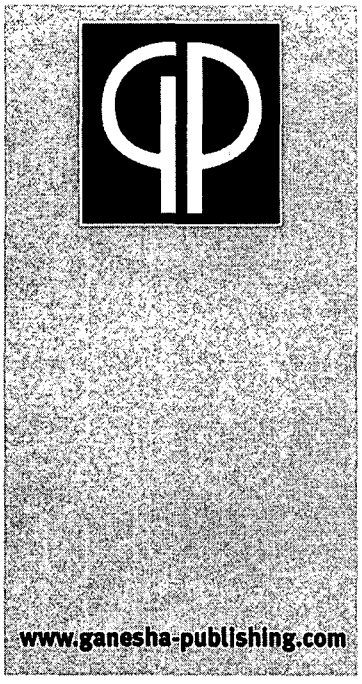

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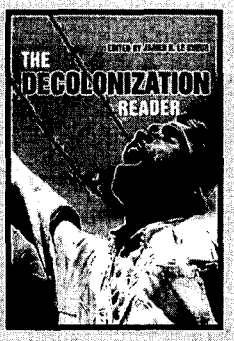

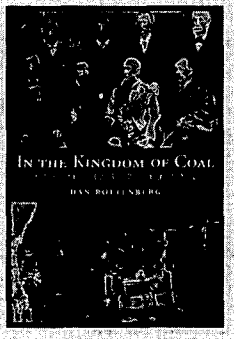

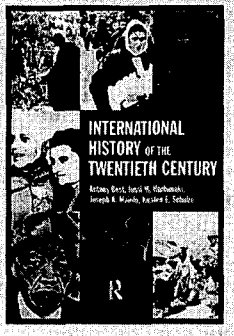

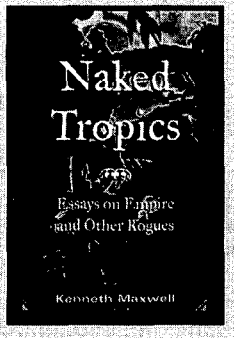

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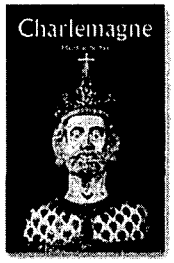

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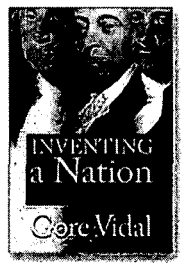

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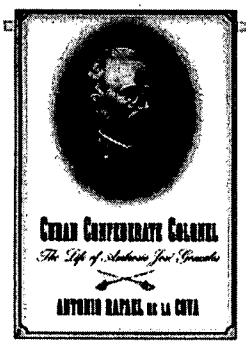

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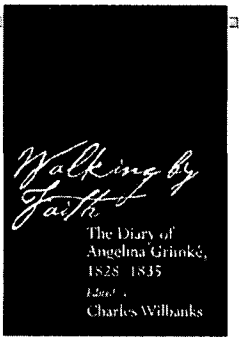

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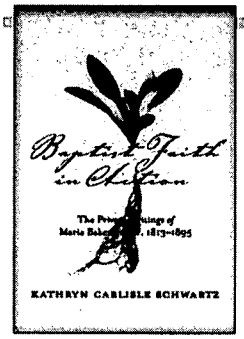

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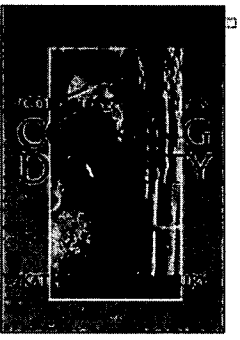

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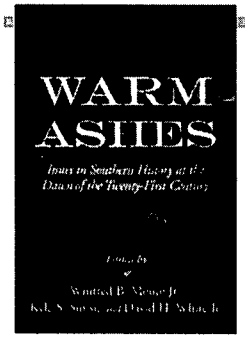

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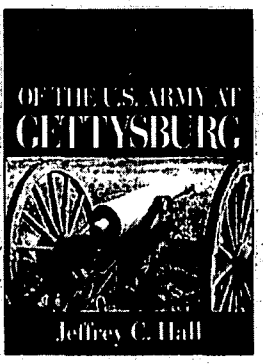

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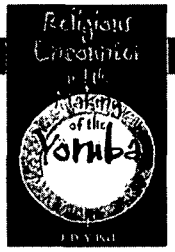

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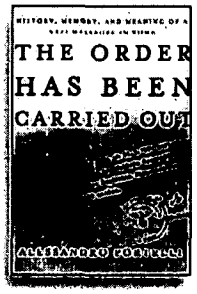

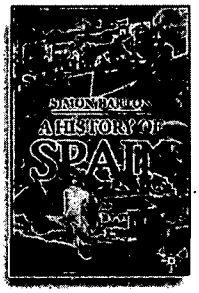

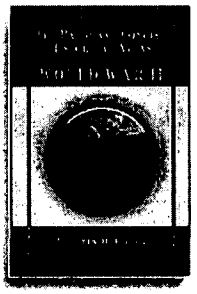

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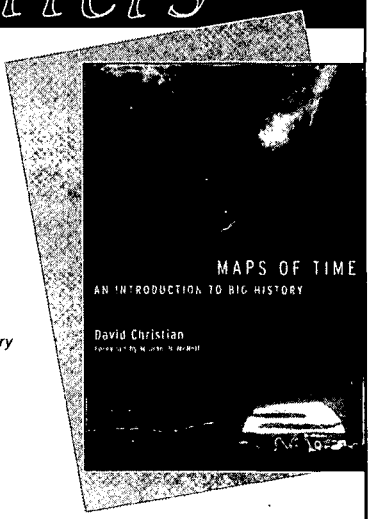

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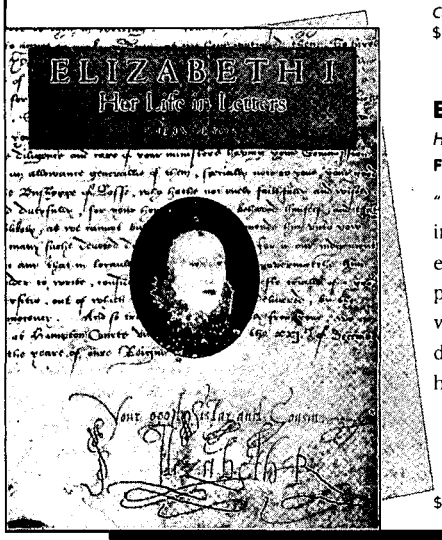

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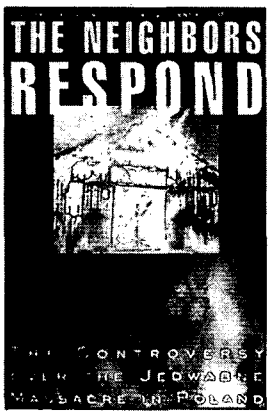

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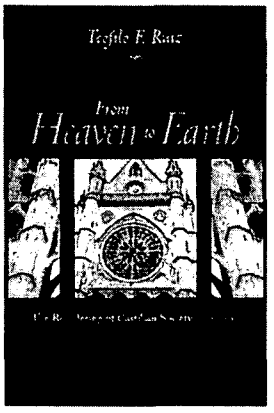

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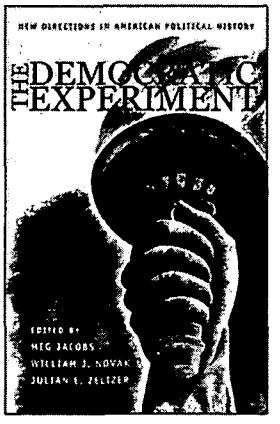

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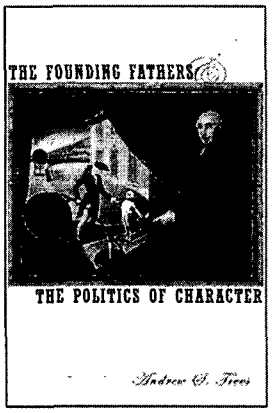

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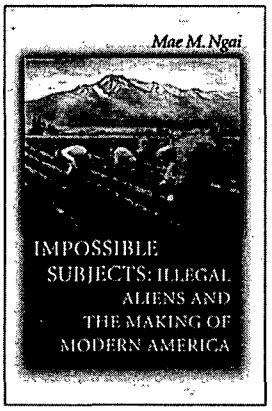

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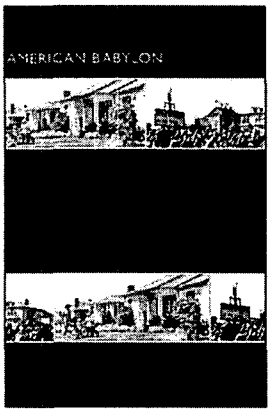

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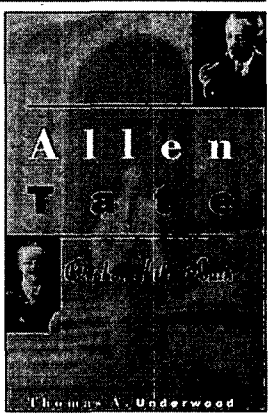

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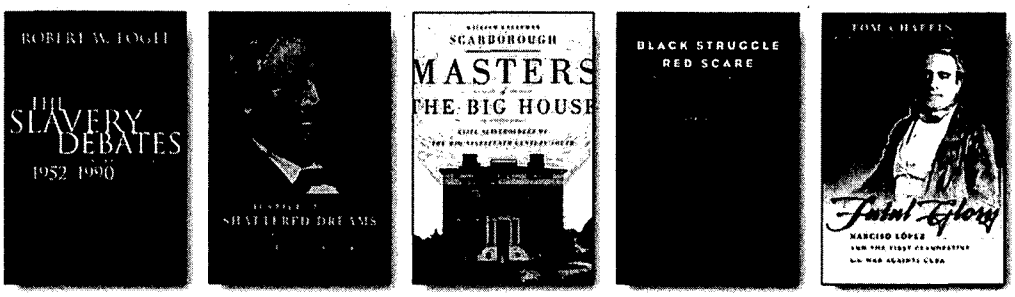

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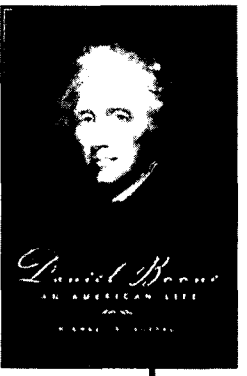

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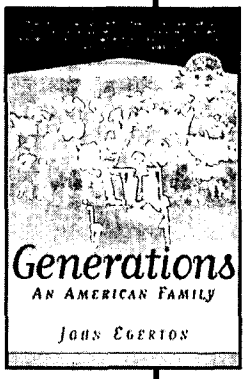

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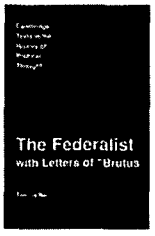

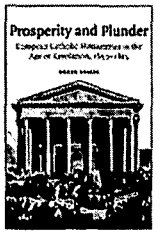

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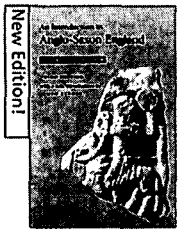

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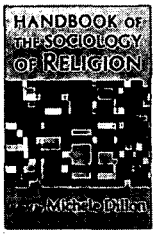

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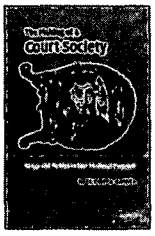

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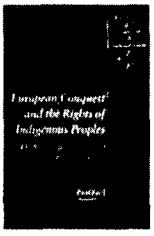

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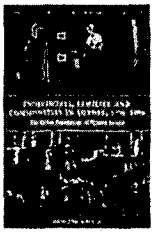

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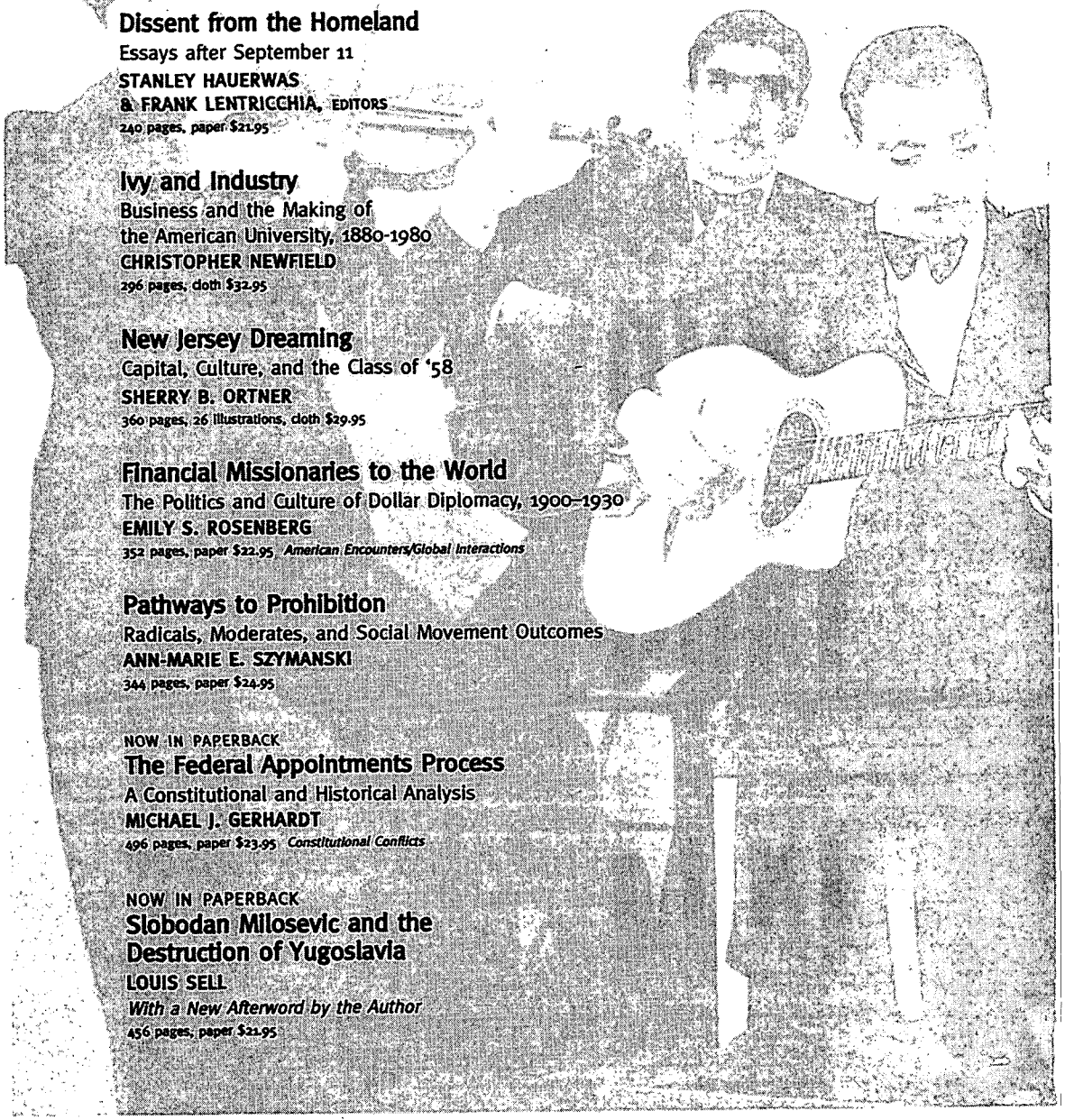

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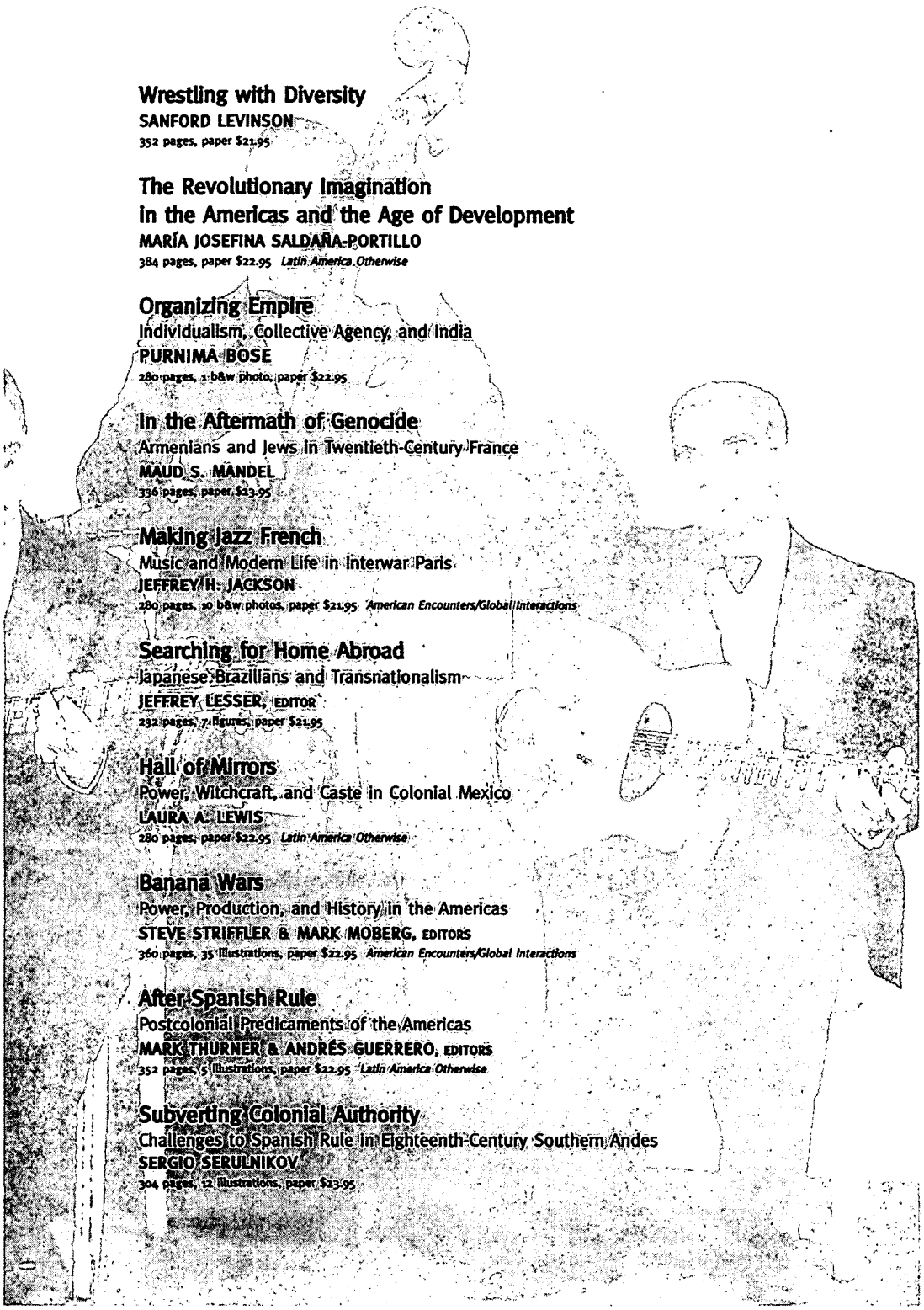

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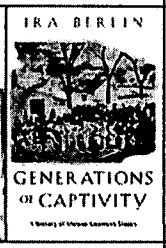

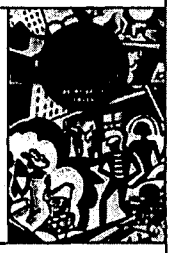

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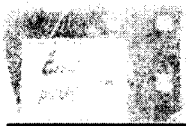

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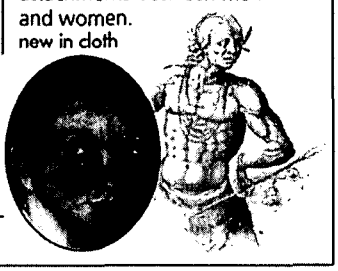

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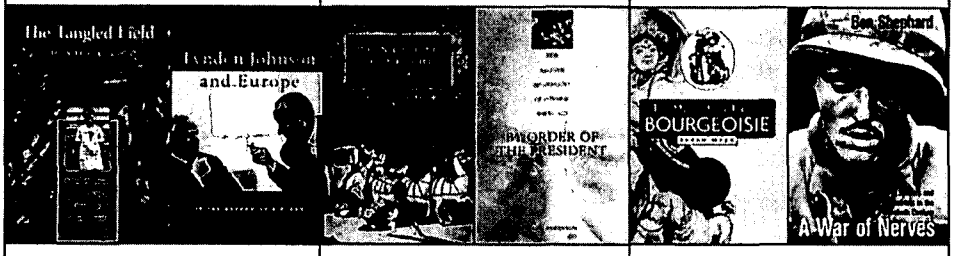

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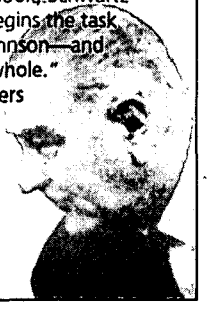

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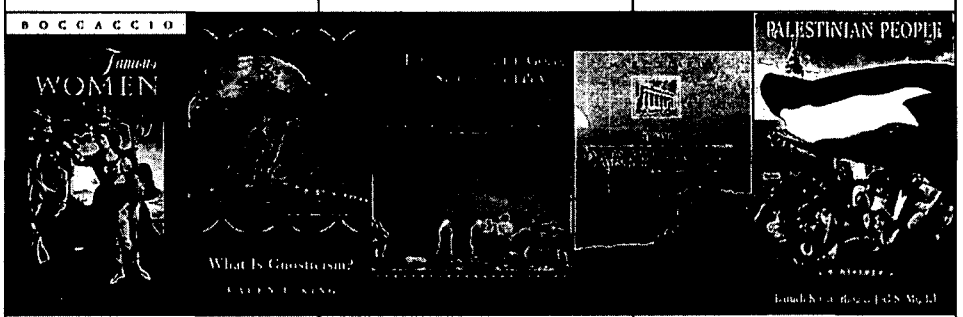

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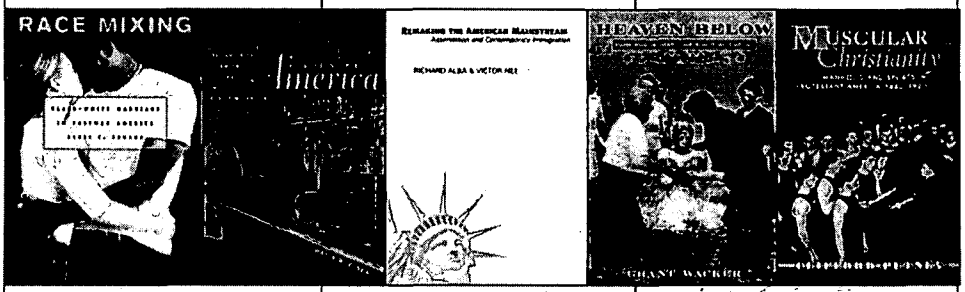

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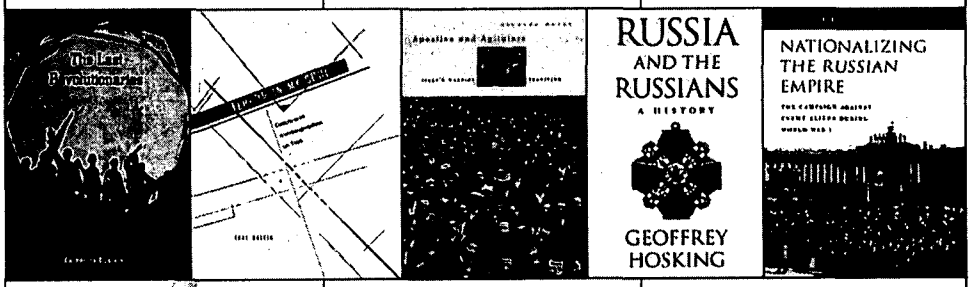

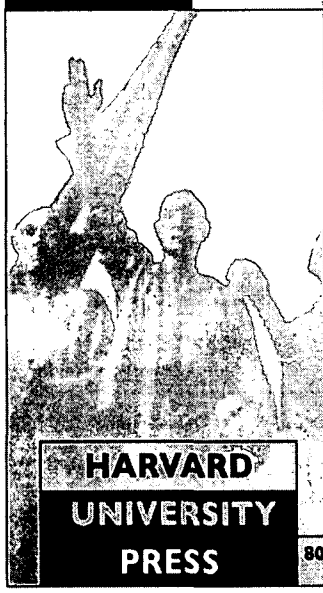

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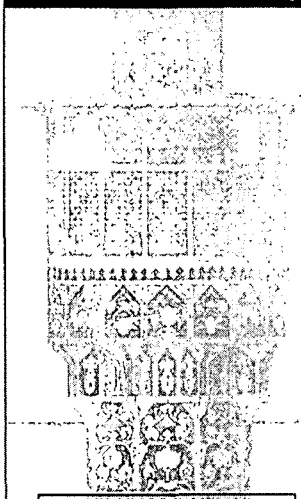

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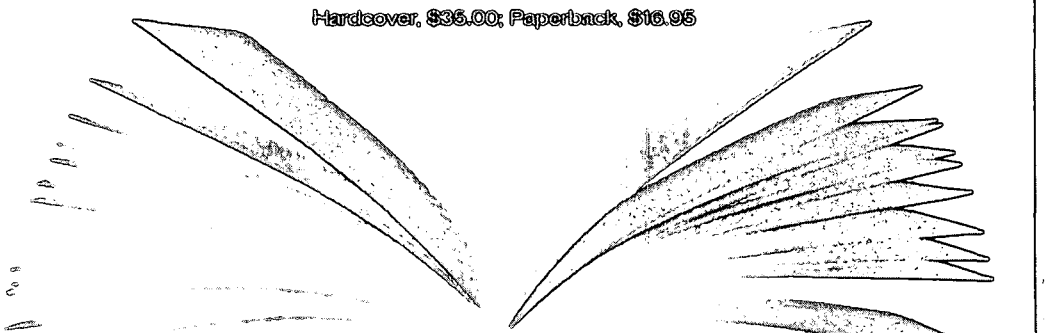

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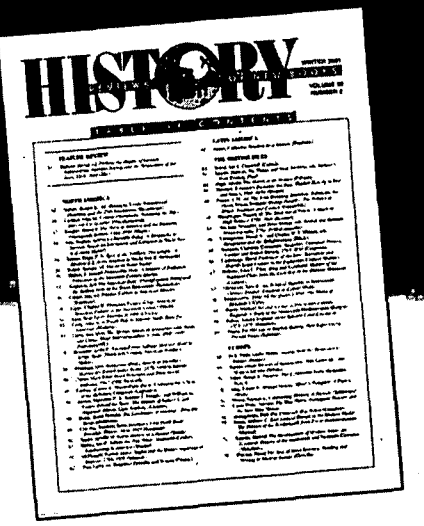

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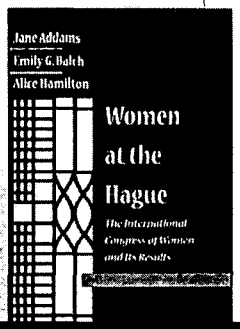

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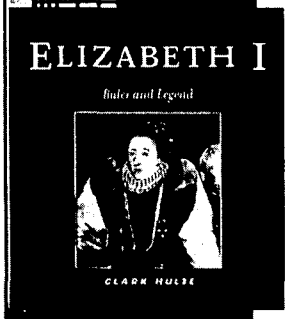

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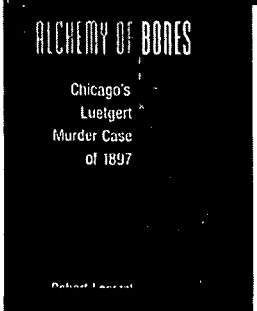

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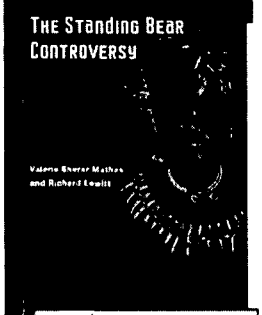

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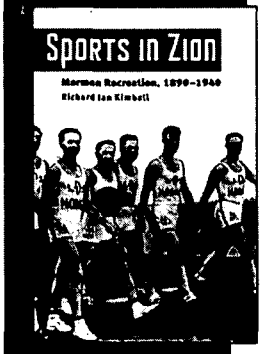

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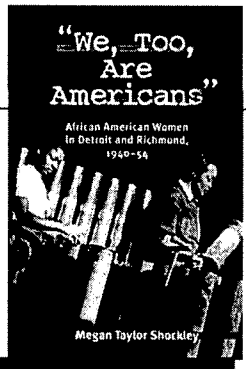

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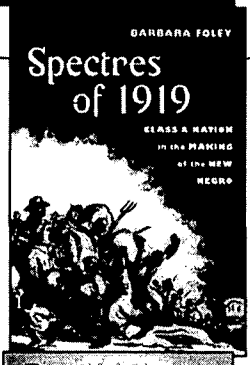

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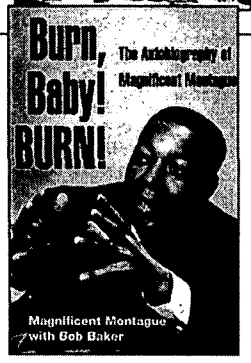

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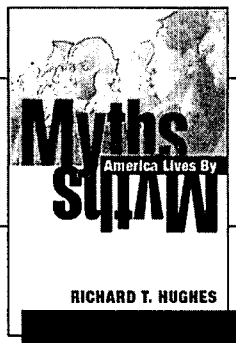

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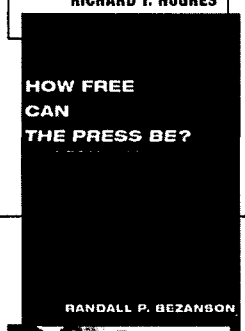

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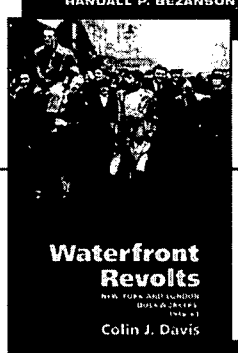

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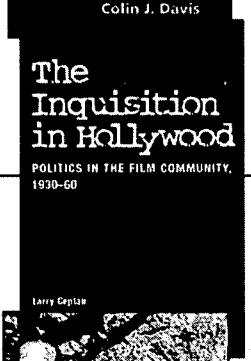

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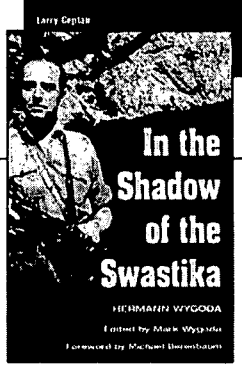

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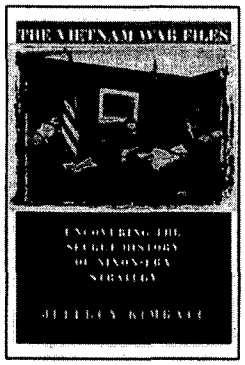

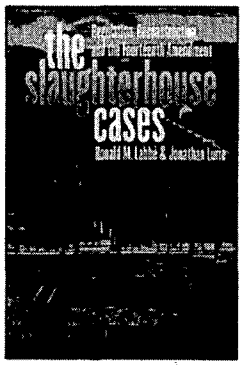

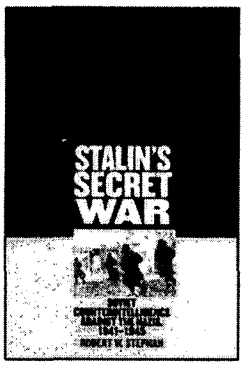

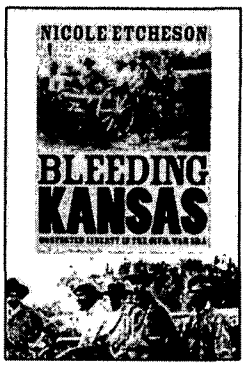

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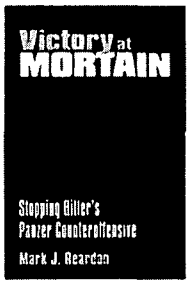

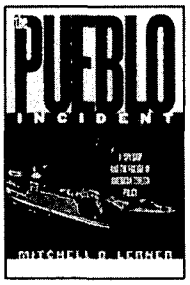

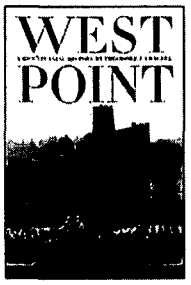

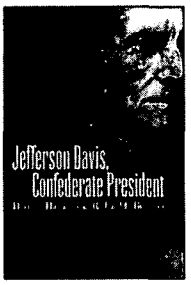

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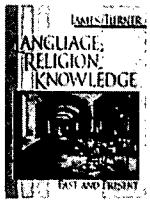

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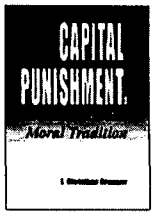

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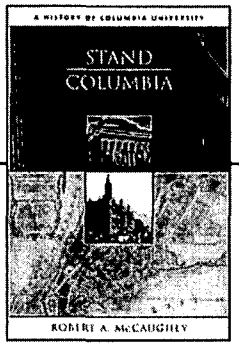

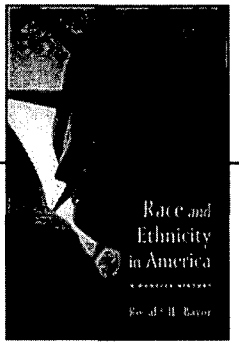

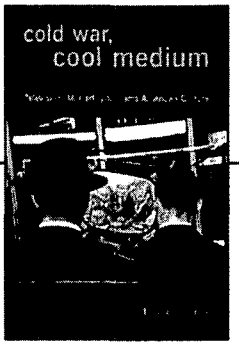

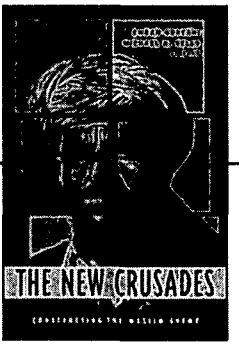

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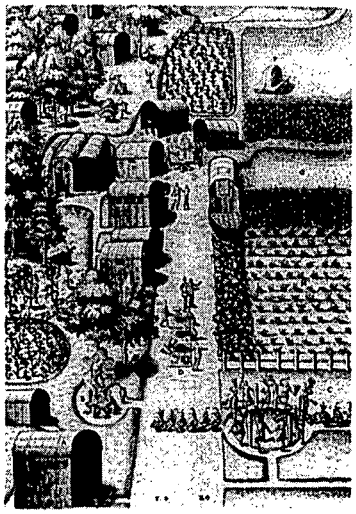

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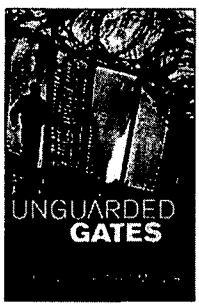

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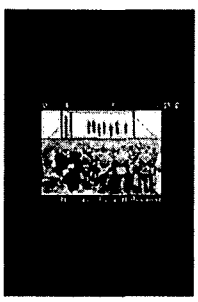

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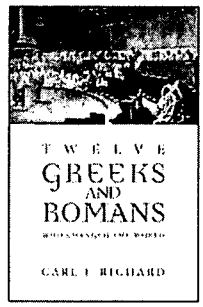

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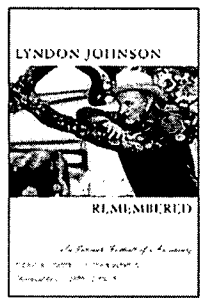

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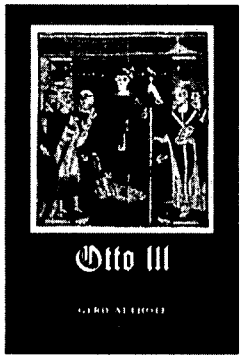

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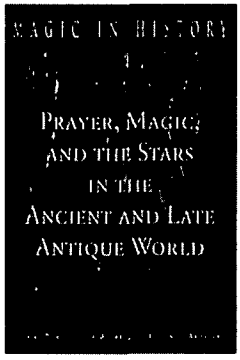

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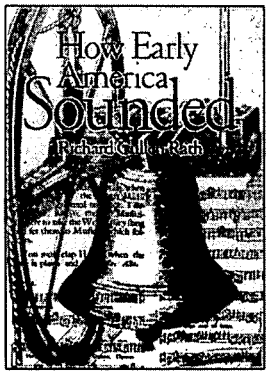

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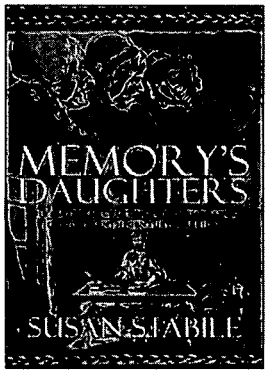

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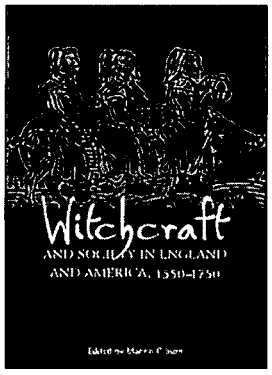

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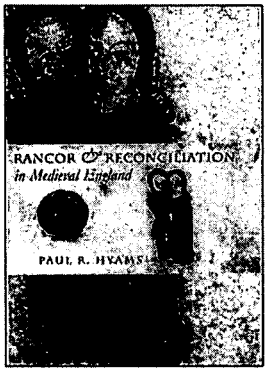

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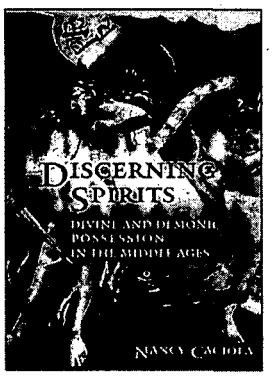

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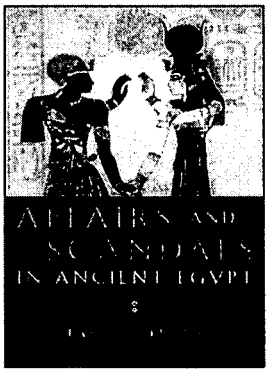

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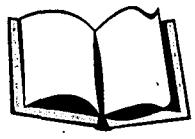

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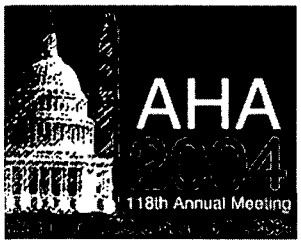

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All annual meeting attendees are invited to attend the following special event:

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Thursday, January 8, 2004. 7:30 p.m.
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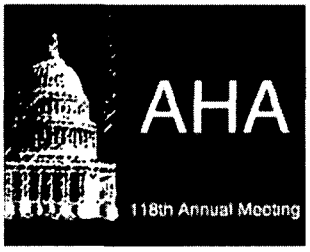

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Presidential Sessions

Friday, January 9, 9:30–11:30 a.m.

2. Perspectives on the American Civil War
Marriott, Marriott Ballroom, Salon II

Chair: William J. Cooper, Louisiana State University

Paper: *"We Should Grow Too Fond of It": Writing Civil War History*
Drew Gilpin Faust, Harvard University

Comment: Peter Kolchin, University of Delaware
Bertram Wyatt-Brown, University of Florida

Friday, January 9, 2:30–4:30 p.m.

33. Presenting History to the Public: The National Park Service
Marriott, Marriott Ballroom Salon II

Chair: David Blight, Yale University

Panel: Martin H. Blatt, Boston National Historical Park
Rebecca Conard, Middle Tennessee State University
Laura Gates, Cane River National Historical Park
John Latschar, Gettysburg National Historical Park
Edward Linenthal, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh

Saturday, January 10, 9:30–11:30 a.m.

65. The Cultural Approach to War
Marriott, Marriott Ballroom, Salon II

Chair: Donald Kagan, Yale University

Papers: *The Queen at Salamis; or Cunning and the Culture of Ancient Greek Warfare*
Barry Strauss, Cornell University
Military Culture in Eighteenth-Century China
Joanna Waley-Cohen, New York University
Problems and Complexities of a Cultural Approach to Military History
John A. Lynn, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Comment: John F. Guilmartin, Ohio State University

Saturday, January 10, 2:30–4:30 p.m.

96. Biography and History; A Dialogue
Marriott, Marriott Ballroom Salon II

Chair: Lynn Hudson Parsons, State University of New York College at Brockport

Panel: Blanche Wiesen Cook, John Jay College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York
Joseph Ellis, Mount Holyoke College
David Levering Lewis, New York University
John Lukacs, emeritus, Chestnut Hill College and Independent Scholar
Robert Remini, University of Illinois at Chicago

Sunday, January 11, 8:30–10:30 a.m.

126. The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal—Revolutionary Transformation or Legal Adaptation?
Omni Shoreham, Hampton Room

Chair: Alan Brinkley, Columbia University

Paper: *New Views of the New Deal, the Supreme Court, and the Constitution*
Laura Kalman, University of California at Santa Barbara

Comment: William E. Leuchtenburg, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
G. Edward White, University of Virginia

Sunday, January 11, 11:00 a.m.–1:00 p.m.

152. The American Empire: Past, Present, and Future
Omni Shoreham, Hampton Room

Chair: Richard Immerman, Temple University

Papers: *The Culture of American Empire*
Mary Renda, Mount Holyoke College
The New American Militarism
Andrew Bacevich, Boston University
Empire and Systemic Peace and Stability: Allies or Opponents?
Paul Schroeder, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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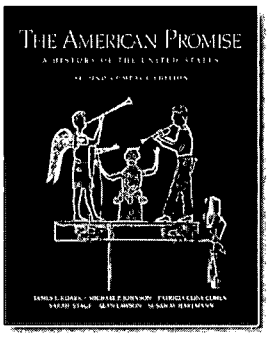

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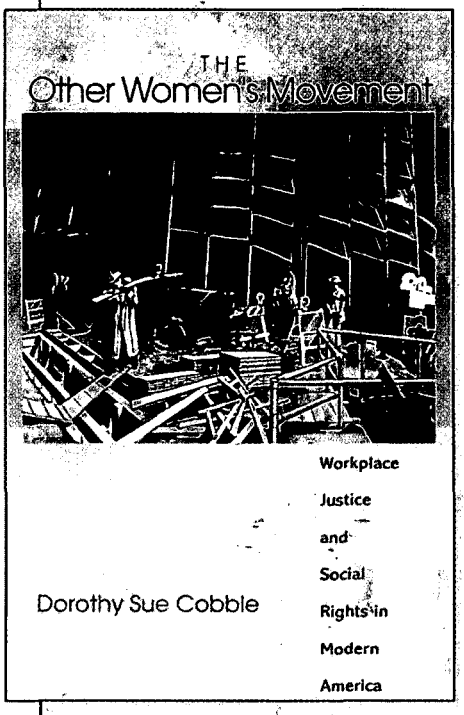

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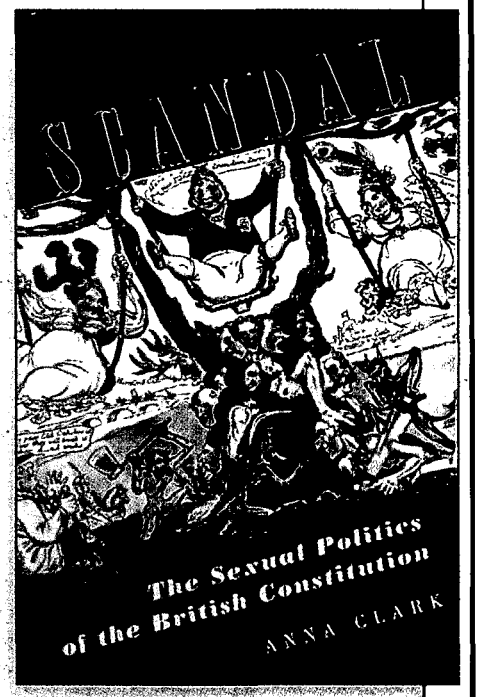

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